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THE

CLASSICAL

REVIEW.

VOLUME XVIII

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1904.

THE *Classical Association of England and Wales* is now an accomplished fact. Of its foundation on the 19th of December last an account is given in another column. Its executive council then appointed has met and strengthened itself by cooptations, and the time and place of the next, the first regular gathering, have been settled.

The inaugural meeting, which may be fairly viewed as a success, could not from the nature of the case be representative of the whole of the classical constituency. A committee of busy scholars and teachers living in different parts of the country, though from its constitution inspiring confidence, is not the best body for organising an appeal which must take many directions and be addressed to very different portions of the community. All that it can hope to do is to get together a satisfactory nucleus, and in its present strength of five hundred the Association starts with such a nucleus. But if it is to do all that may be expected, its members should before long be counted not in hundreds but in thousands.

One of the most hopeful signs for the new Association was the diversity in the topics and attitudes of the speakers at the meeting. This healthy variety of opinion augurs a lively interest in its future proceedings.

A gratifying feature in its general reception by the public is the tone adopted in references by representatives of other studies and in particular by the late and present presidents of the Modern Languages Association (Sir A. Rücker and Prof. Sadler) in their presidential addresses. There is no reason in the world for the ancient and the modern languages to be thrown into direct antagonism. They each have their proper spheres; and Latin at

least, if properly taught, is for most modern tongues their most valuable ally.

A question which at the present stage it is as natural to ask as it is difficult to answer is 'What is the Association going to do?' That it will do something, we all hope and trust—that at the least it will stimulate the national interest in the Classics and lift it out of the sluggish atmosphere of complacent apathy, pious aspirations and gentle regrets. But what it does in the end depends upon what it is: its future it must shape itself. And so those who devoutly desire that it should be a powerful and wholesome influence in our education and culture cannot do better than join themselves and induce their friends to do so too.

Apropos of the Association, we are glad to learn that one of its Secretaries, Professor Sonnenschein, has been invited to be present at the St. Louis Exposition and to deliver an address on the subject of Latin. We trust that the Association will have the benefit of his American experiences, which, in view of the recent outburst of classical activity in the United States, should prove instructive.

We observe with pleasure that the sister Association of Scotland, with an annual subscription no higher than the sum fixed as entrance fee and first subscription to the new Association, has been able to issue an attractive volume of *Proceedings*. It includes Professor G. G. Ramsay's presidential address upon 'Efficiency in Education' noticed a year ago in these columns. Professor Ramsay has joined the larger body; and, though unable to be present on December 19th, contributed a useful letter which was read to the meeting.

GREEK OSTRAKA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, INCLUDING A PTOLEMAIC
FRAGMENT OF THE *PHOENISSAE*.

AMONG the smaller Egyptian antiquities acquired during the last few years by the Trustees of the British Museum are some Greek ostraka of interest. These are exhibited in the Third Egyptian Room.

No. 18711 is a sherd of red pottery with white face, inscribed on both sides with a schoolboy's copy of so many lines of Euripides, dating to the second century B.C. The hand is not bad, but the mistakes and aberrations are many. These are indicated in underlined type in the transcript below. The *Obv.* contains Eur. *Phoen.* ll. 107–118, the *Rev.* ll. 128–139 of the same play. The lower portion of the copy is broken off.

Obv.

¹⁰⁵Ἴδον σιναψὸν παρθενὸν εἰς καιρὸν δ' ἐμὲ
¹⁰⁶κρινόμενος γὰρ τυγχάνει Πηλεασγικόν
¹⁰⁷στρατεῦμα χωρίζουσιν ἀλλήλων λοχὸς <v> s
¹⁰⁸Ἰὼ ποτνια παῖ Λατοῦς ¹⁰⁹Ἐκατα παταχαλκὸν
ἄπα]ν ὀπλοῖς ¹¹⁰πέδιον ἀστραπτει] ¹¹¹οὐ γὰρ τι
φαίλως] ἦλθε Πολυνεικῆ[ς χθό]να ¹¹²πολλοῖς
μὲν ἔππο]ις μυριοῖς <δ'> οὐλ[οῖς βρέμω]ν
¹¹³ἄρα πύλαι
κλήθροισ χάλ]κοτεδᾶ<ε>μ[βολά τε] ¹¹⁵λαῖν
<έ>οις Δμφ[ί-
ονος ὀργάνοις ¹¹⁶τε]ιχεὸς ὠρμαστ[αι; ¹¹⁷
Θάρσειν τά γ' εἶδον
ἀσφαλῶς ἔχει π]ολ_ ¹¹⁸αλ[λ' εἰσόρα τὸν
πρώτον, κ.τ.λ.

Rev.

[Ἐ εἰ, ὥς γαῖρος, ὥς φοβερὸς εἰσιδεῖν]
¹²⁸γεγονῶτα γηγενέθλιν προσομοῖος ¹²⁹αστερω
πος ἐν γραφαῖσιν οὐχι προσπῶλος ¹³⁰αμεριω
γεννα ¹³¹τὸν δ' ἐξαμειβόν<τ>οὐχ οὐας Διρ
κης ἔθωρ ¹³²λοχαγὸς ἄλλος ἄλλος αἶτε
ταυχ[έων
τροπὸν ¹³³τις οὐτος εἴπιν παις μὲν Ουμ[έως
εἴην ¹³⁴Τυδεὺς Ἀρης δ' Αἰτωλὸς ἐν[στέρνοις
εἴη ¹³⁵οὐτος οὐ τας Πολυνεικ[έως, ὃ γέρον,
¹³⁶ἀντακατεγνητᾶ<ς> νυμφας ¹³⁷ο[μύγαμος
κίρμει;
¹³⁸ὡ]ς δ' ἀλλήλοχλοῖσι μχοβ[άριβαρος.
¹³⁹Σακισφόρ]οι γὰρ παῖσιν [Αἰτωλοῖ, τέκνον,
¹⁴⁰λόγχαῖς τ' ἀκοντιστήρ]ε[ς] εὐστοχώτατοι. κ.τ.λ.

The mistakes are curious, especially the insertion of ὀπλοῖς between ll. 109 and 110, and the replacing of γίγαντι γηγενέτα in l. 128 by the unmeaning γεγονῶτα γηγενέθλιν. Such mistakes as παταχαλκὸν in l. 109 and χαλκοτεδᾶ (for χαλκοδέτα) in l. 113–114 shew that the scribe did not understand much of what he was writing. The corrupt passage ἄρα πύλαι κλήθροισ χαλκοδέτα τ' ἔμβολα λαϊνέοις κ.τ.λ. is unluckily not illuminated by this ostrakon, as the line is partly illegible and also broken away. The ostrakon gives ἀρα πύλαι, certainly not πύλαις; the last three letters of χαλ[κοτεδᾶ] are doubtful: the last may be compared with the ε of ἔμβολα, then the remains of three letters which are illegible (probably μβο); then the break in which there is just room for λατε; then λαῖνοις (*sic*), not λαῖν<έ>οισιν. There was evidently some doubt as to the word λοχαγόν of l. 132 (here λοχαγος), which is omitted by some codices. The αἶτε of the ostrakon is evidently meant for ὅδε, the Egyptian pronunciation of Greek, which no doubt mixed up τ and δ, ρ and λ, being responsible for the mistake, as in the case of προσπολος for πρόσφορος in l. 129. This seems to me to shew that the ostrakon is really an exercise in dictation, the Graeco-Egyptian scholar taking down the words as his master spoke them. In this way γεγονῶτα γηγενέθλιν would be most easily explained. The words ἀλλόχρως ὀπλοῖσι in l. 138 have apparently been entirely misunderstood by the scholar, who heard ὀχλοῖσι, and has mixed up the οχ of ἀλλόχρως with the οχ of ὀχλοῖσι, producing a rather extraordinary result. The ο of οχλοῖσι is also written over a ρ or an ι. The dividing line before l. 111 is on the ostrakon, also the stop at the end of l. 130.

Copies of this kind are rare upon ostraka: Wilcken gives one in his great work (No. 1147), containing Eur. Hippolyt. ll. 616–624, which is of the same date as Brit. Mus. No. 18711. It is at Berlin (No. 4758).

Nos. 26011 and 31631 of the Egyptian Department are lists of proper names with figures over against them apparently reckonings of some kind; the sign C in 26011 probably = 4 χαλκοῖ (Wilcken, i, p. 819). Both are written in uncials and date to the beginning of the first century A.D. or end of the preceding century. Some of the names are interesting and important.

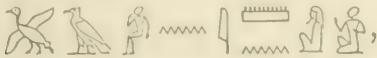
No. 26011.

ΠΑΝΕΧΑΤΗ C
 ΚΟΡΚΟΔΙΛΟΣ C
 ΨΕΝΔΜΟΥΝΙΑΡΠΑΗC^C
 ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΟΣ C
 ΚΝΑΧΟΜΝΕΥC
 ΕΜ^ΕΝΡΑΥC
 ΠΑΜΗΘΙ

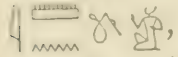
No. 31631.

ΨΕΝΘΟΥΤ
 ΝΙΚΟΛΑΣΤΟΛΜΔC
 ΕΡΜΩΝΕΡΜΟΦΕΙΛΟΥ
 ΑΟΝΧΑC M
 ΔΛΕΞΔC ΝΕ
 CΕCΟΝΓΩCΙC ΚΗ[. . .]
 ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ PM H
 ΚΟΡ[.]ΔΒΟC [. .]

Two or three of the Egyptians names in this list are given without the graecizing final *s*, e.g. Πανεχατη (Panahte, the Πανεχωτος of several papyri), Ψεραμουρι (Pse'n-amüne),



'The Son of Amen,' son of Ἀρπαησι, (Harpaissi), and Παμηθι in No. 26011. The two most interesting names are Εμεραυς in 26011 and Σεσωνως in 31631 which curiously recall epochs of Egyptian history long past and gone at the time these ostraka were written. It is possible that *Emenraus* may be the Egyptian Amen-rud

, the name which the Greeks called *Amyrtaios* three hundred or more years before, though it is also possible that it may be a name unusual in the hieroglyphs,



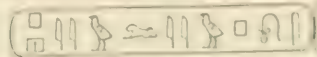
Amen-r^u, of the same type as the already known names Mert-Heru-r^u, Ψενταραυς (cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Aegyptische und Griechische Eigennamen*, p. 61*), etc., in which the last syllable is , the Coptic εροϣ. The

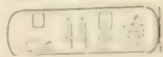
weak vocalization of the name of the god Amen in *Emenraus* is a contrast to its strong vocalization in the name *Pseamouni* on the

same ostrakon. *Sesongasis* is Sheshenk,

NAME - 5.

the name of the great pharaoh Shishak who founded the XXIInd or Bubastite dynasty c. 930 B.C. and of several of his immediate successors. It is rather curious to find his name borne by some Theban workmen in the days of Augustus, and I know of no other instance of its occurrence so long after the days of the Bubastites. It may well be that the names of the great pharaohs were better remembered at Thebes than elsewhere. The form of the names shows that the same lengthened form used in Manetho for the name of the king (Σεσωνως, etc., erroneously transferred to Usertsen I, the first Sesostris) is original, and is not due to a copyist's mistake. Of the other names Κορκοδιλος is quaint; Σαχομευς (which occurs in a British Museum papyrus of the IInd cent. B.C.¹) is a fuller form of the Σαχομευς of Willeken, 793 and 800, and Brit. Mus. 18719 (an unpublished ostrakon²); it means 'Son of the Eagle . . .'; Ψεθοϣ means 'the Son of Thoth.' Νικολας Τολμας is 'Nikolaos son of Tolmas'; the Egyptians, having no inflections in their language, often forgot the Greek genitive. In the next line Ερμων Ερμοφειλου is correct. From the spelling of this name Ερμοφειλος and from other instances of the same equivalence of α and ε, it is evident that α and ε were pronounced at that day very much as they are now. Egyptian evidence throws some light on the pronunciation of ancient Greek; thus we know that the alteration of the pronunciation of φ from the original *p-h* (each letter sounded separately) to the modern *f* was already taking place in the IVth—IIIrd centuries B.C. The name of king Philip Arrhidaeus is written in Egyptian hieroglyphs as



P(e)-li-i-p-u-s or simply 

P(e)-li-i-p-u-s,³ the letters  (really in)

¹ Forshall I; Kenyon *Catalogue* I, p. 46.

² A receipt for taxes paid by Psametic, son of Senpsaëris, to the tax farmer, Saklonneus, son of Psemonth, and his partners, for the period Phamenot-Pharmouthi of the 7th year of Nero the lord (A.D. 60).

³ Mr. H. B. Walters suggests to me that the spelling *Pelipus* may be due to Macedonian influence. In the Macedonian dialect the name was written Παλιπας (Hartwig, *Meisterschulen*, p. 319).

Brit. Mus. No. 14116 have been read by Wilcken (No. 10; *Ostraka*, p. 4) as

Διαγεγράφηκεν Πετερ[. . .]
χος Πασήνης ὑπ(ερ)λωγραφ-
τας κ.τ.λ.

A small chip is broken off from the right hand corner, and has taken not more than two letters with it. The last letter is certainly a σ, not a π, and the name is evidently

Potesoukhos, 'The Gift of Sebek.' We should therefore read

Διαγεγράφηκεν Πετερ[ου
χος κ.τ.λ.

Mr. O. Lagercrantz would prefer Πετα-
σουχος, but I think the ε is plain, and Prof.
Wilcken agrees.

H. R. HALL.

ON PHAEDO 96A-102A, AND ON THE δεύτερος πλοῦς 99D.

(Continued from Vol. XVII, p. 384.)

SINCE writing the first part of this paper I have come across an article by Mr. R. K. Gaye (*Cl. Rev.*, Vol. xv, p. 249) in which the writer, while discarding the elaborate interpretation of ἡλιος ἐκλείπων, argues in favour of going back to Mr. Archer-Hind's earlier view of *Phaedo* c. xlviii. I do not wish to go over the same ground again, but there is one of Mr. Gaye's arguments that calls for special remark. In the phrase πρὸς τὰ πράγματα βλέπων he would identify τὰ πράγματα boldly with 'the ideas,' on the ground of the difficulty of finding 'any passage in which πράγματα is used definitely of particulars.' Now πράγματα is in general as vague as the English 'things,' acquiring what definiteness it ever has from the context, e.g., from opposition to 'words' or to 'consciousness.' But two very clear instances can be given of its use in the sense of particulars as opposed to 'ideas.' *Rep.* 476 C ὁ οὖν καλὰ μὲν πράγματα νομίζων, αὐτὸ δὲ κάλλος μήτε νομίζων μήτε, ἂν τις ἡγήται ἐπὶ τὴν γνώσιν αὐτοῦ, δυνάμενος ἔπεσθαι, ὅναρ ἢ ὑπαρ δοκεῖ σοι ζῆν; on which Mr. Adam remarks 'πράγματα is a sufficiently general term to include all the φαίνόμενα πολλά which are specified in 476 A.' Again *Phaed.* 103 B τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐλέγετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πράγματος τὸ ἐναντίον πρᾶγμα γίνεσθαι, νῦν δέ, ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐναντίον ἐαυτῷ ἐναντίον οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο—the reference in τότε being to 70 D where we find that the πράγματα in question = ἄνθρωποι καὶ ζῶα παντὰ καὶ φυτὰ καὶ συλλήβδην ὅσαπερ ἔχει γένεσιν. On the other hand is πράγματα ever used by Plato without a qualifying adjunct to denote 'ideas'? When Mr. Gaye contends with regard to 66 D αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ θεατέον αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα that 'no stress need be laid on αὐτά,' I can by no

means concede this. The whole Platonic theory is involved in that αὐτά!

The same remark would apply to αὐτὰ ὄντα in the following passage, which I add here for the sake of the description it contains in Plato's own words of the class of investigations that, according to my view, Socrates had in mind when he said ἐπειδὴ ἀπειρήκη τὰ ὄντα σκοπῶν (*Phaed.* 99 D): *Phileb.* 59 A εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ φύσεως ἡγείται τις ζητεῖν, οἷσθ' ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὸν κόσμον τόνδε, ὅπῃ τε γέγνε καὶ ὅπῃ πάσχει τι καὶ ὅπῃ ποιεῖ, ταῦτα ζητεῖ διὰ βίον; . . . οὐκοῦν οὐ περὶ τὰ ὄντα αἶν, περὶ δὲ τὰ γηγνόμενα καὶ γενησόμενα καὶ γεγονότα ἡμῶν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνήρηται τὸν πόνον.

Before proceeding to deal with the three remaining contentions advanced in the first part of this paper, it may be premised that an abundance of valuable material bearing on the questions at issue is to be found in the notes and appendices to *Rep.* vi, vii in Mr. Adam's admirable edition, from which I have derived great assistance even where my views are slightly at variance with the editor's.

(3) The question whether (a) the method of λόγος introduced as the δεύτερος πλοῦς in *Phaed.* 99 C, D, is to be identified with (b) the lower of the two 'intellectual' methods of the *Republic*, or with (c) the higher, is capable of a short though partial solution by a reference to the contents of (a) and (b), i.e., to the class of subjects with which these two methods are respectively concerned. For if (b) has to do exclusively with τὰ μαθηματικά, then it is clear that (a), which is not so restricted in its application, cannot be identified with (b). It is true that the premise here, viz. that the subject-matter of (b) = τὰ μαθηματικά alone, is precisely

one of the positions which Dr. Jackson seeks to overthrow in his article in *J. of Ph.* xix. He contends that the 'lower' method has to do not only with mathematics but with 'general notions' as distinguished from ideas: it takes accepted commonplaces and uses them as criteria of truth. In this view of (*b*), and also in his identification of (*a*) with (*b*), Dr. Jackson seems to have been not a little influenced by the likeness he has acutely traced between the phraseology of our narrative in the *Phaedo* and that of *Xen. Mem.* iv, 6, § 13-15. In the latter passage it is said that if anyone disputed with Socrates, he ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπαγγέγειν ἂν πάντα τὸν λόγον, and again διὰ τῶν μάλιστα ὁμολογουμένων ἐπορεύετο, νομίζων ταύτην τὴν ἀσφαλῆν εἶναι λόγον, just as Homer called Odysseus ἀσφαλὴς ῥήτωρ on account of his ability διὰ τῶν δοκοῦντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄγειν τοὺς λόγους. The resemblance, indeed, can hardly be accidental, and the conclusion is most interesting, that in some touches in the *Phaedo* (100 A ὑποθέμενος ἐκάστοτε λόγον κ.τ.λ., 101 D ἐχόμενος ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς τῆς ὑποθέσεως) Plato has preserved the *ipsissima verba* of his master. But I think it is also clear that the Socrates who relates his mental history in the *Phaedo* has advanced immeasurably beyond the Socrates of the *Memorabilia*. Could the doctrine that οὐκ ἄλλο τι ποιεῖ αὐτὸ [= καλὸν τι] καλὸν ἢ ἡ ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ εἶτε παρονσία εἶτε κοινωνία (*Phaed.* 100 D) be considered as τῶν μάλιστα ὁμολογουμένων τι, or indeed as a Socratic doctrine at all? Or again, compare the criticism of Anaxagoras in the *Phaedo* with the crude objections raised in *Xen. Mem.* iv, 7 § 7—so crude, in fact, that it seems doubtful whether Xenophon has not misunderstood or given a very imperfect account of the matter. So that, while recognizing, up to a certain point, the appositeness of the Xenophontic parallel, we must be careful how we allow it to influence our views of Platonic 'intellectual methods.' Now to return to (*b*): that this method has for its objects τὰ περὶ γεωμετρίας τε καὶ λογισμῶν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, while the faculty (διάνοια) which cognizes them is μεταξύ τι δόξης τε καὶ νοῦ, is firmly established by Plato's repeated statements, with which the view attributed by Aristotle to Plato of τὰ μαθηματικά as τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν μεταξύ is in singular harmony. On the other hand the 'general notions' (Xenophon's τὰ μάλιστα ὁμολογούμενα), which Dr. Jackson seeks to import into the contents of (*b*), are no other than Plato's τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλοῦ τε περὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (*Rep.* 479 D), and it hardly

needs Plato's explicit statement to show that these πολλὰ νόμιμα belong to the sphere of the δοξαστόν (479 D), and have therefore no place in that section of the 'line' (*Rep.* Bk. vi), which represents the νοητόν in its two divisions. Δόξα lies between ἄγνοια and ἐπιστήμη or γνῶσις (478 C, D), but διάνοια between δόξα and ἐπιστήμη (511 D, 533 D): the objects of both δόξα and διάνοια are πολλά (479 A, 526 A with Adam's note, and *Arist. Met.* A 6, 987 τὰ μὲν πόλλ' ἄττα ὅμοια εἶναι κ.τ.λ.), but the latter are sharply distinguished from the former in that τοῦ ἀεὶ ὄντος ἡ γεωμετρικὴ γνῶσις ἐστὶ (527 B), whereas τὰ πολλὰ νόμιμα . . . μεταξύ πον κυλινδεῖται τοῦ τε μὴ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ὄντος εἰλικρινῶς (579 D).

But for the purpose in hand a more satisfactory, because a less negative, mode of procedure is to examine not the contents but the characteristic marks of the three methods (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), with a view to determining whether the affinities of (*a*) lie with (*b*) or (*c*). In dealing with the two latter we are travelling over such well known ground, and Plato's exposition is so clear and full, that a summary statement will suffice. The most important passages are all to be found in *Rep.* 509 D—511 E, 522 C—534 C, and *Meno* 86 E. The characteristics of (*b*) are that it starts from hypotheses or axioms regarded as self-evident (ὡς παντὶ φανερῶν, 510 C) and accepted without proof (οὐδένᾳ λόγον . . . ἀξιοῦσι περὶ αὐτῶν διδόναι, *ib.*); that it employs visible symbols (τοῖς ὁρωμένοις εἶδεσι . . . ὡς εἰκόσι χρώμενοι, *ib.* D, E); and that it arrives at a conclusion not a principle (οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρχὴν . . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τελευτῇν (*ib.* D)). On the other hand (*c*) treats its hypotheses not as fixed axioms (ἀκίνητοι), but as stepping-stones (οἷον ἐπιβάσεις, 511 B; τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀνωτέρω ἐκβαίνειν, *ib.* A), i.e. as both requiring and admitting of connection with higher hypotheses; it employs no visible symbols (ἀνευ εἰκόνων, 510 B), but intelligibles or ideas alone (αὐτοῖς εἶδεσι δι' αὐτῶν, 510 B, 511 C); and it proceeds to the unconditional, the first principle or source of all existence (τὸ ἀνυπόθετον, ἡ τοῦ παντός ἀρχή, 511 B, 533 C), which is none other than the Good (534 B), whence it descends again from idea to idea, without any reference to sensibles, to a conclusion (510 B). If now we turn to (*a*) the δεύτερος πλοῦς of *Phaed.* 99 C *sqq.*, what do we find? The employment of visible symbols may be at once dismissed as a point in which (*a*) offers no analogy with (*b*). What then of the treatment of hypotheses? It is true that (*a*) does not, as (*c*), first ascend to the

ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντὸς before proceeding to draw a conclusion; but does (a), for all that, regard its hypotheses as fixed axioms, not requiring or admitting of proof? This seems to be Dr. Jackson's view (*J. of. Ph.* xix., p. 147): 'It was his [Socrates's] rule to assume, *i.e.* to accept *without proof*, that λόγος which seemed to him most secure, and to account that true which agreed with it, that untrue which did not' (the italics are mine). But if I understand aright the procedure Plato is describing, the Platonic Socrates's method is by no means so arbitrary: for we find in 102 D that the 'safe assumption' is *first* to be tested by seeing whether the consequences to which it leads are consistent or inconsistent with one another, and *then* to receive its confirmation by being in turn connected with or deduced from the best of the higher principles, and so on in an ascending scale until an 'adequate ground' (ικανόν τι) is reached. Is this no proof? It is not mathematical proof, but that is just what we have no right to expect. Plato, at any rate, in this very dialogue, 92 D, draws a clear distinction between a theory (like that which identifies the soul with a harmony) which is ἀνεν ἀποδείξεως μετὰ εἰκότος τινὸς καὶ εὐπρεπείας, and a λόγος δι' ὑποθέσεως ἀξίας ἀποδέεσθαι εἰρημένος. Even in the *Μeno*, 86 E *sqq.*, where Socrates, in order to determine whether virtue is teachable, sets out *ostensibly* according to the hypothetical method of the Mathematician (ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι πολλάκις σκοποῦνται), and where the aporetic and elusive character of the argument as a whole might be in keeping with a more summary procedure—even here we find that, as a matter of fact, no sooner has the teachability of virtue been deduced from one hypothesis that 'virtue is knowledge,' than this hypothesis is in turn deduced from another that 'virtue is good.' What again, are we to say of the theory of ideas itself, the ἀρχὴ to which the argument in the *Phaedo* again and again returns as its chief pillar and support? It is not 'proved' in this dialogue because the participants repeatedly declare their unalterable conviction of its validity—so that one of them declares (77 A) that 'nothing is to him so clear' as that the ideas 'exist in the truest sense of the word.' But elsewhere in his writings, and notably in the *Republic*, Plato has not left his central doctrine without foundation, and we have also the Platonic proofs recorded by Aristotle in his lost work on the Ideas.

The more, then, we consider this method

both as sketched in the *Phaedo*, and in its general application throughout the Platonic dialogues, the more nearly does it seem to approach to the highest stage of dialectic in *Rep.* Bks. vi, vii. The injunction to connect each hypothesis with a higher generalization (101, D, E) is repeated in 107 B: καὶ τὰς γε ὑποθέσεις τὰς πρώτας, καὶ εἰ πισταὶ ἡμῖν εἰσιν, ὅμως ἐπισκεπτέα σαφέστερον καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὰς ἱκανῶς διέλῃτε, ὡς ἐγὼ μιν, ἀκολουθήσετε τῷ λόγῳ, καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν μάλιστα ἄνθρωπῳ ἐπακολουθήσαι κἂν τοῦτο αὐτὸ σαφὲς γένηται, οὐδὲν ζητήσετε περαιτέρω. I quote the words in full because of their importance and of possible differences of interpretation: Jowett's translation, for instance, of καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν κ.τ.λ.—'with a sort of hesitating confidence in human reason'—seems to give the phrase a more doubtful turn than Plato intended. I understand the passage to mean: 'Nay, even your original assumptions, however convinced of their truth you may be, require further investigation. In putting them thoroughly to the test, you will, I believe, be led by the argument to the furthest point to which human reason can follow; and if in this last stage a clear comprehension is reached, you will be content to seek no further.' On this Mr. Adam (*Append.* iii, to *Rep.* Bk. vii) writes: 'The exhortation in 107 E is different, and seems to hint at something like the dialectic of vi and vii, for the original ὑποθέσεις cannot be satisfactorily proved (κἂν τοῦτο αὐτὸ σαφὲς γένηται) except by connecting them with the Idea of the Good, and this involves an exhaustive survey of the whole field of νοητά such as Plato sketches in the end of Bk. vi.' While agreeing with this in the main, I think that the process here is rather *complementary* of that described in 101 D, E than *different* from it. From this point of view, and putting together in their natural connection all the instructions given in the *Phaedo* as to the nature and use of (a) the διὰ τῶν λόγων μέθοδος which is the δαίμονος πλοῦς, we are led to see that it not only covers the whole of the lower ranges of dialectic—the testing, sifting, and inter-connecting of definitions—but also points *upwards* to ever higher and higher principles; so that the difference between it and (c), the highest dialectic, resolves itself into (i) the greater certainty with which in (c) we are supposed to be able to pass up and down the ladder of 'pure ideas,' and (ii) the difference between ἱκανόν τι and τὸ ἀνέπoθετον. But while the conception of this 'highest dialectic' may

rightly be regarded as the crowning-point of Plato's system as represented by the *Republic*, and is ushered in by him with a corresponding exaltation of language, it is also admittedly an unrealized ideal. In falling short of it, therefore, the δεύτερος πλοῦς only falls short of a counsel of perfection. Apart, too, from the philosophical advance which is marked by the *Republic* as compared with the *Phaedo*, may it not be that the less confident tone of the latter is, in a measure, to be attributed to the peculiar ἦθος of the dialogue?

All the facts bearing on the question are very fully set forth by Mr. Adam; but the conclusion reached in his discussion is not so decisive as the facts appear to warrant. Rather it is, if I understand him rightly, that the method of the *Phaedo* agrees in part with the 'lower' and in part with the 'higher' of the two intellectual methods in the *Republic*, while containing some indications (not strictly correlated with its main positions) of a distinct advance to the 'higher.' But from the point of view here taken (a) is absolutely differentiated from (b) by the fact that the latter does and can, according to Plato, 'give no account of its hypotheses.' The one method, that of διάνοια, is essentially the method of the mathematical and physical sciences; the other, that of νόησις, inchoate in the *Phaedo* and ideally complete in the *Republic*, is the method of philosophy.

(4) *Phaed.* 101 c sqq. σὺ δὲ . . . ἐχόμενος ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς τῆς ὑποθέσεως, οὕτως ἀποκρίναιο ἄν. [εἰ δέ τις αὐτῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἔχοιτο, χαίρειν ἔφης ἂν καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρίναιο ἕως ἂν τὰ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ὀρμηθέντα σκέψαιο εἰ σοὶ ἀλλήλοις συμφωνεῖ ἢ διαφωνεῖ.] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνης αὐτῆς δέοι σε διδόναι λόγον, ὥσαύτως ἂν διδοίης, ἄλλην αὖ ὑπόθεσιν ὑποθέμενος ἥτις τῶν ἄνωθεν βελτίστη φαίνοιτο, ἕως ἐπὶ τι ἱκανὸν ἔλθοις, ἅμα δὲ οὐκ ἂν φύροιο ὥσπερ οἱ ἀντιλογικοὶ περὶ τε τῆς ἀρχῆς διαλεγόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνης ὀρμημένων, εἴπερ βουλοίῃ τι τῶν ὀντων εἶρεῖν.

The sentence in brackets is condemned as an interpolation by Dr. Jackson and Mr. Archer-Hind. It appears to me to be not only defensible but necessary to the argument. The case for the prosecution may first be stated. Dr. Jackson's objections are that (a) ἔχοιτο gives the wrong sense; (b) there is no antithesis (as there plainly should be) between εἰ δέ τις ἔχοιτο (or ἔφοιτο) κ.τ.λ. and ἐπειδὴ . . . λόγον; (c) the injunction τὰ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ὀρμηθέντα σκέψασθαι . . . ἢ διαφωνεῖ finds no countenance in the summary statement ἀλλ' οὖν δὴ ταύτη . . .

οὐκ ἀληθῆ, 100 A, and involves a violation of the precept ἅμα δὲ οὐκ ἂν φύροις κ.τ.λ., 101 E. Indeed it is not easy to say what is meant by 'the mutual agreement or disagreement of τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὀρμηθέντα,' a phrase probably due to perversion of 100 A (perhaps by the same interpolator who added the words καὶ ταῖς μὲν γ' ἀγαθαῖς ἄμενον κ.τ.λ., 72 D). Mr. Archer-Hind endorses all these charges, with some additions: (α) the words εἰ δέ τις . . . ἔχοιτο are a clumsy and tautological anticipation of ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνης κ.τ.λ.; (β) the words ἕως ἂν . . . διαφωνεῖ are inconsistent with the method indicated in ὥσαύτως ἂν διδοίης κ.τ.λ., and are in themselves sheer nonsense. 'The comparison of particulars between themselves is made before the formation of the ὑπόθεσις; but when the latter is established by means of this comparison, we proceed to observe, not whether the particulars are consistent with one another, but whether they are consistent with the hypothesis: cf. 100 A; (γ) ὀρμηθέντα in the aorist is bad Greek: cf. ὀρμημένων below.

The textual and grammatical difficulties of the passage may be dealt with first. Ἐχοιτο, in the sense of 'attacking,' 'objecting to,' has long been condemned, especially in view of the use of ἐχόμενος just before in the opposite sense, and Mr. Richards is no doubt right in saying (*Cl. Rev.* vol. xv) that Madvig's ἔφοιτο also lacks appropriateness. Mr. Richards brings ἔχοιτο under a fairly numerous class of errors due to 'the accidental repetition of a word to the displacement of the word really intended,' and conjectures λάβοιτο or ἐπιλάβοιτο: cf. *Laws* 637 C ταχὺ γάρ σου λάβοιτ' ἂν τις. Personally I should prefer ἄπτοιτο: cf. 86 D οὐ φαύλως ἔοικεν ἀπτομένῳ τοῦ λόγου. The same critic questions the correctness of ἂν in ἕως ἂν . . . σκέψαιο, but observes that ἂν may easily be omitted, or altered to δῆ: Stallbaum αὖ. But the list of instances in which the MSS. give ἂν in similar clauses, generally in *orat. obliq.*, is a formidable one: see Goodwin, *Gr. M. and T.* § 702, § 613-4, who, rightly I think, defends the construction here as a case of ἂν retained with optative in (virtual) *orat. obliq.*, 'you would not answer (you would say) until you should have examined.' Lastly, with regard to ὀρμηθέντα: it seems to me the aor. part. may be defended by placing ourselves at the point of time indicated by ἀποκρίναιο, σκέψαιο, and regarding the consequences which flow from the proposition in question as *historical events*, or as having actually

come to light in the course of the discussion, instead of as permanently valid. Somewhat similar is the use in *Rep.* 511 A εἰσάγει δὲ χρωμένῃ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κάτω ἀπεικασθέντων καὶ ἐκείνοις πρὸς ἐκείνα ὡς ἐνάρχει δεδοξασμένοις τε καὶ τετυμημένοις: for here (1) the *aor. part.* is used in the same sentence with the perf., and (2) the sections of the 'line,' and the 'images,' and 'originals' (ἀπεικασθέντα) here referred to, are really parts of universal truth rather than temporary occurrences. Or we might take the *aor. part.* as having a frequentative sense (cf. the ordinary 'gnomic' aorist), of which I find instances in *Soph.* 221 A τοῦ θρηνηθέντος ἐκάστοτε, 245 E περὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν αἰὲ ρηθέντων. It will be seen that all these difficulties are not of a kind to discredit a passage otherwise unexceptionable.

Coming now to the more serious part of the indictment: with regard to (a) and (α) above, I can find neither tautology nor lack of due antithesis. The antithesis intended by Plato may best be indicated by a paraphrase: 'Taking your stand on the firm ground of your assumption, you would answer accordingly (*i.e.* by tracing the consequences which flow from it). If, however, anyone challenged the assumption itself, you would refuse to answer the challenge until you had first considered whether the consequences agreed with one another or not. But when the time came to justify the assumption on its own merits, you would proceed in like manner,' etc. To say that ὡσαύτως must indicate precisely the same manner as is indicated by the words ἕως ἄν . . . διαφωνῇ, if that is what Mr. Archer-Hinds means in (β) above, seems hypercritical: ὡσαύτως merely means 'in the same deliberate fashion.' Again, as to the first objection under (α)—that the examination of consequences finds no place in the summary statement of the method of λόγοι in 100 A—this may readily enough be explained just by the fact that 100 A is a summary statement; or, as Lotze says, I think, somewhere, and as Plato in effect says here (ἅμα δὲ οὐκ ἂν φύροις κ.τ.λ.), 'because it is not possible to deal with everything at the same time.' The assertion (α) that this examination of consequences 'involves a violation of the precept ἅμα δὲ οὐκ ἂν φύροις κ.τ.λ.' is πάντων δὴ ἀτοπώτατον. Plato says you must examine (1) *first* the consequences, and (2) *then* the hypothesis itself. Is this confusion?

But far the most interesting and important of the questions raised by this passage and by the criticisms of it against which

I am contending, is that concerning the legitimacy of the actual process of 'considering whether the consequences of an assumption are consistent or inconsistent with one another.' I think I may assume that if instances are produced from the Platonic dialogues which fairly bear out these words, this will be a sufficient, and the best, answer to the very decided condemnation set forth in (b) and (β) above. I would only say at the outset that in the nature of the case the process is not always quite so simple as that contemplated in 101 D: according to Plato's own doctrine one hypothesis is connected with another, and it is usually when the consequences of two or more hypotheses are brought together that the contradiction becomes apparent. A good instance is *Phaed.* 92 C οὗτος αὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐκείνῳ πῶς συνάσεται—καὶ μὴν πρέπει γε, εἴπερ τι ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἀναφῶνται καὶ τῷ περὶ ἀρμονίας; so, too, probably is to be understood *ib.* 86 E, ἔπειτα ἀκούσαντας ἡ συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἴαν τι δοκῶσι πρὸς ἃ δεῖν, εἴαν δὲ μὴ, οὕτως ἤδη ὑπερδιδάκναι τοῦ λόγου. Even here we have an illustration to this extent that it is by the consideration of consequences that hypotheses are tested. But there are other examples which will be found to conform more strictly to the requirements of our passage, provided only that certain general conditions are granted. Τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὀρμηθέντα must be taken to include not only such consequences as flow from the fixed connotation (if such there be) of the terms in a proposition, but also any acknowledged facts, or any facts which a disputant can be brought to acknowledge, in relation to those terms. Thus if the ὑπόθεσις be that 'Happiness consists in pleasure,' Socrates may argue that happiness is καλόν τι, whereas some pleasures are αἰσχροί, which the disputant will admit: whence the conclusion will be that 'the same things turn out to be both noble and base,' *i.e.* the consequences are inconsistent. In fact we have to do not, as in mathematics, with a purely deductive process, but with one in which induction and deduction are continually used in conjunction. And it is just here that the occasion arises for that comparison of particulars *after* the formation of the ὑπόθεσις to which Mr. Archer-Hinds takes exception. The instances themselves will furnish the best illustration of this point: they are by no means exhaustive (the subject is almost inexhaustible in Plato), but are chosen chiefly as the phraseology of the passages is specially suited to the words ἀλλήλοις συμφωνεῖ ἢ διαφωνεῖ. We have,

first of all, the principle stated in the well-known passage where discussion ἐξ ὑποθέσεως is recommended as a dialectical gymnastic, *Parm.* 136 A: Οἷον, ἔφη, εἰ βούλει περὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἢν Ζήνων ἐπέθετο, εἰ πολλά ἔστι, τί χρὴ συμβαίνειν καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐν καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ πρὸς τε αὐτὸ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολλά καὶ αὐτὸ εἰ μὴ ἔστι πολλά, πάλιν σκοπεῖν τί συμβήσεται καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα κ.τ.λ. The many intricate arguments that follow end in conclusions inconsistent not only with the hypotheses but also πρὸς ἄλλα, e.g. this *ad finem*: ἐν εἴ τι ἔστιν εἴτε μὴ ἔστιν, αὐτό τε καὶ ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα πάντα πάντως ἔστί τε καὶ οὐκ ἔστί καὶ φαίνεται τε καὶ οὐ φαίνεται. But more concrete examples will serve better. *Rep.* 505 c those who define the good as pleasure are the victims of confusion of thought: for they are compelled to admit that there are bad pleasures. Συμβαίνει δὴ αὐτοῖς οἷμαι ὁμολογεῖν ἀγαθὰ εἶναι καὶ κακὰ ταῦτα. Cf. *Gorg.* 495 A-499 c where a similar argument leads to the conclusion, Οὐκοῦν ὁμοίως γίνεται κακὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαθὸς ὁ κακός; οὐ ταῦτα συμβαίνει καὶ τὰ πρότερα ἐκείνα, ἐάν τις ταῦτα φῇ ἡδέα τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι. Cf. *Phileb.* 55 B. Indeed, this seems to have been a dialectical commonplace; for we find in *Xen. Mem.* iii, 8, Aristippus trying to entrap Socrates into defining the good as food, or wealth, or health, or some such thing, ἵνα δεικνύοι δὴ τοῦτο κακὸν ἐνίοτε ὄν. Again, *Rep.* 335 A: 'It is just to benefit a friend if he is good, and to injure an enemy if he is bad.' It is shown by the analogy of the arts that to 'injure' is to make anything worse in respect of its characteristic quality; in the case of a man, this is 'justice'; ∴ 'by justice the just will make men unjust, and in general by virtue the good will make men bad'—a manifest contradiction. The first Book of the *Republic* consists largely of such arguments. *Laches* 192 c, Courage is defined as a 'certain endurance of the soul.' But then Courage, being a noble quality, cannot be a foolish endurance, which is base and harmful, but only a wise endurance. Yet a wise endurance is not always courageous; e.g. to fight with the odds is not as courageous as to fight against the odds; ∴ foolish endurance, which before was shown to be base and harmful, is sometimes to be identified with Courage, which is noble, and τὰ ἔργα οὐ συμφωνεῖ ἡμῖν τοῖς λόγοις (193 D). Later, 196 c, D, Courage is defined as ἐπιστήμη δεινῶν τε καὶ θαρραλέων, and this 'hypothesis'

in turn leads to a contradiction: for Socrates is able to show that ἐπιστήμη embraces the past and present as well as the future, and the sphere of Courage is widened until it becomes almost synonymous with virtue in general, though it had been laid down before that it was only a part of virtue. In one of the refutations of the ὑπόθεσις that the soul is a harmony (*Phaed.* 93 A-94 B) it is shown that the soul does not admit of degrees, while harmony does. Again how, on this theory, are we to account for virtue, wisdom, etc., and their opposites? Are we to suppose that the virtues are due to another harmony within the harmony? Or that the good soul is more, and the bad less, harmonized? But the soul does not admit of degrees. ∴ There will be no difference of good and bad between different human souls, or even between the souls of men and animals. (This is in contradiction with acknowledged facts, and with deductions that might be made from the moral nature of the soul.) Ἡ δοκεῖ . . . πάσχειν ἂν ταῦτα ὁ λόγος, εἰ ὀρθὴ ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἦν, τὸ ψυχὴν ἀρμονίαν εἶναι; Another instance I shall quote from Zeller (*Plato*, Eng. tr. p. 203, note): 'There is only an apparent contradiction in the Cratylus, 436 c sqq., where the remark μέγιστον δέ σοι ἔστω τεκμήριον ὅτι οὐκ ἔσφαται τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ τιθέμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε οὕτω σύμφωνά ἦν αὐτῷ ἅπαντα is met by the answer: ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ὃ γὰθὲ Κρατύλε, οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀπολογία· εἰ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον σφαλεῖς ὁ τιθέμενος τὰλλα ἤδη πρὸς τοῦτ' ἐβιάζετο καὶ αὐτῷ συμφωνεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν, οὐδὲν ἄτοπον . . . τὰ λοιπὰ πάμπολλα ἤδη ὄντα ἐπόμενα ὁμολογεῖν ἀλλήλοις· δεῖ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς παντὸς πράγματος παντὶ ἀνδρὶ τὸν πολὺν λόγον εἶναι καὶ τὴν πολλὴν σκέψιν, εἴτε ὀρθῶς εἴτε μὴ ὑπόκειται· ἐκείνης δὲ ἐξετασθείσης ἱκανῶς, τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκείῃ φαίνεσθαι ἐπόμενα· for it is afterwards shown that Cratylus' onesided supposition becomes involved in contradictions in its consequence—because the ἀρχή has no real proof.' Lastly an instance may be given in which the ὑπόθεσις, not leading to any such contradictions, is confirmed τῷ ἄλλῃν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὑποθέσθαι ἥτις τῶν ἀνωτέρω κ.τ.λ. In *Meno* 86 c sqq. already referred to above, it is posited that 'virtue is knowledge,' from which the conclusion that 'virtue is teachable' is deduced by the (fallacious) syllogism:

Nothing is (can be) taught but knowledge
Virtue is knowledge
∴ Virtue is (can be) taught.

The original proposition that 'virtue is knowledge' is then itself deduced from the

higher principle that 'virtue is good.' Here, even in this imperfect argument, is already the germ of the faculty by which the true dialectician is characterized in *Rep.* 534: *διορίσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀφελὼν τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέαν!*

Such, it seems to me, is what Plato, in the passage here defended, intends to be the first stage in the treatment of *λόγοι* or *ἐποθέσεις*. It is only in that ideal form of dialectic which is pictured in the *Republic* that all possibility of contradiction disappears.

(5) *Rep.* 533 c ἡ διαλεκτικὴ μέθοδος μόνῃ ταύτῃ πορεύεται, τὰς ἐποθέσεις ἀναιροῦσα, ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἵνα βεβαιώσῃται.

The question I wish to raise here is merely one of words, or rather of a word—*ἀναιροῦσα*. For with the substance of Mr. Adam's exposition I am in entire agreement. But is it not after all a contradiction to say that the dialectician 'proceeds, by *destroying* his hypotheses, to the first principle itself, so that he may *establish* them?' For the object of *βεβαιώσῃται* can hardly be anything but *ἐποθέσεις*; and *ἀναιροῦσα*, if it stands, must, as Mr. Adam rightly contends, bear its full sense of 'destroying,' 'cancelling' (cf. the passages he quotes from Aristotle), so that a translation like Stallbaum's 'taking up into' for *ἀναιροῦσα ἐπ' αὐτήν* is impossible. 'Out of the ruins of the former *ἐποθέσεις* we build a new and better one, which must in its turn be thoroughly tested, tried, and *perhaps overthrown*, before it can serve as a stepping-stone to one which is higher, truer, and better.' So Mr. Adam admirably describes what may be called the preparatory stage of dialectic, as amply illustrated above; but could the words I have italicized, taken by themselves, adequately express the whole of this process? Why should the negative and destructive side be brought into such unnatural prominence? For not all assumptions are refuted, and, when they are, it is in the manner of Plato's dialectic rather to modify and enlarge than

to cancel them. How much more unsuitable, then, must such a one-sided description of the treatment of hypotheses be to that crowning stage of dialectic when, as Mr. Adam says, we are supposed to be in presence of 'a number of true and irrefragable *ἀρχαί*, apprehended not only in their mutual coherence and interdependence, but also in their relationship to the supreme Idea.' Once more, Plato's dialectician cannot, like Shakespeare's 'climber-upward,' 'scorn the base degrees by which he did ascend'—for the very good reason that he must have something by the help of which to come *down* again. The passages which may furnish a clue to the meaning, if not to the word, we should expect in place of *ἀναιροῦσα* are: *Rep.* 511 A τῶν ἐποθέσεων ἀνωτέρω ἐκβαίνειν; *ib.* τὰς ἐποθέσεις ποιοῦμενος οὐκ ἀρχαίς ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ἐποθέσεις, οἷον ἐπιβάσεις τε καὶ ὁρμαίς, ἵνα μέχρι τοῦ ἀνεποθέτου ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴν ἴωμεν κ.τ.λ.; *Lach.* 200 B ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι . . . εἴ τι αὐτῶν μὴ ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, ὑστερον ἐπαυροῦσθαι . . . καὶ ἐπειδὴν βεβαιώσονται αὐτά, διδάξω καὶ σέ; and especially *Lives* 626 D τὸν λόγον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ὁρθῶς ἀναγαγὼν σαφέστερον ἐποίησας, and *Aen. Mem.* οὕτω δὲ τῶν λόγων ἐπαυρομένων (of Socrates's method). I do not know whether the two last passages have yet been adduced in this connection; but they are, of course, strongly confirmatory of the reading *ἀνάγονσα*, which is found as a correction in one MS., and has found many supporters. Nevertheless, it seems just possible that Plato might in this context have preferred a more emphatic and pictorial word; and I would propose, though without much confidence, as an alternative to *ἀνάγονσα*, either *ἀν-* or *συνείρωνσα*: cf. *Polit.* 267 A συνείρωνμεν ἐπαυροῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι τῆς τελειότης τὸν λόγον τοῦ νόματος τῆς τοῦ πολιτικοῦ τέχνης. In any case it is an *ἐπαύρωσις*, not an *ἀνείρωνσις* τῶν ἐποθέσεων, that the context appears to me to require.

W. J. GOODRICH.

FURTHER NOTES ON DEMOSTHENES.

DE SYMMORIIS.

14 λόγον μὲν οὐδέν' ἐβουλόμην θρασὺν οὐδ' ἔχοντα μάταιον μήκος εὐρεῖν.

36 οὐδ' ἂν καταρώμενος ἡἱρέ τις αὐτοῖς, τοσαῦτα πεπόνθασι κακά.

The verb *εἱρίσκω* seems a strange one to use in either of these places. Is it not pretty plain that we should read *αἰπεῖν* and *αἶπε*? So *εἶροι* has been restored for *αἶποι* in Dion Chrys. 32. 91 ἀμαρτήματα αἶποι τις ἂν πανταχοῦ.

DE RHOD. LIBERTATE.

15 ἐπεὶ Ῥοδίοις γε . . συγχαίρω τῶν γεγενημένων.

The construction of the genitive ought not to be pronounced impossible in prose (cf. Isocr. 18. 51: Andoc. 1. 67, &c.), but τῶ γεγενημένῳ would be a very simple change. Cf. such sentences as *Phil.* 1. 42 τοῖς γιγνομένοις . . αἰσχνόμενος: *De C.* 291 τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαιροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις: Thuc. 3. 98. 5 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φεβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

27 Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ ἄλλας ἐτέρας πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας.

For ἄλλας read πολλὰς. Cobet *Misc. Crit.* p. 75 would apparently just omit ἐτέρας, but this is unsatisfactory. Goodhart's suggestion of ἄλλους for πολλούς in Thuc. 8. 66. 5 is very convincing.

PRO MEGALOPOLITANIS.

19 ἀλλὰ μὴν ἃ γέ φασιν πεπράχθαι . . ὑπεναντία πρὸς ἡμᾶς; ἀποπον νῦν μὲν ἐν κατηγορίας μέρει ποιείσθαι, βουλευμένων δὲ γενέσθαι φίλων αὐτῶν, ἵνα τοῦναντίον εἰ ποιωσιν ἡμᾶς, βασκαίνειν κ.τ.λ.

There is certainly no meaning in νῦν μὲν, for there is no contrast of times. Weil would omit μὲν. How would it be to insert ταῦτα before it (νῦν <ταῦτα> μὲν)?

DE FALSA LEGATIONE.

10 πρέσβεις πέμψαι τοὺς συνάξοντας δεῦρο τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τοῦ . . πολέμου.

τοὺς being unusual with the future participle after πέμπειν, and the two expressions, τοὺς συνάξοντας and τοὺς βουλευσομένους, being somewhat awkward together, I think the first τοὺς may well be an accidental insertion due to the second.

12 γίγνεται τῶν πρέσβεων τούτων εἰς καὶ οὗτος, οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἀποδωσομένων τὰ ὑμέτερα κ.τ.λ.

After ἀποδωσομένων insert ὧν. The cause of its loss is obvious. Cf. on *Midias* 220.

16 νόμον τε θήσειν καὶ γράψειν. θήσει καὶ γράψει?

29 δεῖ δὲ . . ἐκεῖν' ὁρᾶν ὅτι, ὄντιν' ἂν ὑμεῖς εἰς ταύτην τὴν τάξιν κατεστήσατε . . οὗτος . . τῶν ἴσων αἴτιος ἦν ἂν κακῶν.

Editors seem to acquiesce without demur in the ἂν following ὄντινα. No parallel

however is cited for it (Goodwin *M. T.* § 557) and surely its proper meaning would be 'anyone whom you *would have* appointed,' not 'anyone whom you *had* appointed.' No doubt ὄντινα κατεστήσατε, which would give the latter meaning, as is here required, might also mean 'the man that you did appoint as a matter of fact, whoever he was,' but this possible ambiguity will not justify the apparently ungrammatical use of ἂν. ὄντινα δὴ (δὴ for ἂν) is rendered somewhat unlikely by the hiatus with ὑμεῖς that would arise. It is noteworthy that ὅτι εἰ καὶ ὄντινόν seems to be the reading of the less good MSS.

46 'μὴ νῦν ἀφίστασ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τότε μὴ προσποιήσῃ.' 'νὴ Δί', ἢ ἀδικήσω γ' ἔφην.

If νὴ Δία (not μὰ Δία) is right, it must go in sense, though the editors do not point this out, with the imaginary verb on which ὅπως κ.τ.λ. depends, or with a vague idea like τοῦτο ποιήσω.

53 ὡς τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπίθον τ' ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. τὰκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας?

61 φέρε δὴ μοι καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν <λέγε?> τὴν τῶν Φωκέων.

178 οὐκοῦν ταῦθ' ὑπεσχόμην ἐν ἀρχῇ, ταῦτ' ἐπέδειξα.

This repetition of ταῦτα seems quite unlike Demosthenes. Cobet would read ἀτθ' for the first ταῦτα. Perhaps πάνθ' ἃ or πάνθ' ὅσ'. πάντα and ταῦτα are sometimes confused. It would be natural to read ἀπερ, if we might regard ταῦθ' as an accidental anticipation of the ταῦτα coming.

193 ἤρετο . . τί δὴ μόνος οὐδὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται (asks no favour of him) ἢ τίν' ἐν αὐτῷ μικροψυχίαν ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀηδίαν ἐνεορακώς.

The first ἢ or makes no proper sense. ἢ and καί get confused, and the latter seems much more likely here. Cf. on *Androt.* 28 below.

224 ἐμέ the reading of S seems to me much better than με, which the editors usually adopt. There is a certain emphasis on the pronoun, which is heightened by the τὸν . . ἀδικούντα.

In the same way I would write σέ, not σε, in 244.

272 δόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα, the money for this purpose.

Weil would rather like to get rid of ταῦτα. The use is much better known in Latin, e.g.

Cic. *Mur.* 68 *si tibi istam (i.e. istius rei) rationem non possim reddere: de Am.* 3 *cum in eam ipsam mentionem incidisset: Virg. Aen.* 2. 171 *ea signa: 7. 595 his poenas: 8. 426 his manibus.* Cf. however Plat. *Rep.* 371 E τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην *the price of this.*

295 οἱ νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἀξίόχρεως εἶναι τοῦ Φιλίππου ξένοι καὶ φίλοι προσαγορεύεσθαι.

Possibly αὐτοὺς should be omitted, but cf. note on *Phil.* 4. 49 (*C. R.* xvii. p. 149).

297 μαντείαν ἀναγνώσσομαι . . . λέγε τὰς μαντείας.

Read *μαντείας* in both places.

303 ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι ταῦτ' < οὐχ' ? > οὕτως ἔχει, αὐτοὺς οὐχ' οἶός τ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔσται.

Greek idiom surely needs the negative.

310 'καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις' προσγράψαντες τὴν εἰρήνην, *having added to the peace the words κ. τ. λ.*

Most edd. follow Dindorf in inserting εἰς after the -ες of the participle. I would suggest τῇ εἰρήνῃ, nothing being commoner than this confusion of terminations. So in 87 αὐτὴν might very well be αὐτῇ. Cf. 56 προσγράψαι πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην τὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, for πρὸς is not εἰς.

329 δέδοικα μὴ . . . διοχλῶ πάλοι τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας.

There seems to be some authority (Shilleto) for τοὺς αὐτοὺς, and that is perhaps better. Cf. 114 τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦντα *the man who himself admits it*, and other places.

336 μὴ λέγ' ὡς καλὸν εἰρήνη μὴδ' ὡς συμφέρον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αἰτιάται σε τοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν εἰρήνην (Blass τοῦ ποιῆσαι, omitting τ. π. εἰ.)· ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ αἰσχροὶ κάπονειδιστος καὶ πόλλ' ὕστερον ἐξηπατήμεθα κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps ὡς οὐκ αἰσχρὰν κάπονειδιστον, i.e. ἐποιήσατο.

339 ὅταν μὲν ἴδῃτε δεινότητ' ἢ εὐφωρίαν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν . . . , συγχαίρειν καὶ συνασκεῖν πάντας δεῖ.

For συνασκεῖν read συναΐζειν, comparing my note on *Ol.* 3. 28 (*C. R.* xvii. p. 147).

LEPTINES.

15 τιμῶν seems to me a mistake due (as is sometimes the case) to a word that is coming in the next line, in this case τιμῇ. The coming word is already in the writer's mind. There is therefore no need for the displaced word to have resembled it closely.

20 σκεψώμεθα δὴ τί ταῦτα τῇ πόλει, ἐν ᾧ πάντες οἷτα λητονργῶσαι φαίνεται γὰρ οὐκ πολλοῦ δὲ τῆς γενεσσομένης ἀξίον αἰσχύνειν.

The phrase οὐκ πολλοῦ δὲ is always elsewhere preceded by another negative, which it emphasises: οὐκ . . . οὐκ πολλοῦ δὲ. Is it not therefore probable that we should read φαίνεται γὰρ < οὐδὲν > οὐκ πολλοῦ δὲ? Cf. Dobree's very probable ὅν < οὐδὲν > οὐδὲν ἐκείνους προσήκειν in 104.

24 ὡς ἄρα δεινὸν ἂν κατὰ μὲν μὴδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐπάρχει τῇ πόλει, ἰδοὺ δὲ τανὺν πλουτήσαντα ἀτελείας ἐπιληγμένοι.

ἐπάρχει may very well be right; but the corruption of the future is so common that ἐπάρξει as parallel to πλουτήσαντα is worth suggesting.

93 συνίθ' ὅν τρόπον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ Σόλων τοὺς νόμους ὡς καλῶς κελεύει τάμεναι.

Cobet brackets ὡς καλῶς: I would rather suggest that καὶ has been lost before ὡς, the symbols for these two words being often confused together in MSS. Wolf compares Aesch. 1. 20 ἢν εἰδῇθ' οἷων νόμων ἑμὲ καμίνων, ὡς καλῶν καὶ σωφρόνων, κ.τ.λ. That passage is however very different in that (1) the sense is complete before we come to the ὡς clause; (2) even the ὡς καλῶν could hardly stand without the addition of καὶ σωφρόνων.

123 μὴ τοῖνυν διὰ μὲν τοῦ τῶνδε κατηγορεῖν ὡς φαίλων ἐκείνους ἀφαιροῦ, δι' ἃ δ' αὖ καταλείπειν ἐκείνους φήσεις τοῦτο· ὁ μόνον λαβόντες ἔχουσι τοῦτ' ἀφέλῃ.

Sense and symmetry alike call for διὰ μὲν τό, not τοῦ.

157 αἰσχρός, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ κακῶς ἔχων ὁ νόμος καὶ ὅμοιος φθόνῳ τινί. αἰσχροῦς?

ΜΙΘΙΑΣ.

52 (oracle) στεφαναφορεῖν κατὰ πάτρια . . . ἰδίας δεξίας καὶ ἀριστερίας ἀνίσχοντας.

Is it possible that the unexplained ἰδίας (ἰθείας, ὀσίας, λετάς have been suggested) stands for λαΐας (ΙΔΙΑΣ for ΛΑΙΑΣ), λαΐας being a variant, and probably the original, of ἀριστερίας? It is of some significance that in *Macart.* 66 the same oracle is quoted and ἰδίας does not appear.

75 ἀκούω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔγωγε μᾶλλον μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ, καὶ ταῖτ' οὔτε κλαῖονσιν οὔτε δεσθύνοντα τῶν δικαστῶν οὐδενὸς οὔτε φιλονεικούντων οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ποιήσαντα.

It would be idiomatic (cf. e.g. 129) and much more elegant to substitute οὐδέ for the οἷτε before φιλόανθρωπον. οἷτε live times over, with the fourth and fifth subordinate to the third, is far from good.

78 τὰ δ' ἔργα πάντ' ἦν καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ τούτου.

Read certainly ἀπό for ὑπό, though I do not find it recorded as a variant or a conjecture. ὑπό is surely impossible with ἦν, on which the preposition must depend.

174 For τὰς πομπὰς ἡγήτο, which Cobet rightly I think condemns, ταῖς πομπαῖς (as the dative is often used, e.g. in the *Hipparchicus*) would be less change than his ἐποιοῖτο.

209 οὐκ ἂν εἰθέως εἴποιεν 'τὸν δὲ βάσκανον, τὸν δ' ὄλεθρον, τοῦτον δ' ὑβρίζειν, ἀναπνεῖν δέ; ὃν εἰ τις ἐὰ ζῆν, ἀγαπᾶν δεῖ' (or ἔδει).

It is somewhat surprising that scholars have acquiesced in this use of ἀναπνεῖν. Reiske indeed sought some other explanation and Wolf conjectured μέγα πνεῖν, but most scholars seem content to believe that, though everywhere else it means simply to *breathe*, or *recover breath* (cf. ἀναπνοή), here it has the sense of μέγα φρονεῖν and can be used even as a climax after ὑβρίζειν.¹ This is to me incredible and I venture to make the suggestion that follows, though not quite satisfied with it. ἀναπνεῖν must somehow go with the ζῆν following, for the two words mean really the same thing. Perhaps therefore Demosthenes wrote something like τοῦτον δ' ὑβρίζειν, ἀναπνεῖν (δὴ!) ὃν εἰ τις ἐὰ <καὶ> ζῆν, ἀγαπᾶν ἔδει. The place of ἀναπνεῖν will be due (1) to rhetorical emphasis, and perhaps (2) to desire of escaping the sequence of short syllables in ὃν ἀναπνεῖν or ὃν εἰ τις ἀναπνεῖν. But I would not urge this particular conjecture: I would only maintain that the words can hardly be right as they stand.

It does not seem clear that we are to take the accusatives τὸν δὲ βάσκανον, τὸν δ' ὄλεθρον, by themselves as exclamatory. Resumed in τοῦτον, they may be the subject of ὑβρίζειν. For the δέ cf. *Aristog.* A. 91. ἐπειδὴν οὖν τις...εἴπῃ 'τοῦτον δὲ ταῦτα ποιεῖν;'

220 ὅταν εἰς ὁ παθὼν μὴ λάβῃ δίκην.

Probably εἰς ὁ παθὼν <ὦν>. cf. on *I.L.* 12 above.

¹ Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, § 787, translates 'should be thus insulting, and should draw his breath,' meaning (I suppose) 'should be allowed to live.' But with ὃν εἰ τις ἐὰ ζῆν, ἀγαπᾶν ἔδει this is clumsy in the extreme.

ANDROTION.

28 πρὸς διαιτητὴν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ λαχεῖν καὶ γράφεσθαι χρεῖν.

Should we not read ἦ for καί, just as in 25 δεινοὺς καὶ ἰθρασεῖς is now read for ἦ?

35 εἰ δὲ τῷ τούτῳ ποιῆσαι πλείους ἢ μυρίου τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας βελτίους εἶναι προτρέψετε.

τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας has all the appearance of an anadiplosis added to explain πλείους ἢ μυρίου.

38 ἴσως ἀναβήσεται καὶ συνερῇ τῇ βουλῇ Φίλιππος...καὶ τινες ἄλλοι, οἵπερ ἐκεῖ δι' ἐαυτῶν εἶχον μετὰ τούτου τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τούτων τῶν κακῶν ἦσαν αἴτιοι.

'It is agreed' remarks Mr. Wayte 'that ἐκεῖ here = τότε, a sense of which I cannot find another undoubted example.' Rather than accept anything so unlikely I suggest that we read ἐπεὶ for ἐκεῖ. οἵπερ...ἦσαν αἴτιοι is the main predication and καί means also.

76. καὶ οὐδ' ἐκείν' εἶδεν, κ.τ.λ.

οἶδεν? as in the preceding section οὗτω σκαίος...ᾧστ' οὐκ οἶδεν ἐκείνο ὅτι κ.τ.λ. Cf. however *Aristocr.* 123 and 135.

ARISTOCRATES.

26 τὴν βουλὴν δικάζειν ἔγραψε καὶ οὐχ ἄπερ, ἂν ἀλῶ, παθεῖν εἶπεν.

S itself has ἀλῶ εἶναι: ἀλῶ παθεῖν εἶπεν is a marginal correction often adopted by the editors and probably right. They illustrate the construction by § 53 τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος ἐφ' οἷς ἐξεῖναι κτεῖναι, etc. No one however seems to have noticed that ἄπερ [is wrongly used. ὅς sometimes stands in an indirect question, such as εἶπεν ἂν δεῖ παθεῖν, but ὅσπερ is (I think) always relative, never in good Attic interrogative. (In late Greek ὅσπερ is thus misused, e.g. *Arrian Anab.* 1. 17. 6 σκοποῦντι...ὅπερ ἐπιτηδεύοντες χωρίον). Here, if right, it would have to be the indirect interrogative: a relative sense, the *very things which*, would be quite out of place. I would suggest that the περ be transferred to the ἂν which follows and read οὐχ ἂν, ἂν περ ἀλῶ, παθεῖν εἶπεν, unless the hiatus is thought to forbid this.

33 λυμαίνεσθαι δέ, φησί, μὴ, μὴ δὲ ἀποινᾶν ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; τὸ μὲν δὴ μὴ λυμαίνεσθαι γνώριμον οἶδ' ὅτι πᾶσι μὴ μαστιγοῦν, μὴ δεῖν, μὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν λέγει.

So this passage is usually printed, but the construction of γνώριμον οἶδ' ὅτι πᾶσι is

then awkward: *was ohne Zweifel allen verständlich ist* says Westermann, comparing εὖ οἷδ' ὅτι, which is not really similar. Rather put a stop after πάντων, ὅτι being understood: τὸ μὲν δὲ μὴ λ. γνώριμον οἷδ' ὅτι πάντων μὴ μαστιγοῦν κ.τ.λ.

50 ἄν τις τὴν πτῆτιν ἄ, φησὶν, ἄρχων χειρὶν ἀδικῶν, ὥς εἰ γ' ἡμίνατο οὐκ ἀδικεῖ. ἄν τις κακῶς ἀγορεύῃ, τὰ ψευδῆ προσέθηκεν, ὥς εἰ γε τάλιθ' προσήκον.

Surely the usage of ὥς and the parallel of προσήκον show that ἀδικεῖ ought to be ἀδικῶν or, if that is to be avoided after ἀδικῶν, ἀδικήσας, or ἀδικεῖν <δοκῶν>.

143 τοῦτο τοῦν ἐπ' ἐκείνων μὲν εὖ ποιοῦν οὐ συνέβη φενακισθεῖσιν ἑμὶν αἰσχύνῃν ὀφλεῖν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πέθισθε φυλάξεσθε.

τοῦτο is variously taken as nominative, explained by αἰσχύνῃν ὀφλεῖν, and as accusative after it on the analogy of τοῦτο ἡδομαι, &c. In εὖ ποιοῦν the editors seem to find no difficulty, comparing such passages as *Ol.* 1. 28 ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν εὖ ποιοῦντες ἔχουσι: *Lept.* 110 ἑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες . . ἄμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε: *Ar. Plut.* 863 καλῶς ποιοῦν ἀπόλλυται. But what can be said of persons cannot therefore always be said of things, and anyone who considers it carefully must see that, whatever the construction of τοῦτο, it is very extraordinary for εὖ ποιοῦν to be combined with it. I cannot myself doubt that it is a mistake for εὖ ποιοῦσιν, just as in *Plato Rep.* 434D it still seems to me probable that ἰόν represents ἰούσιν. There is no reason why it should not precede and be separated from the word it agrees with, as in 163 τὸν μὲν γὰρ Κότυν εὖ ποιοῦν ὄντα γ' ἐχθρόν ἑμῶν καὶ ποινῆν ἀποκτίνουσιν ὁ Πύθων.

145 πολλὰ γινώσκοντες ὀρθῶς ἑμεῖς οὐ διὰ τέλους αὐτοῖς χρήσθε. οἶον τί λέγω; εἰ τις ὑμᾶς ἔροιτο κ.τ.λ.

No precise parallel to οἶον τί λέγω is quoted, nor are the editors agreed how it should be explained. Perhaps Demosthenes wrote ποῖον τί λέγω; This use of ποῖος is very common in Plato, when a man is asked to explain himself.

TIMOCRATES.

41 ὅλος μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ἅπασιν ἐναντίος τοῖς οὖσι (νόμοις ὁ νόμος), μάλιστα δὲ τούτῳ.

Should not ὅλος be ὅλως? There is little or no point in ὅλος, for the idiom mentioned in *Rehdantz Index s.v.* seems not to apply; whereas ὅλως will go with ἅπασιν or contrast with μάλιστα.

53 εἰ τις ἐμὸν ἑμὸς ποτιπῶς μᾶλλον ἢ εἰς τοὺς ποτιπῶν ὅτιον, τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἢ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ποτιπῶν, αὐτὸ ὅτι φήσιν ἄν τοῖς ἐμοῖς τοῖς μὲν γὰρ χρηστῶν, τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνέτοις ἔργον ἔσται.

It is surprising that not merely Weyte but also Blass should adhere to ποτιπῶν, which is utterly inappropriate, and should not even mention Collet's convincing conjecture ἀναδῶν, a word that meets us again and again in Demosthenes' denunciations.

61 εἰ περὶ πάντων ἑμῶν ἐξουσίησιν περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιτήδειον ὅλος ἑμὶν εἶναι τὸν νόμον εἶναι.

Surely the second περὶ is an accidental repetition of the first. ἐξουσίησιν τινος is Greek; ἐξουσίησιν περὶ τινος is not.

105 If the Greek of the alleged νόμος is worth correcting, I would suggest that in ὅ τι ἂν τις ἀπολάβῃ, ἂν μὲν αὐτὸ λάβῃ we should read ἀπολάβῃ for αὐτὸ λάβῃ. We do not need αὐτό, and λάβῃ alone is in sufficient.

141 ἡγούμενος ἀβύσσον αὐτῷ εἶναι τὸν βίον τοῦτο παθόντι.

Insert ἂν before αὐτῷ or εἶναι. The meaning is that, *if* he lost his one eye, life *would not* be worth living.

171 The ἦθος of the city is not τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ὁμῶς μεταχαρίζεσθαι, κατακτεῖν αἱ τὰ ἀεί τι δύναισθαι δοκοῦντα. ὁ σὲ ποιεῖς, ὁ Τυρόκρατες: δι' ἃ πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἂν αἰσῶς μὴ ἐθελήσαντες ἀκούσαι σὸν θάνατον κατακτείνουσιν οὗτοι ἢ δι' Ἀλκιβιάδου ἀφίεσθαι.

As the sentence stands, μὴ with ἐθελήσαντες seems impossible. It could only be conditional and a conditional sense is inappropriate. In 'they would condemn you unheard,' there is no place for a condition and for μὴ. It would seem therefore that μὴ is probably due to the relative ἃ being generic, *such things as would make them*, in which case μὴ would be right. But we cannot give ἃ this sense without some change or addition, which it is impossible to specify with any certainty, e.g. <ἐπιτηδεύων> or <τοιαῦτα γὰρ πράττειν>: δι' ἃ. A very slight change, which may I think be right, would be to read οὐ σὲ ποιεῖς . . δι' ἃ as a question.

ARISTOGEITON A.

13 οὐ γὰρ ἡγούμενος ὅτι ὁ ποιεῖσας τι ποιοῦνται παρ' ἑμῶν καὶ παθὼν ἀπέχεται.

Reiske remarks on παθὼν subaudi a communi τι, and so Weil. But in this case

should we not have to understand τοιούτων too? π is so like π that it sometimes disappears before it, and it may have done so here. Cf. 95.

16 οἱ δὲ νόμοι τὸ δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.

Blass certainly seems right in demurring to νόμοι. I would only notice (1) that it is due to νόμος coming both before and afterwards and already occupying the writer's mind; (2) that therefore the original word need not resemble νόμοι, though very probably it was disyllabic (f. on Lept. 15 above). Blass suggests λοιποί or ἄλλοι, but πολλοί, χρηστοί, and many other words are about equally likely.

25 διαλογισάμενος ταῦθ' ἄπερ οὗτος, ὅτι ἔξεστι κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps ταῦθ' would be better, though not necessary.

31 μὴ γὰρ, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, τοσαύτη σπάνις ἀνδρῶν γένοιτο τῇ πόλει, ὥστε παρ' Ἀριστογέι-
τονος τῶν καλῶν τι ποιήσασθαι.

ποιήσασθαι is supposed to mean *procure* or *get done*, but ποιέσθαι παρά τινος cannot be Greek. Cobet conjectures πορίσασθαι, Naber αἰτήσασθαι. The latter seems to me the better in sense, but αἰτήσασθαι could hardly have got so changed. Perhaps for ποιήσασθαι, i.e. ποιήσασθαι, we should read δεήσασθαι, which comes very near. Cf. the necessary correction of ψήφισμα . . . μετανοῆσαι in *Aristog.* B. 17 to μεταποιῆσαι or μεταποῆσαι (*De Cor.* 121 νόμους μεταποιῶν).

57 τὴν τοιαύτ' ἐνεργήσασαν αὐτόν.

τοσαύτ' ? The mistake is not uncommon.

66 τίς ἐστιν ὁ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς γονέας εὐνοίαν ὀρῶν προδεδοκῶτα τοῦτον ἦν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον νῦν ἔχειν ὑπισχνέται πιστεύων.

There is no occasion for any large change like Cobet's ἦν . . . ὑποκρίνεται ἀληθῆ εἶναι πιστεύων, nor does Weil's ὑπισχνέται ἔχειν for ἔχειν ὑπισχνέται seem as likely as Reiske's simple and easy ἦ for ἦν. But the two present participles ὀρῶν and πιστεύων are awkward. Keeping the first, as it is, subordinate to the second, I would act on the very common confusion of futures with presents and read πιστεύσων. Had Demosthenes written ὀρῶν and πιστεύων, would he not have used μέν and δέ?

100 τί φήσετε; ἀρέσκειν τοῦτον ὑμῖν; καὶ τίς ὁ τοῦτο τολμήσων εἰπεῖν; τίς ὁ τῆς τούτου πονηρίας μετ' ἀρᾶς καὶ κακῆς δόξης κληρονομεῖν βουλευσάμενος; ἄλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀποψη-

φίσασθαι; οὐκοῦν καταράσεσθε τοῖς ἀπεψηφισμένοις τοῦτο τὸ πιστὸν ἕκαστος διδοὺς ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς οὕτως ἐστὶ.

It is difficult to make sense of ἄλλ' οὐκ . . . ἀποψηφίσασθαι, which Weil after Reiske prints as a statement (οὐκ = οὐ φήσετε you will deny) but prefers to omit, a somewhat desperate remedy when the words are not of an explanatory nature. There is slight authority for καταψηφίσασθαι, which perhaps may be regarded as a correction. I would suggest the loss of an οὐ (no infrequent event and here the easier because there is already one οὐ in the clause), reading ἄλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος <οὐκ> ἀποψηφίσασθαι; will not each of you say that he did not acquit? or the simple change ἄλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οὐκ ἀποψηφίσασθαι.

The οὗτος at the end may seem strange and possibly we should read τοιούτος. But I think it is right. In any case I take the word as referring not to τοῖς ἀπεψηφισμένοις (Reiske with Weil's concurrence makes it = ὁ ἀπεψηφισμένος, as though only one man had done the acquitting), but to τῆς τούτου πονηρίας κληρονομεῖν above.

ARISTOGEITON B.

4 διὸ καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας ὁ Σόλων τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις βραδείας ἐποίησε, ταῖς δ' ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς ταχείας, ὑπολαμβάνων τοῖς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸ δίκαιον λαβεῖν, τοῖς δ' οὐκ ἐνεῖναι περιμεῖναι.

τοῖς μὲν and τοῖς δέ are certainly difficult. Reiske read τοὺς δέ without touching the equal difficulty of τοῖς μὲν. Schäfer calls them *dativum incommodi*. Weil's note leaves it obscure how he really explains them. He says that the phrase is equivalent to παρ' ἐκείνων μὲν . . . λαβεῖν ἐνδέχεσθαι, and 'le démonstratif est construit avec ἐνδέχεσθαι, et plus bas avec ἐνεῖναι, au lieu d' être construit avec λαβεῖν et περιμεῖναι, adding παρὰ τὸν χρόνον est singulièrement dit. (Some at least of the earlier editors seem to think παρά means, or should be changed to, μετά.)

I think it is impossible that the words can mean anything but 'the one set of people may even be helped to justice by lapse of time, while the other cannot afford to wait,' and I should explain τοῖς μὲν and τοῖς δέ as referring by a certain brevity and confusion of expression, not to the ιδιώταις and ἀρχαῖς themselves, but to the persons who have had to do with them respectively and have been injured by them. τοῖς μὲν = people in the one case, τοῖς δέ people in the other. Such a reference is irregular but not, I think, im-

possible, though we should look for it usually in a more compressed style, such as that of Aristotle. *Anal. Post.* i. 24. 86a 12 for instance illustrates it: ὁ δὲ τὴν καθόλου (ἀποδείξιν) ἔχων οἶδε καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος· οὗτος δὲ τὸ καθόλου οὐκ οἶδεν, where οἶτος means the man who has to do with (in this case the man who knows) τὸ κατὰ μέρος, and does not refer to τὸ κατὰ μέρος itself. The meaning

of παρὰ τὸν χρόνον is that time may bring facts to light, calm angry feelings, &c.

16 Should ὅρ be added to help the construction of παροπτεύει? I should incline to αὐτὸν <ὅρ>.

23 Should οὕτως be ὁσπερ after παροπτεύει? ὅς τε ὁπῶς?

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ARISTOTLE *ETHICS* I. 6.

THE passage in *Eth. Nic.* A 6 which mentions τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον presents a well-known difficulty in interpretation because of its seeming contradiction to a passage in *Met.* M 6. The texts are these:—

E.N. A 6. 1096^a 17 οἱ δὲ κομίσαντες τὴν δόξαν ταύτην οὐκ ἐποιοῦν ἰδέας ἐν οἷς τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον ἔλεγον, διόπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἰδέαν κατεσκεύαζον.

Met. M 6. 1080^b 11 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους φασὶν εἶναι τοὺς ἀριθμούς. τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον τὰς ἰδέας, τὸν δὲ μαθηματικὸν παρὰ τὰς ἰδέας καὶ τὰ αἰσθητά, καὶ χωριστοὺς ἀμφοτέρους τῶν αἰσθητῶν.

Various methods of reconciling these statements have been suggested, as may be seen in the full discussions of Zeller and Susemihl. Now that Bonitz and others have clearly proved that the 'Before and After' was a technical term in the Ideal arithmetic to indicate the relation of the factor (τὸ γινώμενον) to the product (τὸ γινώμενον), the *metaphysics* passage by itself is quite explicable and does not require emendation, as Trendelenburg supposed. The difficulty lies rather in the *Ethics*. Three methods of solution have been proposed: (1) Trendelenburg and Brandis hold that the sense of τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον in *E.N.* A is different from that in *Met.* M, viz., *numerical*, not *notional*, order. (2) Susemihl and Bonitz (on *Met.* B 3) hold that the sense of the phrase in *E.N.* is wider and less definite than in *Met.* M. (3) Zeller maintains that the sense is the same in both passages, viz. to denote Ideal, logical sequence. The only important discussion of the point by an English scholar is, so far as I know, that by Mr. Stewart ('*Ethics*' *ad loc.*). He sides against Zeller. 'I agree with Bonitz and Schwegler that the μαθηματικοὶ ἀριθμοὶ are intended in *Met.* B 3. 999^a 6. If so the presumption is strong that they are intended in *E.E.* i. 8. 1218^a 1, and if in the

latter passage then in *E.N.* i. 6. 2.' And as to the use of the term in *Met.* M 6, he remarks: 'When the διηγητικοὶ ἀριθμοὶ equally with the μαθηματικοὶ ἀρ. are described as involving πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον (*Met.* M 6. 1080^b 12) the description is to be taken as one awkwardly transferred from the ἀριθμητικοὶ ἀριθμοὶ, which are not independent entities, to entities which, though called ἀριθμοὶ, are yet regarded as independent of one another.' Burnet (*ad loc.*) also appears to agree with the view that it is the 'priority and posteriority' of numerical series which is meant. To this interpretation I cannot assent. I have no doubt that Zeller is right in interpreting the phrase in all these places as belonging to the Ideal arithmetic and denoting the γέννησις of Ideal Numbers. The *Ethics* passage, as Stewart and others have observed, cannot be dissociated from that in *Met.* B 999^a 1 ff. Into the discussion of the latter passage I cannot here enter; but my belief is that, rightly interpreted, it proves τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον to refer to logical (κατ' αἶδος) production and sequence. The view there stated is, as I understand it, that so long as the process (γέννησις) which involves πρ. κ. ὕστερον is going on we have not yet arrived at an αἶδος proper: this we do only when that process comes to its term in ἀριθμῶν τι. Ἀριθμός, e.g., is divisible into a variety of αἶδη, and hence does not constitute in itself an ἰδέα.

Accordingly the sense of our passage, *E.N.* A 6, will be: 'The Idealists did not view the higher (logically soluble) *genera* as Ideas, wherefore they formed no (single, generic) Idea of the numbers' (i.e. of the αἶδη-ἀριθμοί). This is similar in effect to Zeller's explanation, but he appears to construe the argument in *Met.* B somewhat differently.

R. G. BURY.

THE NEW RHETORICAL FRAGMENT (OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, PART III, Pp. 27-30) IN RELATION TO THE SICILIAN RHETORIC OF CORAX AND TISIAS.

THE rhetorical fragment in question shows some interesting points of contact with the Sicilian Rhetoric of Corax and Tisias. For this early rhetoric three principal authorities are:—

(1) Cic. *Brut.* 46: 'itaque ait Aristoteles, cum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis res privatae longo intervallo iudiciis repeterentur, tum primum, quod esset acuta illa gens et controversiae nata, artem et praecepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse: nam antea neminem solitum via nec arte, sed accurate tamen et de scripto plerosque dicere.' There can hardly be a doubt that Cicero is here translating from Aristotle's lost *συναγωγή τεχνῶν*, which described and summarised the various Greek systems of rhetoric. And the words *accurate* and *de scripto* correspond closely to the words ἀκριβῶς and γεγραμμέναις as found at the beginning of the new fragment, which opens thus in Grenfell and Hunt's text: καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὸ ἀξιῶσιν. καὶ αἱ κ' ἐν ταῖς λέξει ταῖς <κατ'> ἀρχαῖς τὰν ἐφόδων καὶ μὴ γεγραμμέναις δοκῇ χρῆσθαι[τις] ἀλλὰ ἰδιωτικαῖς [κα]ὶ μηδὲν ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἰ> [δ]ὲ ὡς ἄλλ' ὡς οἰομε[ν]ος καὶ ἀκακοῦς λέγειν ἢ τῶν δικαστῆ[ρ]ων ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν. It may be noted in passing that this parallel, if accepted, confirms the manuscript reading *de scripto* in the 'Brutus' as against the conjectural emendations *descripte* and *discripte*.

(2) *Prolegomena in Hermogenem* (Walz, *Rhet. Gr.* iv. 12): εἰσελθὼν οὖν [sc. οὗτος ὁ Κόραξ] ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν ἣ ὁ πᾶς συνηθροίσθη δῆμος, ἤρξατο λόγοις πρότερον θεραπευτικοῖς καὶ κολαευτικοῖς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ θορυβῶδες καταπραῖναι τοῦ δήμου, ἅτινα καὶ προοίμια ἐκάλεσε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ καταπραῖναι καὶ κατασιγᾶσαι τὸν δῆμον ἤρξατο περὶ ὧν εἶδει συμβουλεύειν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λέγειν ὡς ἐν διηγῇσι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνακεφαλαιοῦσθαι καὶ ἀναμνησκεῖν ἐν συντόμῳ περὶ τῶν φθασάντων καὶ ὑπ' ὧν ἄγειν τὰ λεχθέντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἅπερ ἐκάλεσε προοίμιον, διγῇσιν, ἀγῶνας, παρέκβασιν, ἐπίλογον· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμχανᾶτο τὸν δῆμον πείθειν καθάπερ ἓνα ἄνθρωπον. With the aims and methods of Corax as thus defined Grenfell and Hunt's fragment is in close agreement, and (short as it is) it contains the technical terms *προοίμιον* and *διγῇσις*. It inculcates the importance of producing an impression of

fairness (ἐπιείκεια), and of masking one's art by means of a judicious εἰρωνεία. It presents the characteristics which Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* assigns to the earlier rhetoricians generally. In the excerpt from the *Prolegg. in Hermog.*, Corax alone is mentioned. Tisias' name, however, occurs immediately afterwards in the same passage; and in general it may be said that the Greek and Latin authorities on the history of rhetoric usually couple the two names together, referring to 'Corax and Tisias,' or to 'Tisias and Corax,' or to 'the School of Tisias and Corax.'

(3) Aristot. *Soph. El.* 183 B: ταύτης δ' εὐρημένους [sc. τῆς ἀρχῆς] ῥᾶν τὸ προστιθέναι καὶ συναυξάνειν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστιν ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς λόγους συμβέβηκε, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐρόντες παντελῶς ἐπὶ μικρὸν τι προήγαγον. οἱ δὲ νῦν εὐδοκιμοῦντες παραλαβόντες παρὰ πολλῶν οἷον ἐκ διαδοχῆς κατὰ μέρος προαγαγόντων οὕτως ἠξήκασιν, Τισίας μὲν μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους, Θρασύμαχος δὲ μετὰ Τισίαν, Θεόδωρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον, καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ συνεννόησαν μέρη· διόπερ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἔχειν τι πλήθος τὴν τέχνην. ταύτης δὲ τῆς πραγματείας οὐ τὸ μὲν ἦν τὸ δ' οὐκ ἦν προεξεργασμένον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν παντελῶς ὑπῆρχεν. καὶ γὰρ τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἐριστικοὺς λόγους μισθαρνόντων ὁμοία τις ἦν ἡ παιδείσις τῇ Γοργίου πραγματείᾳ. λόγους γὰρ οἱ μὲν ῥητορικοὺς οἱ δὲ ἐρωτητικοὺς εἰδίδουσιν ἐκμανθάνειν, εἰς οὓς πλειστάκις ἐμπίπτειν ψήθησαν ἑκάτεροι τοὺς ἀλλήλων λόγους.

The last of the three passages seems to suggest that, in regard to the development of the art of rhetoric by means of written treatises, Tisias played a more important part than his fellow-Sicilians such as Empedocles, Corax, Gorgias, and others doubtless whose names are now no longer known. He would appear to have improved and enlarged the τέχνη of Corax, which dealt mainly, if not exclusively, with the topic of probability (Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 24, 11). Reference is made to the τέχνη of Tisias and Corax in the *Phaedrus* 273 c: φεῦ, δεινῶς γ' ἔοικεν ἀποκεκρυμμένην τέχνην ἀνευρεῖν ὁ Τισίας ἢ ἄλλος ὅστις δὴ ποτ' ὦν τυγχάνει καὶ ὑπόθεν χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος. Gorgias, impressive personality and great influence in literary prose though he was, cannot be shown on satisfactory evidence

to have written any formal τέχνη. His method rather was that indicated by Aristotle in the *Soph. El.* (l.c.). Alcidas, a pupil of Gorgias, gives us the right point of view: οἱ γὰρ εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια τοὺς λόγους γράφοντες φεύγουσι τὰς ἀκριβείας καὶ μιμῶνται τὰς τῶν αὐτοσχεδιαζόντων ἐρμηνείας, καὶ τότε κάλλιστα γράφειν δοκοῦσιν, ὅταν ἦκιστα γεγραμμένοις ὁμοίους πορίσωνται λόγους¹ (*Alc. Soph.* 13). With these words should be compared and contrasted Dionys. Hal. *de Imitat.* ii. 8. Γοργίας μὲν τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐρμηνείαν μετῄνεγκεν εἰς λόγους πολιτικούς, οὐκ ἀξιών ὁμοίον τὸν ῥήτορα τοῖς ιδιώταις εἶναι. The aim of forensic oratory is to hide its art. In the law-courts it is impressive to dissemble, rather than to proclaim, one's preparation; or as the latter portion of the fragment has it, οἷον γὰρ μὴ ἐπιβε[βωλενῆμιν ἀλλ' αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὸ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι σχεδ[όν] δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ εἰρ[ω]ν[ι]κόν μεγαλ[ο]σπε[ς]. Tisias' τέχνη had in view the requirements of the law-courts, and it seems probable that the present fragment should be referred to his school (cp. Walz *Rhet. Gr.* iv. 19 οἱ περὶ Τισίαν καὶ Κόρακα ὀρίζονται αὐτὴν οὕτως: 'Ρητορική ἐστι πειθοῦς δημιουργός'). No doubt the τέχνη of Tisias was often revised and enlarged. We know from the *Phaedrus* how popular it was (ἀλλὰ μὲν τὸν γε Τισίαν αὐτὸν πεπάτηκας ἀκριβῶς, *Phaedr.* 273 A). According to Pausanias (vi. 17, 8), Tisias came to Athens along with Gorgias in the year 427 B.C. Probably he was there ten years later, since Dionysius (*de Isocr.* c. 1) describes Isocrates, who was born in 436 B.C., as ἀκουστής . . . Τισίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου. Tisias also was a pupil of Tisias, but at an earlier date than Isocrates and at Thuri. Like his master, Tisias practised the plain style, which he brought to a high state of perfection (ἐτελείωσε δ' αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ἤγαγε τῆς ιδίας ἀρετῆς, Dionys. Hal. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 2). In the extract given above from the *Prolegg. in Hermog.* it will be noticed that one of the excellences attributed to Corax is the power ὑπ' ὅψιν ἄγειν

τὰ λεχθέντα τῷ ὅμῳ, which quality is no other than the ἐνάργεια elsewhere ascribed to Lysias (D. H. *de Lysia*, c. 7 ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐνάργειαν πολλὴν ἢ Λυσίου λέξας αὐτὴν δ' ἐστὶ δυνάμεις τις ἐπὶ τὰς ἀντιθέτας ἀρτυρεῖται τὰ λεγόμενα, γίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν παρακλήσεων θούριον λήψεως).

From Dionys. Hal. (*de Isocr.* c. 2, *de Lysia* c. 15) we find that ἐξοδαί (Lat. *insinuationes*; a variety of the προοίμιον) were used by Isaeus but not by Lysias. This does not necessarily imply that Isaeus invented the term; it may have been invented by Corax or Tisias, the former of whom we know to have used κατὰστωρις as an equivalent for προοίμιον (*Rhet. Gr.* iv. 575 γνωστὸν δὲ ὅτι καὶ Κόραξ ὁ τεχνογράφος τῷ τῆς κατὰστωρις ὀνόματι κέχρηται, προοίμια τοῦ λόγου τὴν κατὰστωριν καλῶν). The early treatises were probably richer in technical terms and nice distinctions than is commonly supposed. We are too apt to think that technical expressions found in late writers such as Dionysius are late formations. Many stray indications tend to show that terms of this character filled the air at the time of the Peloponnesian War. Even in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (v. 932) I would suggest, unlikely as it may at first sight seem, that a rhetorical term is employed in its technical sense. The term is εὐέπεια, and the context is as follows:—

- ΑΓ. ἀλλ' ὀλβία τε καὶ ξὺν ὀλβίῳις ἀεὶ
γένοιτ', ἐκείνῳ γ' οὔσα παντελὴς ὁμήρ.
ΙΟ. αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ σὺ γ', ὃ ξέρ' ἀξίως γὰρ εἰ
τῆς εὐτελείας οὔρεκ'. ἀλλὰ φράζ' ὅταν
χρήζων ἀφίξαι χῶ τι σημῆναι θέλων.
Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 929.

Sir Richard Jebb (in agreement with Stephanus and later dictionaries) translates τῆς εὐτελείας οὔρεκ' by 'tis the due of thy fair greeting,' and in his note says 'εὐτελείας, gracious words, = εὐφρημίας, in this sense only here: elsewhere = elegance of diction: Isocrates τὴν εὐέπειαν ἐκ παντὸς δίδωκε καὶ τοῖ γλαφυρῶς λέγειν στοχάζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖ ἀφελῶς (*Dionys. Isocr.* 538).' The fact rather is that Jocasta (or the poet through her) congratulates the messenger on his εὐέπεια in its strict rhetorical sense of 'elegant diction.'² The messenger has successfully employed the figure ἀναδιπλώσεως (Lat., 'conduplicatio'; Elizabethan English, 'the Redouble': cp. the juxtaposition of

¹ The words ἀκριβείας, αὐτοσχεδιαζόντων, ἐρμηνείας, γεγραμμένοις may be compared with ἀκριβῶς, αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, λέξει, γεγραμμέναις in the fragment. αὐτοσχεδιάζειν occurs near the end of the fragment, and if (as Grenfell and Hunt suggest) something has fallen out before καὶ μὴ γεγραμμέναις towards the beginning, the lost word may be αὐτοσχεδιαστικάις. Or might we not expect the whole of the first sentence to run somewhat as follows: καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὴν ἀξιόσπουτον καὶ ἀκρεῖαν ταῖς λέξεσι κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν ἐφοδῶν μὴ γεγραμμέναις δοκίμης χρῆσθαι ἀλλὰ ιδιωτικάις καὶ (?κῆν) μηδὲν ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς ἀλλ' ὡς οἰόμενος καὶ ἀκακῶς λέγεις ἢ τῶν δικαστῆρων ἢ ἄλλων τινῶν?

² For anachronisms in Attic Tragic reference may be made to Jebb's notes on Soph. *El.* 48, 791, and *Oed. Col.* 66, 695.—The occurrence in it of the rhetorical term εὐέπεια may perhaps be added to the arguments for assigning a comparatively late date to the *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

διπλασιολογία and εὔεπεια in Plat. *Phaedr.* 267 c) in the words δαβία . . . δαβίαις. There is some gentle irony in Jocasta's gracious reply, and after paying her compliment to his neatly-turned phrase she quickly brings the man to the point. As Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 2, 3) remarks, εἰ δοῦλος καλλιπεῖτο ἢ λίαν νέος, ἀπρεπέστερον. Such figures would more fittingly be found in the mouth of ὁ καλλιπής Ἀγάθων (Aristoph. *Thesm.* 49), whose lavish use of ἀναδίπλωσις is attested alike by his own fragments and by Aristophanes' parodies.—Another dramatic passage to which the correct interpretation of a rhetorical term gives an added force is Aristoph. *Ach.* 633, 634:—

φησὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιος ὑμῖν ὁ
ποιητής,
παύσας ὑμᾶς ξενικοῖσι λόγοις μὴ λίαν ἐξαπα-
τᾶσθαι.

By ξενικοῖσι λόγοις are meant, as the Scholiast says, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων πρέσβων λεγομένοις. That is to say, the reference is to the embassy of Gorgias to Athens (427 B.C.), two years before the *Acharnians* was produced. But the adjective ξενικός is seen to be still more appropriate, when we think of its rhetorical use as in Aristotle. *Rhet.* iii. 2, 8 καὶ τὸ σαφές καὶ τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχει μάλιστα ἡ μεταφορά, or of what Diodorus (himself of Sicily) says of Gorgias on this occasion: τῷ ξενίζοντι τῆς λέξεως ἐξέπληξε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄντας εὐφρεῖς καὶ φιλόλογους (Diod. Sic. xii. 53). The effect of the words ξενικοῖσι λόγοις in Aristophanes is much as if, soon after the visit of some eloquent French deputies to the British Parliament, we were to speak of 'the distinguished style of our visitors.'

In the fragment itself the terms μεγαλοπρεπής (also μικροπρεπής) and ἀδέως occur, but not (I think) in the full rhetorical sense (as epithets of style itself) deprecated by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* iii. 12, 6 τὸ δὲ προσδιαρεῖσθαι τὴν λέξιν, ὅτι ἡδεῖαν δεῖ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ, περιέρχον. τί γὰρ μάλλον ἢ σῶφρονα καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη ἥθους ἀρετή; Verbal μεγαλοπρέπεια would more naturally be attributed to the epideictic than to the forensic style,—to Lysias in his earlier than to Lysias in his later manner,—to Gorgias than to Tisias. The sense borne by μεγαλοπρέπεια in the new fragment seems to be ethical rather than literary. It means not 'heightened speech' (the 'supra modum se tollens oratio' of Quintil. iv. 2, 61; the μεγαλοπρέπεια of Demetr. *de Elocutione*) so much as impressiveness of personal character: cp. ἐν δὲ [ταῖς] διαγρήσει τῶν πραγμάτων

ὥστε βέλτε[ον] καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέ[στε]ρον τὸ ἥθος φαί[νεται]θαί τὰδε χρήσιμα, and καὶ γὰρ μικκ[ο]π[ρ]επὲς τὸ τοιοῦ[τον] κ[α]ὶ ἀκολάστω ἥθεος: τὸ δὲ φεῖγειν τὰς αἰσχρολογίας μεγ[αλ]οπρεπὲς καὶ κόσμος λόγῳ.

The illustrative quotations from the *Ilia* contained in the fragment are of the kind that were, or became later, stock examples in the schools. That from *Il.* ix. 388 ff. is found in Aristotle. *Rhet.* iii. 11, while that from *Il.* iv. 443 occurs in Demetr. *de Eloc.* § 124 and in Longinus *de Subl.* ix. 4. It seems highly probable that the earliest handbooks of rhetoric drew many illustrations from Homer, since his poems were supposed to be a treasure-house of rhetorical (as of other) wisdom. Cp. Diog. Laert. viii. 57, as to Empedocles: Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ Σοφιστῇ φησὶ πρῶτον Ἐμπεδοκλέα ῥητορικὴν εὐρεῖν, Ζήνωνα δὲ διαλεκτικὴν. ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν φησὶν ὅτι καὶ Ὀμηρικὸς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν φράσιν γέγονε, μεταφορικὸς τ' ὢν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς περὶ ποιητικὴν ἐπιτεύμασι χρώμενος. Possibly it is from the earlier, or later, Sicilian rhetors that the author of the *De Elocutione* derives not only some of his Homeric illustrations but also his references to Phalaris (§§ 237, 292), Gelo (§ 292), Hiero (§ 292), and even to Dion (§ 234) and Dionysius the Younger (§§ 8, 9, etc.). There can be no doubt that these later treatises preserve much of the best teaching of an earlier time and serve to remind us that Western Hellas was the cradle of rhetoric.

The fragment contains another poetical quotation which is of a slightly different character, and helps to fix an upper limit for the date of composition. The context in which it occurs is: τοὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὼς ὁμοίως ἀποδέχονται ᾧ δὴ καὶ τῆνο ἐ[λ]ρητ[αι]. 'οὐ πώποτ' ἡ[ρώ]τῃσα, γινώσκων [ὅτι τοι]οῦτός ἐστιν [οἷσπερ] ἡδεται ξυνῶν.' The lines in question are from the *Phoenix* of Euripides:—

ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἡδεται κακοῖς ἀνῆρ
οὐ πώποτ' ἡρώτῃσα, γινώσκων ὅτι
τοιούτος ἐστιν οἷσπερ ἡδεται ξυνών.

The *Phoenix* must have been produced before the *Acharnians* (425 B.C.), since allusion is made to it in line 421 of the latter play. This quotation, therefore, is not inconsistent even with Tisias' own authorship, and there is no reason to suppose that Euripides was not quoted by the early rhetoricians as well as by Aristophanes and the Attic Orators. It will be remembered further that the Syracusans were particularly fond of the poetry of Euripides. The fragment also contains (immediately after the quotations

from the *Iliad*) a reference to Sophocles, and probably some example taken from his plays has fallen out at this point,—some parallel hyperbole to Homer's

οὐρανῷ ἐστῆριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.

which immediately precedes. In extant rhetoricians, quotations from Sophocles are much rarer than those from the more rhetorical Euripides. The lines of the *Phoenix* are often quoted by late rhetoricians, who may have found them in some early manual such as that of Tisias.

On the whole we may feel entitled to conclude that the new fragment has been considerably influenced by Tisias' *τέχνη*, whatever its exact relation to that may be. Hence, among other things, the use of the Doric dialect: *δαρίσδεν ὁ ἔξεστι δοκῶ τοῖς*

δαρίσσει. The dialect is, indeed, of a decidedly mixed character in the text as we have it, which exhibits such forms as *ἀνγρήσει*, *πρότωρ*, *φείγειν*, and *δαρίσσει*, side by side with distinctively Doric forms. This fact, and the fact that no attempt is made to give the quotations in Doric, may possibly suggest an Attic adaptation of a Doric work, since we hear elsewhere of works current both in Doric and in Attic. Or we may be disposed to conjecture, doubtfully, that we have before us a fragment of that part of Aristotle's *ἀναγογὴ τέχνης* which dealt with the production of Tisias and his school. Whether Aristotle, however, preserved the original Doric dialect in these cases, we have (so far as I am aware) no evidence to show.

W. RHYE ROBERTS.

EMENDATIONS OF JULIAN MISOPHONION.

341 C. ἐθάλπετο δὲ τὸ δομώτιον οὐδ' αὖτως, οὐπὲρ ἐκάθενδον. ὅνπερ εἰώθει τρόπον ὑπὸ ταῖς καμίνοις τὰ πολλὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐκεῖ θερμαίνεσθαι.

The use of *ὑπό* with the instrumental dative may be paralleled in Julian, but is displeasing; and the article is meaningless. Read then *ὑποστέγοις καμίνοις*. For *εἰώθει* one would rather have expected *εἴωθε*, but the tense may have been attracted to that of *ἐθάλπετο* by the author himself.

349 A. αὐτῷ γιν. καὶ ἐμαντοῦ τὴν σκαώτητα καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὴν δυσκολίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως μαλάττεσθαι μηδὲ [ἐν] τοῖς δεομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἐξαπατῶσι τὰ ἐμαντοῦ ποιεῖσθαι μηδὲ ταῖς βουαῖς εἶκιν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα στέργῳ δνειδῶ.

καὶ ἐμαντοῦ Hertlein, καὶ ἐμαντῷ MSS. [ἐν] is omitted by many MSS. and Cobet altered it to *ἐπί*, but if we take *μαλάττεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δεομένοις* together, then *ἢ* should be *μηδέ*. The mischief lies in *ποιεῖσθαι*, for which, omitting *ἐν*, we must read *προεῖσθαι* (not *προέσθαι* by reason of the other present tenses). 'I accept all reproaches on the score of the difficulty I find in giving way and in sacrificing my own wishes to those who either ask me straightforwardly or try to deceive me.'

That the last words also do not stand as Julian wrote them is clear from the staring hiatus of *στέργῳ δνειδῶ* and the fact that V and other MSS. omit *καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα* while some others read *τὰ δνειδῶ*.

350 D. οὐ κρείττον ἦν ὁμασίαι μύσαι, τὴν ἀγορὴν βαδίζοντός μου καὶ παύσις ἡρώτων καλοῦς, εἰς οἷς ἀποβλέουσιν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ 'χοροὶς γυναικῶν' ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν ὄντα καὶ ἐκαστὴν ἡμέραν; ἐμὲ δὲ ἔγγον βλάστη μίπτουντα' πανταχοῦ τὰ ἄρματα [κατόπιστα], ὅπως ἔμιν καλὸς, οὐτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἀφθεῖν, [ὁ τρόπος οὐ συγχωρεῖ].

I have put in quotation marks the words which I think are quotations from some poet. I follow Hertlein in ejecting the last four words, which are absent from some good MSS., and in reading *μου* for *μου* and *παρ' ἡμῶν* for *παρ' ἡμῶν*. That these four words must go is obvious from the mood of *ἀφθεῖν*, which is right if it depends on *κρείττον ἦν*, wrong if on *συγχωρεῖ*.

Who then is the poet here quoted, and what of the word *κατόπιστα*? This *κατόπιστα* is added by the same MSS., which omit *ὁμασίαι*, *οὐ συγχωρεῖ*, and, though it by no means follows that they are superior to the others in both places because they certainly are in one of the two, still there is a presumption in their favour. Besides where should they have got *κατόπιστα* while it is easy enough to tell why the last four words should be added by somebody not seeing the construction. I will be bold enough to suggest that *κατόπιστα* is the mutilated remnant of *κατ' ἑπιπέδιον*.

Similarly in the sixtieth epistle 447 n I suspect the meaningless words *ὡς φῶς* of being a relic of *φῶς Σοφοκλέους*.

Julian continues *ἔστι γάρ, ὡς ἐμαῖς κρύπτει*,

ψυχῆς ἀληθινὸν κάλλος ὑγρότης βίου. This phrase ὑγρότης βίου is ridiculed by Crobylus as a neologism, and may well have been invented by Euripides.

353 B. Εἴην ἄλλα τί παθὼν αὐτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖς ἀκροῦσθαι περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων καὶ δικάζειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτό σε ὁ παιδαγωγὸς ἐδίδασκεν, ὃς οὐδ' εἰ ἄρξεις ἡπίστατο. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνέπεισε γέρων . . .

MSS. are divided between τί παθὼν and τί μαθὼν, nor is it easy to choose between them. But it seems probable that μαθὼν is here preferable, if you consider the play upon τί μαθὼν and ἐδίδασκεν. Julian is not in the habit of expanding τί by the addition of either one participle or the other, and if he does it here it is for the sake of a mild jest.

After the question put by an imaginary opponent, it is intolerable to proceed with δεινὸς δὲ ἀνέπεισεν as the answer. A few MSS. omit δέ, and either we must follow them or read δῆ.

356 D. ἄτοποί τε ἂν εἴημεν ἡμεῖς . . .

'You are a free people indeed; *it would be strange conduct* for me to object when the gods suffer you.' Julian does not use τε in such connexions; read ἄτοποί γε.

361 C. τὸ πῦρ ἐνείσαν ἐκείνο, τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδημοῖσι τῶν ξένων φρικῶδες, ἑμῶν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μὲν ἡδονὴν προσχόν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἀμεληθέν καὶ εἰσέτι ἀμελούμενον.

ἐνείσαν Hertlein, ἔδειξαν MSS. ἡδονὴν προέχαι could only, I conceive, mean 'to promise pleasure'; now the sense here required is *giving* pleasure, παρασχόν.

365 A. οὐδ' ἐπέισαμεν τὸν δῆμον εἰς παρασκευὰς δείπνων ἢ θεάτρων. πείθειν τινὰ εἰς δείπνον is an incredible expression; read ἐκαλέσαμεν. There is some reason for thinking that ἐπέισαμεν may be corrupt apart from the sense, as V leaves a gap between οὐδ' and τὸν δῆμον, but such gaps are common in that MS.

366 C. ἡ τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν τι χαλεπὸν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀπασχόμην, τοῦ λέγειν δὲ ὑμᾶς κακῶς οὐκ ἀπασχόμην, ἵνα με καὶ ὑμεῖς [ἐξεβιάσθητε] διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰόντες ἀμύνησθε;

'But it may be that while not committing any overt act against you I yet did not refrain from reviling you, so that you were compelled to repay upon me in the same coin,' i.e. in those lampoons wherewith the flies of Antioch so galled the sensitive

philosopher. ἐξεβιάσθητε is absent from V and two other MSS. Reiske observes: 'Sententia postulat ὅθεν unde. ἐξεβιάσθητε bene habet; sed ἀμύνησθε cum ἀμύνασθαι est mutandum.' He is right in proposing to read ἐξεβιάσθητε ἀμύνασθαι, but wrong in meddling with ἵνα. For τοῦ λέγειν οὐκ ἀπασχόμην ἵνα ἐξεβιάσθητε is an instance of ἵνα with indicative after an unfulfilled condition, if condition it can be called. It is certainly no stranger than Plato *Theaet.* 161 c τεθαύμακα, ὅτι οὐκ εἶπεν . . . ἵνα ἡρξάτο.

369 B. εἰ δὲ τοσαῦτα μέτρα θέρουσ ἦν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦ νομίσματος, τί προσδοκᾷν ἔδει τῇ καὶτᾷ ἡνίκα, φησὶν ὁ Βουώτιος ποιητής, χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι τὸν λιμὸν ἐπὶ δώματι;

Such is the vulgate, wherein Reiske explains ἐπὶ δώματι to mean the time of year when you sit at home because of the cold and can't go out to get food! This beautiful interpretation commends itself the better that the best MS. (V) reads ἐπὶ τῷ δράγματι, and others ἐπὶ τῷ δράχματι, ἐπὶ δράγματι and ἐπὶ δράματι.

Bergk supposes Hesiod to have ended a line with χαλεπὸς δ' ἐπὶ δράγματι λιμός. The meaning of this is no better. ἐπὶ δράγματι ῥῖγος might mean 'shivering over a handful of corn' and would suit the context, but ἐπὶ δράγματι λιμός can only mean 'hunger with but a handful of corn to satisfy it,' and though that may be some sense in itself, it does not bring out that sense which Julian's antithesis imperatively demands: 'If that was the price of corn in the summer, what can you expect *in the winter*?'

If we consider the letters of τωδράγματι together with the sense we want, we seem irresistibly driven to ῥιγώματι. ῥιγώματι might become e.g. ωριγματι, then τω ριγματι, and then be patched to τῷ δράγματι, preserved by V and corrupted further in other MSS.

But then ῥιγώμα occurs neither in Hesiod nor anywhere else; no more does πείνημα or δίψημα. Yet these forms in -ωμα were widely extended at an early date; already in Aeschylus we find πέπλωμα, and in Empedocles κρούνωμα, τράνωμα and the like. On the whole with much doubt I incline to believe that the original ran

χαλεπὸς δὲ ἐπὶ ῥιγώματι λιμός.

And that very possibly the line is really later than Hesiod.

ARTHUR PLATT.

VERBALS IN -τος.

In his review of Adam's *Texts of Greek Philosophy* (xvii *Class. Rev.* p. 464) Mr. R. D. Hicks refers to the 'active use of verbals in -τος.' Among other lexicographical notes upon Lucian, compiled during the last few years I find one on ἐκπληκτος, which runs as follows: 'ἐκπληκτος, or, *terror-stricken*, *amazed*, Lat. *percussus*, Luc. *Hermot.* 18;—Adv. -τως, Ael. N.A. 3. 22. 11. *astounding*, Orph. H. 38. 10' (L. Sc.). No other instance is cited in support of this meaning, and though R. (*i.e.* the Latin version of Hemst. and Gesner in the variorum edition of Reitz, 1743) agrees, translating it *attonitus*, I do not see that it gives a satisfactory sense. Hermotimus is explaining his preference for the Stoics, attributing it, *inter alia*, to the fact that he saw in the Stoic οὐδὲν ἄβρὸν οὐδ' αὖ πᾶν ἐς τὸ ἀδιόφορον ὑπερεκπίπτον, ὡς ἐκπληκτον εἶναι καὶ κινικὸν ἀτεχνῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου καταστήματος, *i.e.* the Stoic preserves the golden mean between the Epicurean and the Cynic. Now the latter was the last person in the world to be 'terror-stricken, or, amazed,' *percussus*, or, *attonitus*, so we must look for another meaning. The only other instance of the word quoted

by L. Sc. is Orph. H. 38. 10 (39. 10 Ed. Tauchn. 1829), and they translate it *astounding*. The line runs, τῶς δαυταίας ψυχῆς ἐκπληκτον ἀνδραγῆς, and a better translation would be *frightening*, *scaring*. Now Lucian has much to say of the roughness and violence of philosophers, and of their readiness to settle a dispute by the *argumentum baculinum* (πρόχαρον τὸ ξίφος, *Fugit* 15). More especially we may refer to the proceedings of the Cynic Alcidas at the feast described in the *Symposium*, and the significant statement there made, that no one ventured to resent his uninvited intrusion, audibly at least, εἰδοίκεσαν γὰρ τὸν Ἀλκιδάμαντα. We shall therefore, I think, be justified in giving the word in both passages the same sense, *viz.* that the above suggested of *frightening*, *scaring*. I may add that ἐκπληκτος in Ael. l. c. does not mean, as might be inferred from L.Sc., in a *frightened*, or, *amazed* fashion. It means *rashly*, *impetuously*. The ichneumon when attacking the snake, οἱκ' ἀβούλως οὐδ' ἐκπληκτος ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀφικνᾶται.

HENRY W. GREENE

EMENDATIONS OF CICERO'S *VERRINES*.

(Continued from Vol. XVII, p. 202.)

Act. ii. lib. ii. § 4 (Müller p. 201, 13). *Itaque ad omnes res sic illa provincia semper usi sumus ut, quicquid ex sese posset efferre, id non apud eos nasci, sed domi nostrae conditum iam putaremus.* Here *sic illa* is Cobet's emendation for *Sicilia*, which is found in all the codd.: cp. v § 157 (Müller p. 487, 8). *Sicilia* might be allowed to stand if we were to assume a haplography,—*sic Sicilia*: or if we could suppose that *ita* may have dropped out, after *provincia*. But I cite the passage rather with the wish to call attention to the remarkable reading of the Cluni codex,¹

which gives *apud nos* for *apud eos*. This might be held to lend additional point to the antithesis between *nasci* and *conditum iam*: the products of *Sicilia* are not only home-growths, they are imperial reserves.

P. 204, 37. *Sed intellegere potuistis priore actione cives Romanos honestissimos ex Sicilia plurimos maximis de rebus . . . pro testimonio dicere.* This is the reading of all codd. except the *Cluniensis*, which

indisputable shape—in the Paris MS nouv. acq. lat. 638, 'Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniensis monasterii, collectore sancto Udalrico, disceptato sancti Hugonis, magni abbatu Cluniacensis' saec. xi). Curiously enough this manuscript is not included in the old catalogue (compiled between 1150 and 1161),—possibly because it may have been a manual in general use. As the two book-marks seem to be in the same hand, we may make the inference that the whole collection was catalogued in this way at the same time, and further identifications may now be expected.

¹ Shortly after the appearance of the note which I contributed to the April number of the *Classical Review* (pp. 162-4), and in which further proof was given of the identity of the codex now at Holkham with No. 498 of the old Cluni catalogue, I had the gratification of hearing from M. Henri Omont, of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, that the same *ex libris* mark (*de conventu Cluni.*) had turned up—this time in quite

give *plurimos maximisq.* The original may have been *plurimis maximisque. de rebus*: cp. p. 236, 21 *plurimis maximisque in rebus*.

P. 205, 22. *Nolebat in agendo discere, tametsi non provinciae rudis erat et tiro, [sed Siciliae] paratus ad praedam meditatatusque venire cupiebat.* The Cluni codex and (as might be expected) Lg. 42 agree in *Siciliae*, which Gulielmus and Madvig took to be a gloss on *non provinciae*: Klotz put a stop at *Siciliae*, thus suggesting the interpretation that it was in Sicily that Verres was not at home, though he had had other provincial experience. On the whole, I incline to delete *sed Siciliae* as an early gloss: in Par. 7776 (eleventh century) and Harl. 2687 it appears as *sed in Siciliam*, and so most edd. The incorporation of this gloss with the text may account for the remarkable fact that the *Cluniacensis* and Lg. 42 agree in giving *paratus erat ad praedam*, a reading which must be rejected, as *paratus* and *meditatus* occur too frequently together to be separated in this way (in Verr. i. 103: Quinct. 39: L. i. 12). The *tametsi* clause is then seen to have been motivated by the use of *discere*: 'learn did I say? Why, Verres was no novice in such matters: *paratus meditatatusque venire cupiebat*.'

P. 206, 2-4. *Litteras Halaesam mittit . . . ut Halaesinus ad se Dio continuo veniret.* Müller gives the right reading here, against the vulgate *dedit operam ut*. But the *ut* may now entirely disappear: it is not found in the *Cluniacensis* or in Lg. 42.

P. 208, 32. *Nemo umquam reus tam convictus tam nocens adducetur* etc. Here Müller wrongly accepts *tam convictus* from Lg. 42. It is not in the Cluni codex, and seems to have been added by the second hand in Lg. 42 from i. § 10 (p. 144, 11): see my *Anecdota* pp. xxvii-xxviii.

P. 210, 17. *Iudicia eius modi: qui cives Romani erant, si Siculi essent, cum Siculos eorum legibus dari oporteret; qui Siculi, si cives Romani essent.* Here editors follow the note of Asconius, who says that *dabantur* (i.e. were assigned as *iudices*) is to be supplied with *qui cives Romani erant*. Perhaps rather *iudicabant*, which may actually have dropped out of the text.

P. 212, 1. *primo illo suo leniore artificio Heraclium adgredi conatur, ut cum roget inspicienda quae non reddat.* Commentators seem to have felt no difficulty

about the last three words, understanding them to mean that Verres asks for a loan of things which he has no intention of returning. But this surely strains *reddat*. Possibly for *non* we ought to read *mox*: Verres pretends that he means to give the things back in due course. The simple sentence *Verres rogat Heraclium inspicenda quae non reddat* could of course be construed as = he asks for a look at things *with the view of* not returning them, but *mox* may be held to give a better point.

P. 213, 25. *Cum . . . senatus consultum intercederet, cuius consulto P. Rupilius* etc. Here Müller very properly suspects *cuius*. It may have very easily resulted (in the form *quius*) from *quo* s.c., i.e. *quo senatus consulto*, which may have stood in the original text.

P. 219, 17. *Qui statim quod praesens esset, iubet cuidam amicorum suorum numerari HS LXXX.* Here Müller rightly restores *quod praesens esset* instead of the vulgate *quod praesensisset*,—a reading which seems to have originated in a mistake of the Vatican MS, which gives *qui statim quod statim praesensisset*: on the other hand *quod praesens esset* must have stood in the Cluni codex, as it is found in Lg. 42, as well as in Par. 7776 and Lg. 29. But there may be something wrong with the *quod*, and it might be better to read *Qui statim quo id (or quo quid) praesens esset*. Verres wanted, through his friend, to have something 'down on the nail': cp. O. ii. 60 *quamquam quod praesens tamquam in manum datur incundius est*.

P. 219, 20. *Primo negligere coepit et contemnere* etc. This passage may be added to the number of those by which I have sought to show (*C.R.* vol. xvi. p. 402) that Müller sometimes errs in accepting transpositions on the sole authority of Lg. 42. All other MSS give *negligere et contemnere coepit*, except the Vaticanus which has *contemnere et negligere coepit*. It is probable that *coepit* is an adscript.

P. 236, 14. *Hic videte in quot se laqueos induerit, quorum ex nullo se umquam expedit.* Here some codd. (Lg. 29, Par. 4588) have been reported as reading *videri umquam*. In Par. 7776 I find *videri in rasura*, with *umquam* written over the line. This variant may conceal *iudices* (*iud.* = *iud.*), and the original may have been *ex nullo se, iudices, umquam expedit*.

P. 236, 36. *si tu absolutus sis, se funditus eversas esse arbitrantur.* Here the Cluni codex comes in to bear witness to the correctness of the reading which Müller has

restored from Lg. 42. Most codd. omit *se*, while the Vaticanus alone gives *se eversas funditus*. The disappearance of *se* could be most easily explained if we suppose that the text originally stood *funditus se eversas*.

P. 243, 12. *quicumque senator voluerit fieri, quamvis puer, quamvis indignus, quamvis ex eo loco ex quo non liceret, si is pretio apud istum idoneus vinceret, factum esse semper*. This looks all right, *idoneus* being Garaloni's emendation (followed by Madvig, Jordan, and Müller) for the MS *idoneus*. But the Vaticanus gives *idoneusset vinceret*, whence Koltz derived *idoneus esset ut vinceret*, and Kayser *idoneus esset [vinceret]*. Again Par. 7776, Lg. 29, and Par. 4558 have *fieret idoneus vinceret*, or *f. id. ut vinceret*, where *fieret* is quite inadmissible, especially after *fieri* in l. 13, and with *factum esse* in what follows. The clause *si is pretio apud istum vinceret* seems complete in itself, and *idoneus* ought to be rejected: for the absolute use of *pretio vincere*, cp. p. 244, 24. But the reading of the Vaticanus suggests that *idoneus* may have come in from the immediate context, two clauses beginning with *quamvis* having been run together: and I would suggest the addition of *quamvis non idoneus esset*.

P. 246, 19. . . . *ut, quo die verbi causa esse oporteret Idus Ianuarias, in eum diem Kalendas Martias proscribi iuberet*. Cicero is here describing the result of Verres's tampering with the calendar. Müller follows Wesenberg and Kayser in reading *in eum diem*, for the vulgate *eo die*. But Lg. 42 gives *ī eo die*, and this reading is quoted by Lambinus from the *Fabrianus* (i.e. the Cluni codex). Possibly the true reading may be *is eo die*.

P. 249, 2. *Nam aut publice civitates istos honores habent aut si generatim homines, ut aratores, ut mercatores, ut navicularii*. Müller here restores *si*, which has been omitted by editors. I should prefer *si homines, generatim*.

P. 255, 2. [*Et*] *huius ego pecuniæ, indices, quæ permagna est impudentissimeque coacti ab invitis, non habui rationem neque habere potui, quantum ab aratoribus, quantum ab negotiatoribus qui Syracusis, qui Agrigenti, qui Panhormi, qui Lilybæi negotiantur, esset coactum, et iam intellegitis ipsius quoque confessione ab invitisimis coactam esse*.

Here *quantum* . . . *esset coactum* is explained as being an expansion of *huius pecuniæ*, and *et iam* is Müller's conjecture for the MS *quoniam*. But Lg. 42 is reported as having not only *ut iam* for *quoniam*, but *coactum esse* at the end of the sentence

instead of *coactum esse*. If we may read *est* for *esset*, I should propose to put a stop at *habere potui*, and then make Cicero continue (more suo) *quantum ab aratoribus . . . tantum iam intellegitis . . . coactum esse*.

P. 267, 37. *Cum manifesta res flagitiosa, litura tabularum atque insignis cupiditate teneretur, quaerere incipimus etc.* The suggestion of *manifesta res* and *insignis cupiditate* by the intervening *flagitiosa litura tabularum* might strike the reader as somewhat anomalous, especially as these words simply resume what has gone before; and suspicion is increased when one finds that most codd. have *tum (tam) flagitiosa*, omitting *litura*, corrected by Hotmann and edd. to *cum flagitiosa*. To me it seems that this may well be a case of the intrusion of 'index words' from the margin, and that *flagitiosa litura tabularum* should be expelled from the text, like the words in which another early copyist sought to describe another famous scene in the *Pro Cluentio* (*queritur se ab Oppianico destitutum* § 72). (cp. p. 346, 2 below.)

Lib. iii. 271, 22. *Atque ille his precibus ingenii fortunæque munus tam hæc cura continebatur, quam ubi navem confirmato consilio sed laevante ætate præperat. Quamquam minus diu præcipites eorum virtus et integritas qui ad hæc æva adolescentuli, quam qui iam firmata ætate descendunt*. In the above passage, which should be studied with the full context, Müller adopts Balce's conjecture *Quamquam* for the MS *quo*. To me this seems quite inadmissible. A careful analysis of the whole passage will show that it forms one period, and that *quo* should be replaced by *quod* (cp. 286, 10 where V alone has *quæ plus* instead of the *quo plus* of the other codd.), or by *quoniam*. Cicero is saying that Crassus was known to have regretted nothing so much as his impeachment of Carbo, because he afterwards had to 'live up to it.' In spite of his ability and distinction, it was a source of worry to him: he had undertaken it as a young man: and young accusers are even less apt to be credited with good motives. Most of them don't count the cost, and want to shine: experienced pleaders like myself (says Cicero) would not take this line if we could not trust ourselves to do it dispassionately, or if we had any fear that it would embarrass us subsequently. Incidentally I may remark that *præcipites* should now be restored to the text, in place of *peripitit*: it is cited from the *Metellianus*, i.e., the Cluni codex, and is reproduced also in Lg. 42.

ibid. 30. *nos qui iam et quid facere et*

quantulum iudicare possemus ostendimus etc. Here *quantulum iudicare* is the reading of most codd. But Nannius cites from his codex (i.e. the Cluniacensis) *quantulum dicere*, and so also Lg. 42. When we remember the frequent confusion between *l* and *i*, we may suppose that an earlier copy gave *quantuludicare*, which was read *quantulum dicere*, instead of *quantum iudicare*, and this I now propose to restore to the text.

P. 272, 11. — *is qui, quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipse deprehenditur*. For *deprehenditur*, we should now read *reprehenditur*, which is cited from the Metellianus (i.e. the Cluni codex), and which occurs also in Mr. Clark's Harleianus, as well as in Lg. 42 and Par. 4588. Cp. *pro Cluentio* §§ 98, 119.

P. 279, 15. *Ego tantum dem quantum ille poposecit?* For *tantum dem*, most MSS are said to show *tantundem*. In Par. 7776, however, I find *tantū* at the end of one line, and *dē* at the beginning of another, which gives Lambinus's obvious emendation *tantum dem*. But the Vaticanus has *tantundem dabo*, and this may be right (cp. p. 353, 6), or even *tantundem dem*.

P. 294, 21. *nisi forte existimatis eum in vino atque lustris non risisse qui nunc in periculo atque exitio suo risum tenere non possit*. Here *lustris* is Müller's emendation, and he has wrongly inserted *atque* for *ac* on the sole authority of Lg. 42. Two codd. of Lagomarsini give *lustris*, and four others are said to show the vulgate *luxu*. On the other hand *lucro* occurs in Lg. 42 and is cited by Lambinus,—probably from the Fabricianus (i.e. the Cluni codex): it occurs also in Par. 7776, Lg. 29, and Par. 4588, 7786. I propose to read *ac ludo*.

P. 296, 5. *Quid est hoc? populi Romani imperium, populi Romani leges, iudicia in socios fideles, provinciam suburbanam?* This passage has not yet been successfully dealt with. For *populi Romani leges* I should propose *praetoriae leges*, following Lg. 42, which gives *pr*. The rest is given as in Müller, after Halm. But no manuscript contains *in*, most omit *socios*, and all give *provincia suburbana* instead of the accusative. It may be that we ought to stop the sentence at *iudicia*, and eliminate the rest as an adscript.

ibid. 18. *Eius agri decumas cum emisset idem Apronius, Agyrium venit. Qui cum apparitoribus eo cum vi ac minis venisset, poscere pecuniam grandem coepit ut etc.* After *venit* in the first sentence we should

not expect a temporal clause like *cum venisset* in the second, and the second *cum* seems therefore out of place. The reading *eo cum vi ac minis* is found in Par. 7776, Lg. 29, and Par. 4588: Lambinus cites, probably from the Fabricianus (i.e. the Cluni codex) *vi ac minis eo*, which recurs also in Lg. 42. The Vatican MS, on the other hand, shows *eo et cum agminis*, founding on which I propose to read *eo et vi ac minis*.

P. 297, 12. *Respondebat SI PARET ADVERSUS EDICTUM FECISSE; qua in re se in iudicio dicturum esse aiebat*. *SI PARET* is the reading of the Vaticanus (cp. p. 115, 35) and is adopted by most edd.: *SI PARERET*, which Nannius would seem to have found in his codex (i.e. the Cluniacensis), appears also in Lg. 42 as *separēt* and may be right.—The *se* before *in iudicio* seems to be due to one of Nannius's faulty citations: it is found in no MS, and should disappear from the text.

P. 329, 9. *Albam habeo iudicem, eum hominem qui se ipse scurram improbissimum existimari vult, [qui] a scurris semper potius gladiator quam scurra appellatus est*. Here editors accept Halm's *appellatus est* for *app. sit* of the codd.: I should propose to retain this, and to read *licet* in place of *qui*, which Müller brackets on the ground that it is omitted in Lg. 42. The authority of this last-named MS is insufficient to justify the transposition *semper potius* for *potius semper* of all other codd.

P. 346, 2. *Hinc ille est anulus aureus quo tu istum in contione donasti; quae tua donatio singulari impudentia nova Siculis omnibus, mihi vero etiam incredibilis videbatur*. Here I think the words *singulari impudentia* should be eliminated from the text. The Vatican MS, the 2nd hand in Par. 7776 and most codd. give *singulari impudentia praedita*: others have *sing. imp. donata*: Lg. 42 omits the participle. To me it seems that these words may have come in from the margin, as at p. 267, 37 above.

P. 354, 18. *Fecerunt alii quidem alia quam multa: cur in hoc uno crimine isto genere defensionis uteris?* Lg. 42 gives *alii quidem*: the Vaticanus has *alii quid*: most codd. give *aliqui* simply (thus Par. 7776 *aliqui alia quā multa*). Possibly the right reading may be *Fecerunt aliqui aliquando multa*: cp. i. § 44: ii. § 78: Sest. § 14 (*si qui fecerunt aliquid aliquando*): Cluent. § 92.

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CONTRACTED FORMS OF THE PERFECT IN LIVY.

Two significant passages bearing upon the theme here discussed have come down to us from ancient times, one from the greatest rhetorician of the Golden Age, Cicero, the other from the greatest rhetorician of the Silver Age, Quintilian. These two writers agree in one point regarding the usage of their respective times, the former in Or. 157, the latter in l. 6. 17 f. and 9. 4. 59, maintaining that the contracted form of the infinitive was the form in general use, the uncontracted form, on the other hand, the more correct one. Cicero, however, by implication gives the principle a wider scope by stating that Terence used both the form *noras* and the form *noveras*.¹ Most of those who have discussed the subject in modern times, have gone too far in interpreting these statements.² This investigation has made it clear that at least for Livy and Quintilian certain limitations must be set, that these statements must be restricted to the use of contracted forms before the letters *s* or *ss*. Cicero's usage in this regard may be illustrated from the verb *audio*: (Cf. Neue-Wagener III³ p. 449 f.): { *-istis* = 74 ;
 { *-issem* = 12 ; { *-isset* = 31 ; { *-issent* = 13 ;
 { *-vissem* = 0 ; { *-ivisset* = 4 ; { *-ivissent* = 2 ;
and { *-isse* = 68
 { *-ivisse* = 6. In Quintilian the con-

tracted form³ is more common only before *s* and *ss*: in perf. ind. { *contr.* = 6
 { *unc.* = 10 (*-isti* = 4 ;
 -astis = 1 ; *-existi* = 1) : in plup. subj.
 { *con.* = 25
 { *unc.* = 1. In XI. 1. 11 both Meister and

Halm read *indicavisset*, but, as the codex Monacensis reads *indicasset* and Quintilian's usage as shown above clearly points to the use of the contracted form, the text ought, therefore, to be emended to read *indicasset*. The other uncontracted form occurs in 5. 9. 13 *adolevisset*, no variants. So also, in the infin. mood the contracted form is always used, 74 times, the uncontracted form but once: *excrevisse* 4. 1. 62, here, too, no variants. A different condition of affairs, however, confronts us in other parts of the verb, as e.g. *-averunt* was used 65 times to *-arunt* only 27 times; in plup. ind.

{ *con.* = 2
 { *unc.* = 11 ; fut. perf. { *con.* = 8
 { *unc.* = 19 ; and in
perf. subj. { *con.* = 18
 { *unc.* = 70. (The syncopated forms in *-ie-* were not taken into account, as these are never contracted.) Quintilian's usage is thus decisive:

before *s* { *contr.* = 108
 { *unc.* = 3 ;

elsewhere { *con.* = 56
 { *unc.* = 166. So also in Livy,

before *s* { *con.* = 985
 { *unc.* = 53 ;

elsewhere { *con.* = 187
 { *unc.* = 635.

That is to say, the contracted forms before *s* in Quint. = 97.3 per cent., in Livy 94.9 per cent. : and elsewhere, the contracted forms in Quint. = 25.2 per cent., in Livy 22.7 per cent.

As far as these two writers are concerned, the rule may be thus formulated: Before *s* the contracted form is almost universally used, but elsewhere the uncontracted form is the prevailing one.

³ Cf. *Class. Rev.* 1899 p. 251, and add the following (Meister's ed.): *promittens* 7, 1, 56 ; *composuit* 3, 11, 21 ; *praeteriit* 3, 6, 28 ; 6, 5, 1 ; *appellavit* 5, 10, 7 ; 7, 6, 4 ; *dubitavit* 1, 6, 38 ; *elaboravit* 12, 11, 22 ; *comparavit* 8, pr. 28 ; *relocavit* 8, pr. 28 ; *adfirmavit* 7, 2, 12 ; *poicavit* 5, 6, 5 ; *trucidavit* 3, 8, 29.

¹ For a general treatment of the subject, cf. especially: Corssen, *Ausspr.* I. 317 f. and II. 706 f.; Reisig, *Vorles.* bearb. von Hagen p. 326, Note 271; Kuchner, *Lat. Gram.* I. p. 501 f.; Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 507; Neue-Wagener, III.³ p. 464 f., 469 f. etc., and Sommer, *Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre* (1902), p. 609 f.

² Reisig—Note 271 says that the uncontracted forms are by far more common, a statement not true at all of the plup. subj. and perf. infin. Sommer, too, fails to take into consideration the difference in usage in the different moods and tenses. Strange to say in accounting for the use of *-averam* and *-eceram* at the end of the verse in early comedy, he refers to the end of the verse as the 'Schatzkammer alternitiver Formen,' as if that explained the phenomena. As a matter of fact, in about 18,000 verses (iambic, trochaic, and cretic) out of 21,000, Plautus could not use the contracted form at all at the end of the verse, and he used it in the only place he could use it, in the middle. In other words it was the law governing the structure of the verse that was the decisive factor in its use or non use. Lindsay's remark p. 507: 'in Plautus equally with the contracted,' is also open to the same objection.

I.—IN GENERAL.

A. *By Decades.*

Taking into consideration all of the extant books, Livy prefers the contracted form, 1172 times, to the uncontracted, 688 times. In each of the decades there is practically the same attitude of mind toward the contracted form except in Bks. 41–45. In the first decade the contr. forms are used 357 times, 62·2 per cent., to the uncontr. forms 227 times; in the third dec. 336 times, 61·8 per cent., to the uncontr. forms 208 times; in the fourth dec. 322 times, 63·2 per cent., to the uncontr. form 188 times; but in bks. 41–5 there is a more decided preference for the contr. form, 157 times or 70·7 per cent., to the uncontr. 65 times.

B. *By Moods.*

Livy's usage of these forms from the point of view of the moods may be seen from the following table :

Mood.	CONTR.	UNCONTR.
Ind.	221	543
Subj.	627	117
Infinitive	324	28
Total	1172	688

It will be at once noticed that the great majority of the contracted forms are found in the Subjunctive. As all of the infin. forms, and 608 of the subj. forms, are before *ss*, it is worthy of remark that 932 or 79·7 per cent. of all the contracted forms are before these two letters.

(a) INDICATIVE { contr. = 221
uncontr. = 543

(1) *Perfect*. In this tense the contr. form was used but 204 times to the uncontr. form 296 times. It is also to be remarked that there is a decided contrast between Livy's usage in the first decade and in bks. 41–5. In the first dec. the contr. forms = 57, or 33·9 per cent. to the

uncontr. 111; in the third, 40, or 33·9 per cent., to the uncontr. 78; in the fourth dec. 72, or 46·2 per cent. to the uncontr. 84; in 41–5, on the other hand, the contr. = 35, or 74·4 per cent., outnumbering the uncontr. = 23 times.

(2) *Pluperfect*. Here the contr. form is rare, 14 times, compared with the uncontr., 232 times; and it is noteworthy that in the 1st. dec. the contr. form was used only once, and in 41–5 not at all. In the 1st dec. the contr. form = 1, or 1·5 per cent., to the uncontr. 66 times; in the 3rd dec. the contr. form = 10, or 11·4 per cent., to the uncontr. 78 times; in the 4th dec. the contr. = 3, or 4·7 per cent., to the uncontr. 61 times; and in 41–5 only the uncontr. form was used, 27 times. It is to be noted that in the last fifteen books the contr. form was used only 3 times to the uncontr. form 88 times!

(3) *Future Perfect*. This tense was rarely used compared with the two above, but 3 contr. to 15 uncontr. In the 1st dec. only the uncontr. form was used, 5 times; in the 3rd dec. the contr. 2 times, 25 per cent., to the uncontr. 6 times; in the 4th dec. the contr. only once, 20 per cent., to the uncontr. 4 times; and in 41–5 neither form was used.

(b) SUBJUNCTIVE { contr. = 627
uncontr. = 117

(1) *Perfect*. Here the contr. form was used but 19 times to the uncontr. form 92 times, and the contr. form occurs relatively most frequently in the 3rd decade. In 1st dec., the contr. forms = 3, or 8·3 per cent., to the uncontr. forms 33; in the 3rd dec., the contr. = 10, 27 per cent., but the uncontr. = 27; in the 4th dec. the contr. = 5, 17·9 per cent., to the uncontr. forms 23 times; and in 41–5, the contr. = 1, or 10 per cent.

(2) *Pluperfect*. In this tense contraction is very frequent, being found in all 608 times to the uncontr. form only 25 times. A certain uniformity of usage is felt throughout all the decades for the contr. form: in the 1st dec. the contr. form = 181, or 98·4 per cent., to the uncontr. only 4 times; in the 3rd dec. the contr. = 176, or 94·6 per cent., to the uncontr. 10 times; in the 4th dec. the contr. = 165, or 95·4 per cent., to the uncontr. form 8 times; and in 41–5, the contr. = 86, or 96·6 per cent., to the uncontr. forms but 3 times.

(c) *Infinitive* : contr. = 324
uncontr. = 28

In this mood a decided preference is felt for the contracted form, every decade having over 90 per cent. of all the forms contracted. In the 1st dec. the contr. = 115, or 93·5 per cent., to the uncontr. = 8 times; in the 3rd dec. the contr. = 98, or 91·6 per cent., to the uncontr. = 9; in the 4th dec. the contr. = 76, or 90·5 per cent., to the uncontr. 8; and in 41-5, the contr. = 35, or 92·1 per cent., to the uncontr. only 3 times, and only in the 3rd conj.

C. By Conjugations.

(1) *1st Conjugation*. In the indic. the contr. forms = 190, or 28·9 per cent., to the uncontr. = 418; on the other hand in the subj. the contr. = 348, or 84·3 per cent., to the uncontr. = 87; and in the infin. the contr. = 182, or 98·9 per cent., to the uncontr. but 2.

(2) *2nd Conjugation*. Here the uncontracted form is not found at all in the subj. and infin. In the indic., the contr. form = 4, or 11·4 per cent., to the uncontr. = 31 times; in the subj. the contr. form = 10 times, and in the infin. it is found 7 times.

(3) *3rd Conjugation*. In the indic. the

contr. form = 16, or 15·5 per cent., to the uncontr. = 94 times; in the subj. the contr. = 80, or 76·2 per cent., to the uncontr. only 25 times; and in the infin. the contr. form = 61 times, or 72·6 per cent., to the uncontr. form but 23 times.

(4) *4th Conjugation*. In the indic. only the contr. form was used, and this, of course, not in the regular verbs, being used 11 times; in the subj. the contr. = 189 times (eo, etc. = 112), or 97·4 per cent., to the uncontr. = 5 times; and in the infin. the contr. forms = 74, or 96·1 per cent., to the uncontr. only 3 times.

II. The Verbs.

The following table exhibits Livy's usage of these forms in detail, showing the relative frequency of each form arranged according to Moods, Tenses, Conjugations, and Decades. In reckoning the uncontracted forms, such forms of the 4th conj. in *-ir-*, and *-ie*, together with those of *eo*, which are never contracted, only syncopated, as well as those in which *e* is part of the stem, as *iuvo*, *moveo*, etc., and the 1st and 3rd pers. sing., and 1st pers. plur., were not taken into consideration. The contracted forms, *isse*, *issem*, etc., are included with the 4th conj.

INDICATIVE.

PERFECT.									PLUPERFECT.						FUTURE PERFECT.															
Decade.	1st Conj.			2nd Conj.			3rd Conj.			4th Conj.			1st Conj.			2nd Conj.			3rd Conj.			1st Conj.			2nd Conj.			3rd Conj.		
	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.		
1st ...	49	95	1	4	4	12	3	0	1	51	0	5	0	10	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3rd ...	32	61	1	2	3	15	4	0	5	56	0	10	5	12	1	4	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4th ...	66	54	1	3	2	27	3	0	1	54	0	1	2	6	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
41-5 ...	24	12	0	5	0	6	1	0	0	24	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
TOTAL ...	181	222	3	14	9	60	11	0	7	185	0	16	7	31	2	11	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

SUBJUNCTIVE.

INFINITIVE.

PERFECT.

PLUPERFECT.

PERFECT.														PLUPERFECT.														INFINITIVE.													
1st Conj.		2nd Conj.		3rd Conj.		1st Conj.		2nd Conj.		3rd Conj.		4th Conj.		1st Conj.		2nd Conj.		3rd Conj.		4th Conj.		1st Conj.		2nd Conj.		3rd Conj.		4th Conj.													
Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.	Con.	Un-con.												
1st ...	1	28	0	0	2	5	91	0	3	0	29	2	58	2	60	2	1	0	25	5	29	1																			
3rd ...	6	25	0	0	4	2	100	1	4	0	19	8	53	1	58	0	4	0	12	8	24	1																			
4th ...	4	23	0	0	1	0	102	1	3	0	16	7	44	0	41	0	2	0	20	7	13	1																			
41-5	1	9	0	0	0	0	43	0	0	0	9	1	34	2	23	0	0	0	4	3	8	0																			
TOTAL	12	85	0	0	7	7	336	2	10	0	73	18	189	5	182	2	7	0	61	23	74	3																			

A. Perfect Indicative.

(a) 2ND PERS. SING. With two exceptions all of the contracted forms are in the 1st conj. and all after the first decade: *comparasti* 35, 16, 8; *desper-* 7, 13, 6; *dissimul-* 29, 1, 8; *ignor-* 36, 7, 16; *peragr-* 38, 45, 9; *pronunti-* 24, 32, 12; *pugn-* 8, 7, 16; *reciper-* 30, 30, 13; *viol-* 38, 47, 8;¹ and *isti* 42, 40, 6; *nequi-* 2, 12, 15 (11).

(b) 2ND PERS. PLUR. Here, too, the great majority of the contracted forms are in the 1st conj. (22); *communicastis* 28, 28, 5; *compar-* 9, 34, 4; *comprob-* 34, 3, 4; *cre-* 3, 67, 9; *desider-* 3, 67, 7; *don-* 45, 22, 2; *incoh-* 35, 32, 10; *iur-* 2, 46, 5; 6; 3, 20, 4; *mand-* 9, 19, 17; *milit-* 34, 13, 5; *neg-* 21, 18, 10; 37, 54, 27; *opt-* 8, 4, 6; 34, 13, 5; *serv-* 7, 35, 4; 23, 5, 4; *sper-* 21, 13, 3; 28, 27, 5; *tempt-* 8, 4, 7; and *vindic-* 3, 56, 3 (22).²

In the 2ND CONJ. there are but two contracted forms: *emostis* 37, 53, 25; and *replestis* 7, 24, 5. In the 3RD CONJ. 9 are found: *adsestis* 5, 6, 15; *consuestis* 6, 18, 11; *cupistis* 37, 54, 15; *concup-* 3, 67, 7; *desc-* 28, 27, 4; *pet-* 6, 18, 12; 23, 10, 7; and *nostis* 31, 31, 17.

In the 4TH CONJ. 10 are found:—

audistis 7, 40, 9; 10, 8, 10; 22, 60, 16;

26, 31, 11; 34, 4, 1³; *insanistis* 28, 27, 12; 29, 3; *servistis* 39, 37, 4; and *adistis* 37, 54, 19 (bis).

The above forms show that there was a tendency in the Latin language towards uniformity in conjugation, due to the strong influence of the 3rd conjugation; compare *pugnasti* with *legisti*, *mandastis* with *legistis*, and similarly *replestis* and *audistis* with this latter form; in 9, 9, 17 the two forms occur side by side; *mandastis* . . . cum quibus *egestis*.

(c) 3RD PERS. PLUR. Contraction is especially common in the 1st conj. (86 verbs and a total of 150 occurrences), but in the 2nd conj. there is but one occurrence: *delerunt* 24, 42, 11. As Neue-Wagener do not cite any passages for the verbs of the 1st conj., we add a complete list: *abdicarunt* 9, 34, 21; *aberr-* 31, 37, 2; *acclam-* 34, 50, 4; *accus-* 25, 2, 9; 38, 51, 1; 43, 8, 9; *adceler-* 31, 29, 1; *adsign-* 42, 35, 2; *aedific-* 5, 53, 9; *antiqu-* 5, 30, 7; 8, 37, 11; *appell-* 1, 13, 5; 18, 7; 44, 5; 2, 14, 9; 5, 34, 9; 6, 1, 11; 7, 21, 5; 34, 7, 9; 36, 3, 5; 40, 54, 5; 42, 32, 7; *appropinqu-* 38, 26, 5; *arm-* 39, 30, 6; *augur-* 40, 42, 11; *cert-* 21, 1, 3; 36, 3, 6; *compar-* 25, 41, 10; 40, 17, 8; *compell-* 9, 40, 17; *comport-* 26, 10, 2; *conciit-* 23, 47, 4; 42, 23, 10; *conclam-* 40, 70, 6; *condemn-* 43, 2, 12; *confirm-* 32, 23, 1; *conjur-* 4, 45, 1; 39, 16, 3; *coop-*

¹ Neue-Wagener III.³ p. 479 treat this subject in the most general way, citing no passages and giving but two of the above verbs.

² Neue-Wagener, l.c. cite only *putastis* and *servastis*.

³ *Id.* p. 450 cite for this 34, 41, 3 and give an incorrect reference in 5, 40, 9.

40, 42, 13; *cre-* 45, 44, 1; *cur-* 40, 51, 8; 41, 27, 8; *damn-* 35, 10, 11; 38, 35, 5; 42, 44, 6; *degener-* 38, 17, 11; *denunti-* 42, 10, 15; 21, 4; *dimic-* 9, 39, 5; *dissimul-* 21, 56, 9; *dubit-* 36, 9, 8; *effe-* 5, 33, 11; *eman-* 8, 3, 3; *enarunt* 44, 28, 12; *evast-* 10, 15, 3; 40, 22, 11; *exoner-* 10, 21, 5; *expir-* 23, 7, 4; 26, 14, 5; *exproh-* 33, 35 11; *expugn-* 6, 22, 4; *firm-* 4, 49, 7; *hibern-* 27, 33, 5; *immol-* 7, 15, 10; 41, 9, 7; *imper-* 34, 44, 5; 39, 14, 9; *impetr-* 34, 43, 2; 43, 2, 12; *inaugur-* 40, 42, 11; *inclin-* 32, 16, 12; 20, 5; *incus-* 33, 35, 11; *indic.* 9, 34, 9; *instaur-* 27, 6, 19; 31, 50, 2; *interpell-* 40, 46, 13; *intr-* 41, 11, 5; 44, 12, 6; *iur-* 28, 29, 12; 41, 15, 10; *lacer-* 43, 8, 2; *laud-* 36, 8, 1; *loc-* 32, 7, 3; 40, 51, 7; *mut-* 31, 31, 1; 32, 31, 2; 37, 20, 8; 40, 17, 6; 51, 8; 43, 16, 14; *navig-* 31, 15, 8; *neg-* 25, 28, 6; 27, 30, 13; 43, 16, 13; *nunti-* 22, 37, 2; 37, 57, 1; 42, 3, 11; *oppugn-* 2, 17, 1; 5, 27, 7; 40, 25, 5; *pervast-* 35, 22, 4; *postul-* 33, 22, 2; *procur-* 24, 44, 7; *promulg-* 10, 6, 6; 24, 25, 10; 42, 21, 5; *pronunti-* 45, 36, 10; *prorog-* 32, 28, 9; *pugn-* 30, 18, 1; 31, 50, 4; 33, 18, 4; 37, 43, 10; *rebell-* 2, 42, 8; 5, 14, 13; 30, 8; 41, 26, 1; *recit-* 42, 21, 4; *recuper-* 25, 6, 15; *recus-* 8, 27, 10; 22, 60, 17; *regn-* 2, 1, 2; 40, 46, 10; *renov-* 3, 55, 6; 21, 32, 7; *renunti-* 35, 6, 7; 42, 2, 1; 20, 3; 26, 7; 30, 8; 47, 1; *rog-* 27, 5, 17; *sacrific-* 45, 15, 6; *serv-* 26, 51, 5; 37, 54, 22; *spect-* 10, 47, 3; *sper-* 31, 21, 10; *suppedit-* 30, 25, 7; *toler-* 9, 39, 4; *triumph-* 2, 17, 7; 7, 38, 13; 9, 44, 14; 45, 38, 4; 11; *turb-* 27, 14, 7; 29, 2, 12; 38, 18, 5; 44, 41, 6; *usurp-* 34, 32, 2; *vast-* 32, 16, 8; 44, 10, 8; *viol-* 45, 38, 7 (150).

On the whole Livy prefers the form *-arunt*, 150, to *-averunt*, 134, and *-avere*, 88. Different decades, however, exhibit a different attitude toward these forms, as the following table will show:—

DECADES.	ARUNT.	AVERUNT.	AVERE.
1st	37	39	56
3rd	23	45	16
4th	56	43	11
41-5	34	7	5
TOTAL...	150	134	88

There is a striking contrast between the 1st decade and bks., 41-5, in regard to the forms in *arunt* and *averunt*.

Livy uses altogether 11 verbs with these three forms: *abdico*, *creo*, *comparo*, *conclamo*, *impetro*, *iuro*, *loco*, *muto*, *nuntio*, *pugno*, and *turbo*. The verbs in *-ro* have the following forms, *-arunt* 20 to *-averunt* 11, and *-avere* 9; but those in *-tro* have *-trarunt* 2, to *-traverunt* 9, and *-travere* 10. This class of verbs prefers the unsynecopated form (39) to the synecopated (22), and the form in *-runt* (42) to the form in *-ere* (19). Of the verbs in *-arunt* the most common is *nuntio* and its cpds. (11), *muto* (6), and *triumpho* (5). Two verbs of the 3rd conj. may here be noted: *straverunt* 10, 23, 12; 21, 28, 7; 41, 27, 8; 9 and *prostraverunt* 9, 6, 4; 45, 20, 9.

In the 2nd. conj. the contr. form was used but once, to the uncontr. 14 times (*-everunt* = 8, *-avere* = 6).

In the 3rd. conj. but one contr. form was used *norunt* 26, 22, 14, and the following uncontracted forms: *decreverunt*,¹ *decrevere*,² *quieverunt*,³ *quievire*,⁴ *novere*,⁵ *agnovire*,⁶ *cognoverunt*,⁷ *cognocere*.⁸

B. Pluperfect Indicative.

Livy greatly prefers the uncontracted form, 232, to the contr. which was used only 14 times. In the 1st decade but one contracted form, *rebellarant* 4, 26, 5 is found; there are relatively about one half as many contracted forms in the 4th decade as in the 3rd, and in 41-5 there are 27 uncontracted forms and none contracted. In general

¹ Neue-Wagener III.² p. 480 refers to Drak. 21, 44, 7 and says that the passages there cited for *-arunt* have been changed in the latest editions to *-averunt*. This note, however, needs revision, as it is true of but 2 out of the 10.

² To Neue-Wagener III.² p. 494 f., who cite only 4, add: *decreverunt*: 4, 58, 7; 6, 21, 3; 7, 4, 2; 23, 34, 13; 26, 14, 2; 32, 5; 28, 21, 5; 29, 15, 5; 30, 2, 4; 31, 4, 1; 8, 3; 9, 8; 13, 6; 49, 1; 52, 8, 1; 28, 8; 33, 21, 9; 34, 21, 8; 35, 41, 7; 37, 1, 10; 55, 7; 38, 50, 3; 31, 5; 42, 5; 52, 3; 32, 33, 3; 40, 19, 4; 52, 2; 43, 4, 11; 45, 12, 10; 47, 1, 10.

³ For *decrevere* add: 26, 28, 3; 27, 37, 7; 35, 41, 2; 43, 15, 4.

⁴ For *quieverunt* add: 32, 13, 15 and change 24, 19, 3 to 21, 19, 5.

⁵ For *quievire* add: 8, 7, 29; 13, 8; and 40, 30, 7.

⁶ On p. 487 *novere* 3, 67, 5 is omitted.

⁷ For *agnovire* add: 7, 39, 13; 49, 1.

⁸ For *cognoverunt* add: 37, 23, 5.

⁹ For *cognocere* add: 5, 35, 7; 7, 39, 13; 49, 1; 34, 20, 6.

There are in all 59 passages omitted. Furthermore on p. 192 f. they omit 13 for *accipere*, 16 for *ferere*, and 7 for *conare*.

Livy shows a strong preference for the fuller form.

Neue-Wagener III.³ 479 says of both the perfect and pluperfect forms: 'aber nicht weniger häufig sind Formen, wie *admurmuraverunt*,' etc. If this statement is true of writers in general, it certainly does not apply to Livy's usage in particular. Livy uses the form *-arunt* 50 times to the form *averunt* 134 times; and the ending *everunt* 8 times to that in *erunt* 6 times; in the pluperfect the ending *everant* 16 times to that in *erant* not at all; so *averant* 176 times to *arant* 7 times, and of course contraction does not take place in the 4th conj.

The following are not given by Neue-Wagener, p. 485 and 496: (a) FIRST CONJ. *armarant* 24, 47, 2; *expugn-* 21, 39, 4; *firm-* 24, 21, 6; *hibern-* 28, 46, 7; *imperit-* 21, 31, 6; *loc-* 34, 53, 4; and *rebell-* 4, 26, 5. Of these verbs Livy uses the uncontracted forms also in all except two; *armaverat* 42, 51, 6, -nt 2, 44, 12, 25, 15, 9; *expugnaverant* 39, 36, 13; *firmaverant* 2, 31, 2; *locaverat* 10, 1, 9; 37, 41, 8; 40, 34, 6; -nt 36, 36, 4, and *rebellaverant* 35, 1, 1, none being in the same book as the contracted form.

2ND CONJ. *compleverat* 29, 28, 3; 30, 34, 9; *impleverant* 3, 36, 4; 35, 32, 3; *oppleverant* 10, 46, 1; *repleverat* 26, 45, 1; 3RD AND 4TH CONJS. The list on p. 485 of the contracted forms *adsuerat*, etc. is complete, but it may be noted that the Thesaurus Ling. Lat. omits *adsuerant* 38, 34, 9. But on p. 497 Neue-Wagener omit *adsueverant* 24, 18, 11 and: *creverat* 1, 37, 1, -nt 1, 3, 4; 2, 27, 7; 21, 7, 3; 25, 11, 9; 42, 57, 2; on p. 461 *asciverat* 45, 25, 13; *consciverat* 24, 26, 1; -nt 10, 18, 2; *desciverat* 39, 4, 8; -nt 25, 1, 2;¹ *exciverant* 45, 34, 11; *repetiverant* 1, 22, 5; *nequiverat* 9, 31, 2 should be added on p. 461 and *nequierant* 28, 8, 10 on p. 460; and *decreverat* 30, 27, 4; 43, 4, 11 on p. 495 f.; *noverant* 7, 40, 2; 9, 36, 3; and *cognoverat* 2, 40, 4 on p. 488. Livy uses *norant* in 26, 50, 7.

It may be noted that Livy's usage differed from that of the author of the Periochae, as in these only the fuller form of the pluperfect was used.

C. Future Perfect Indicative.

This part of the verb very rarely appears in a contracted form. But three occurrences

¹ Neue-Wagener l.c. cite for *desciverant* 35, 40, 4, but this is a typographical error; *consciverant* 6, 7, 4 should be 6, 7, 1; *consciverat* cited for 26, 9, 6 has been changed to *concitat* in Weiss.-M. Müller. And *consciverat* 24, 26, 1 should be on p. 461 and not on p. 463.

are found, two in the first conjugation, *administarit* 38, 48, 15; *vindicarimus* 21, 44, 7; and *compleris* 25, 12, 6. None of these are given by Neue-Wagener. The uncontracted forms of the 1st conj. are also omitted; *appellavero* 22, 29, 10; *cessavero* 5, 44, 2; *expectaverimus* 32, 21, 34; *expugnaverint* 34, 3, 1; *habitaverint* 5, 51, 3; *intraverit* 22, 53, 12; *nominavero* 40, 9, 14; *nudavero* 39, 15, 4; *pugnaverimus* 7, 40, 13; *pugnaverit* 22, 39, 8; *variaverit* 23, 13, 4. In 1st conj. contracted forms = 2 to uncontracted = 11. In the 2nd conj. but one form (omitted by Neue-W. p. 496), *compleris* 25, 12, 6, appears, and one uncontracted *impleveritis* 3, 68, 1. In the 3rd conj. contracted forms are not found, but the uncontracted forms occur 3 times, *decreverint* 36, 2, 4; *quieverint* 4, 49, 11; and *spreverit* 22, 39, 19.

D. Perfect Subjunctive.

The forms belonging to the 1st conj. are not treated under a special category by Neue-Wagener. In the 1st Pers. Sing., the contracted forms do not occur, but in the uncontracted we find 9; in the 3rd Pers. Sing. 3 of the contr. are found against 39 of the uncontr.; in the 3rd Pers. Plur. 5 of the contracted to 29 of the uncontracted. In the Sing. and Plural together, the contr. forms = 12, on the other hand the uncontr. forms = 85. In 1st conj.: *comprobaritis* 37, 54, 28; *conciliarit* 28, 18, 6; *decertarint* 7, 25, 4; *degenerarit* 38, 56, 11; *existimaritis* 21, 43, 11; *existimarint* 34, 6, 8; *intrarint* 34, 37, 8; *indicarint* 29, 14, 9; *necarimus* 26, 13, 5; *oppugnarimus* 26, 13, 6; *pugnarint* 41, 28, 11, and *trepidarit* 28, 19, 5. In the first decade the two forms, *adclarassis* 1, 18, 9 and *cooptassint* 3, 64, 10, are found. But one of the contracted forms mentioned above is in the first decade. Five of the above have uncontracted forms also: *comprobaverint* 37, 45, 14; 39, 36, 12; *indicaverint* 22, 32, 8; *necaverint* 3, 13, 5; *oppugnaverint* 5, 33, 5; and *pugnaverim* 7, 10, 2; *pugnaverit* 2, 45, 8; 31, 49, 1; 36, 40, 4; *pugnaveritis* 21, 40, 10; 38, 48, 8; *pugnaverint* 21, 15, 4.

In the 2nd conj. none are found, in the 3rd, however, *siris* 1, 32, 7; *sirit*, 28, 28, 11; 34, 24, 2,² and of the uncontracted 6. The passages are in Neue-W., only he omits

² Neue-W. III.³ p. 488 omits: *norim* 23, 42, 12; *cognorit* 27, 17, 14; and *noritis* 6, 18, 10, and cites *norint* 21, 35, 9 for 21, 38, 9.

creverit Praef. 4, and gives a wrong reference for *consciverint* 29, 17, 5.

In the 4th conj. the following uncontracted forms are found: *nequiverit* 32, 6, 5; *nequiverint* 10, 11, 11; 31, 11; and *acciverint* 22, 3, 10.

Omitting the forms of the 4th conj. which are never contracted, the contr. forms were used 19 times to the uncon. 92.

E. Pluperfect Subjunctive.

Of all the 1172 contracted forms used by Livy, 627, or 53.5 per cent., are found in the subj. and of these 608 are in the pluperf. Contraction thus takes place most frequently before ss, cf. also p. 2. As Neue-Wagener cite only a few verbs of the 1st conj. without giving the passages in which they occur, we append a complete list which will show Livy's usage in this regard: *abdicasset* 3, 29, 6; 5, 31, 8; 6, 27, 5; 40, 42, 10; *aberrasset* 41, 13, 2; *acclamassent* 40, 40, 4; 45, 40, 5; *adfirmassent* 4, 54, 4; 33, 28, 14; *adequitasent* 9, 22, 6; *adorasset* 6, 12, 7; *adprobasset* 4, 43, 4; *adpropinquasset* 6, 24, 2; *aequassem* 24, 16, 11; -nt 1, 53, 1; 28, 4, 2; -nt 3, 62, 7; 21, 52, 11; 35, 48, 6; *aestimasset* 5, 23, 1; *agitassent* 28, 10, 5; *alienasset* 2, 30, 2; *appellasset* 22, 30, 2; 30, 17, 8; 43, 16, 10; -nt 27, 19, 4; *armasset* 26, 17, 2; 28, 1, 4; *avocasset* 1, 6, 1; *bellasset* 9, 41, 4; 42, 9; *celebrasset* 30, 14, 3; *certasset* 3, 71, 2; *communicassent* 26, 15, 3; *comparasset* 31, 3, 4; 33, 19, 9; 42, 30, 11; -nt 25, 13, 9; *comprobasset* 24, 48, 8; *conciasset* 2, 64, 6; 42, 14, 8; *conclamasset* 10, 5, 1; *condemnasset* 1, 26, 7; 29, 37, 14; 43, 16, 14; *conflagrasset* 30, 7, 9; 43, 16, 11; *conglobassent* 8, 11, 5; *conjurasset* 22, 32, 2; *consalutasset* 22, 30, 2; *consociasset* 2, 1, 5; -nt 8, 40, 9; *consultasset* 23, 28, 9; *creasset* 3, 55, 5; 14; 6, 6, 8; *damnasset* 27, 34, 13; *debellasset* 38, 12, 13; *declinasset* 37, 30, 4; *decorasset* 30, 17, 9; *deflagrasset* 5, 53, 9; *degenerasset* 4, 48, 10; *denuciasset* 45, 34, 2; *deportasset* 39, 29, 5; *desiderasset* 45, 36, 3; *desperasset* 22, 61, 14; 39, 23, 7; *destinasset* 38, 29, 7; *detractasset* 4, 18, 3; -nt 32, 31, 2; *diniciasset* 28, 25, 13; 38, 2; 32, 58, 3; -emus 44, 39, 5; -ent 5, 30, 5; 26, 48, 2; 36, 25, 7; *disserenasset* 39, 46, 4; *divinasset* 4, 2, 9; *donasset* 24, 16, 8; *effereasset* 35, 24, 21; *enarrasset* 2, 36, 7; *enuntiasset* 39, 10, 5; *evasset* 32, 33, 5; *excitasset* 25, 9, 13; *excusasset* 38, 52, 10; *expectassem* 34, 31, 1; -et 33, 3, 9; 7, 8; 34, 41, 9; 35, 38, 14; -nt 4, 13, 10; 26, 1, 3; 40, 38, 1; *expirasset* 1, 41, 6; 22, 51, 9; 24, 4, 6; *explorasset* 30, 29, 3; *expugnasset* 37, 28, 6; -nt 5, 28, 9; *fatigasset* 8, 10, 3; 36, 11, 1; 41,

7, 5; -nt 9, 20, 3; *fremasset* 37, 13, 1; *fugasset* 22, 45, 3; 34, 29, 6; *haruasset* 45, 12, 6; *habituasset* 8, 10, 3; *habuasset* 32, 6, 1; -nt 7, 39, 2; 41, 10, 1; *instasset* 27, 9, 13; 41, 10, 6; *ignorasset* 35, 49, 4; *inimicasset* 1, 45, 5; 38, 26, 1; 40, 22, 7; 42, 39, 8; *inplorasset* 6, 10, 2; *imperasset* 36, 1, 6; 3, 13; 42, 26, 8; 45, 13, 14; *impetasset* 4, 2, 9; 28, 45, 13; 29, 12, 13; 33, 22, 6; 36, 5, 37, 36, 2; -nt 3, 70, 15; 4, 23, 4; 32, 7, 4; 33, 29, 11; 37, 35, 2; 40, 47, 4; *institasset* 2, 59, 4; 27, 6, 3; 42, 21, 3; *inducasset* 29, 6, 7; 40, 5, 6; -nt 10, 27, 11; *indicasset* 4, 11, 6; 31, 11, 12; *insimulasset* 40, 29, 3; *interrogasset* 3, 64, 6; *intrasset* 2, 20, 12; 32, 7, 6, 28, 9; 7, 39, 14; 22, 4, 3; 24, 33, 2; 25, 25, 3; 31, 13; 28, 3, 10; 34, 46, 4; 41, 9, 6; 44, 13, 10; -nt 24, 3, 14; 32, 1; 27, 28, 11; *investigasset* 39, 14, 5; *inducasset* 41, 24, 19; *iurasset* 29, 37, 11; 31, 50, 7; 9; *leceasset* 42, 5, 9; *liberasset* 24, 22, 15; 38, 34, 2; *litasset* 6, 1, 12; 38, 20, 6; *locasset* 43, 16, 7; 45, 15, 9; *manasset* 27, 14, 8; *manuasset* 6, 25, 5; *matuasset* 29, 12, 2; 37, 22, 5; -nt 3, 43, 7; 40, 26, 4; *memorasset* 44, 16, 7; *mitiasset* 31, 49, 5; -nt 2, 29, 7; 4, 60, 4; 24, 18, 7; 30, 42, 3; 33, 27, 5; 42, 33, 3; *mutasset* 28, 30, 12; *mutassem* 34, 31, 13; -nt 3, 64, 8; *nauasset* 26, 47, 2; 42, 30, 3; *neceasset* 10, 9, 4; *negasset* 1, 9, 14; 8, 35, 12; 23, 7, 7; 12, 17; 13, 2; 26, 1, 8; 27, 5, 17; -nt 26, 2, 11; 42, 32, 4 and *negasset* 40, 13, 7; *nobilitasset* 23, 47, 4; *nominasset* 40, 14, 7; -nt 23, 3, 10; *nulasset* 21, 11, 7; 32, 24, 3; *numerasset* 44, 27, 8; *nuntiasset* 28, 9, 1; -nt 23, 5, 3; 17, 7; 30, 29, 3; 40, 35, 4; 42, 15, 1; *obariasset* 23, 19, 14; *obsequiasset* 23, 46, 13; *occuasset* 42, 43, 3; *occupasset* 22, 13, 5; 28, 3; 26, 36, 1; 50, 5; 27, 1, 8; 28, 5, 7; 32, 33, 4; 33, 41, 3; 35, 35, 2; 37, 32, 1; 42, 30, 10; 44, 12, 2; -nt 7, 29, 6; 24, 47, 3; 26, 40, 8; 36, 3, 11; *oppugnasset* 31, 16, 4; 45, 43; -nt 33, 36, 6; *orasset* 2, 56, 15; 30, 15, 1; *ostentasset* 26, 24, 2; *penetrasset* 9, 24, 3; 21, 8, 12; *peragrasset* 9, 45, 4; 35, 14, 7; *perequiasset* 5, 28, 12; 23, 47, 7; *perlustrasset* 1, 7, 6; *perorasset* 21, 11, 1; *perseverasset* 37, 53, 1; -et 3, 64, 11; -nt 45, 15, 7; *persultasset* 34, 20, 6; *pervastasset* 42, 41, 11; -nt 33, 37, 6; *postulasset* 28, 9, 3; 31, 20, 2; 32, 33, 8; 36, 1, 8; 38, 44, 10; -nt 22, 60, 6; 33, 37, 5; *praecipitasset* 27, 40, 3; *praeparasset* 38, 21, 6; *probasset* 3, 69, 7; 39, 3, 5; *procurasset* 7, 20, 3; *promulgasset* 4, 48, 2; *promuntiasset* 5, 47, 9; 26, 48, 8; 37, 32, 11; 44, 34, 1; -nt 3, 69, 6; *provocasset* 10, 9, 5; *payuasset* 6, 1, 6; 7, 12, 12; 8, 33, 15; 34, 4; 22, 25, 13; 34, 5; 34, 10, 5; 40, 34, 6; 44, 8; -nt 26, 48, 2; 33, 8, 4; *rebellasset* 35, 35, 3; -nt 8, 14, 5; *recitasset* 42, 83; 45, 7, 1; *recuper-*

asset 38, 3, 2; *recusasset* 27, 34, 11; *remigrasset* 6, 4, 5; *reportasset* 38, 50, 3; *reservasset* 36, 36, 2; *-mus* 25, 6, 2; *rogasset* 34, 5, 5; *salutasset* 45, 12, 4; *-nt* 1, 6, 2; *servasset* 3, 36, 3; 9, 8, 15; 21, 52, 6; 33, 4, 2; *solicitasset* 10, 24, 6; *spectasset* 31, 25, 8; *sperasset* 25, 6, 2; *spoliasset* 32, 40, 10; *subrogasset* 3, 19, 1; *sueclumasset* 6, 40, 12; 26, 22, 8; *suderasset* 33, 41, 6; *-nt* 2, 50, 6; 22, 18, 2; *temperasset* 40, 14, 3; *templasset* 23, 14, 5; 32, 21, 10; *-nt* 4, 10, 4; 27, 39, 14; 38, 6, 4; *titubasset* 21, 35, 12; *tolerasset* 37, 12, 1; *triumphasset* 35, 10, 5; *turbasset* 21, 48, 5; 33, 9, 9; 37, 11, 8; *-nt* 28, 13, 6; *variasset* 2, 57, 2; *vastasset* 42, 30, 10; *verberasset* 10, 9, 4; *violasset* 34, 31, 16; *-nt* 36, 27, 6; 42, 3, 6; *vindicasset* 37, 52, 3; *vocasset* 24, 36, 9; 26, 44, 2; 39, 15, 11; *-nt* 23, 32, 3.

It is evident that the great majority of the contracted plup. subj. verb-forms belong to the 1st conj. (336); next to this comes *eo* and its cpds. with 112, the 4th conj. with 77, the 3rd with 73 (of which 9 are of *nosco* etc.), and then the 2nd conj. with only 10. (Cf. also p. 2.)

In this tense the 1st conj. has only 2 (or .06 per cent.) uncontracted: *occupavisset* 32, 33, 4; *praecavisset* 27, 24, 9. In the first passage *occupasset* occurs but two lines above. In the 2nd conj. the uncontracted form was not used, but in the 3rd it is found in all 18 times (or 29 per cent.); *acquievisset* 34, 30, 2; *consuevisset* 10, 24, 5; *crevissent* 21, 9, 1; 23, 34, 17; *descivissent* 25, 20, 6; 32, 34, 11; *exolevissent* 2, 52, 4; *obsolevissent* 21, 52, 7; *secrevissent* 35, 14, 12; *sivisset* 21, 59, 7; *sivissent* 35, 5, 11; and *sprevisset* 27, 49, 2 are not given by Neue-W. p. 495 f. In the 4th conj. the uncontracted forms are used 5 times (or 2.6 per cent.); *concirvissent* 41, 8, 4; *excirvissent* 1, 18, 3; 28, 24, 2; 45, 4, 3; and *scirvissent* 4, 1, 6.

The Pluperfect stands in marked contrast to the Perfect. In the Perf. contr. = 19 to uncontr. 92, the contr. being 17.1 per cent., in the plup. on the other hand contr. = 608 to the uncontr. only 25, the contr. here reaching 96.1 per cent.

In the part of their work, III² p. 468 fol., devoted to these forms, Neue-Wagener show many omissions. The following are to be added to their citations: *accersisset* 40, 33, 2; *anquisissent* 1, 52, 5; 26, 3, 7; *decreasset* 42, 28, 9; *decreassent* 25, 4, 7; on p. 468 but 3 passages are cited for *petisset*; add also: 9, 44, 6; 28, 8, 10; 30, 13, 6; 31, 33, 6; 7; 32, 31, 1; 33, 11, 2 (7); on p. 471 but 6 are cited for *petissent*; add also: 7, 20, 6; 31, 6; 8, 1, 10; 9, 20, 5; 45, 2; 23, 15, 6;

26, 2, 11; 31, 39, 3; 45, 1; 33, 18, 19; 40, 42, 12; 45, 20, 7 (12); *oppetissent* 45, 26, 8; *repetissent* 3, 40, 9; 21, 20, 2; *quacessisset* 9, 10, 10; *reliquisset* 31, 48, 2; on p. 466 but 6 are cited for *audisset*, add: 26, 25, 17; 27, 16, 10; 19, 8; 29, 12, 5; 27, 12; 31, 25, 2; 33, 19, 1; 49, 6; 35, 14, 1; 18, 6; 36, 21, 7; 37, 12, 5; 37, 6; 38, 1; 39, 5, 11; 12, 8; 40, 31, 1; 42, 46, 2; 56, 3; 64, 2; 44, 3, 4 (20); and for *audissent*, p. 470, but 4 are cited; add: 27, 50, 11; 28, 7, 18; 29, 42, 15; 31, 48, 5; 34, 56, 9; 57, 2; 37, 32, 10; 48, 6; 42, 25, 2; 39, 2; 44, 32, 8; 45, 3, 8, (of the verb *audio* 33 forms are omitted!); *expedisset* 3, 1, 4; *impedisset* 3, 25, 9; (*lenisset* is cited for 2, 56, 10 instead of 2, 56, 15); *mollissent* 23, 19, 13; *mugissent* 1, 7, 7; *nequisset* 4, 39, 4; 9, 13, 8; 30, 40, 13; *praepedisset* 9, 44, 12; 44, 45, 10; *servissent* 40, 18, 7; 45, 15, 5; and *scissent* 3, 19, 12.

The treatment of the contracted forms of *eo* and its compounds is especially open to criticism: 76 subj. forms are omitted, 30 infinitive forms! Add the following to p. 467 f. *isset* 28, 8, 1; 24, 31, 11; *abisset* 10, 38, 3; 41, 6, 2; 44, 39, 6; *adisset* 3, 56, 9; *exisset* 24, 7, 12; 42, 47, 10; *inisset* 2, 8, 2; 26, 26, 5; *perisset* 38, 46, 7; 40, 55, 8; 41, 9, 16; *redisset* 3, 41, 6; 4, 29, 7; 5, 28, 1; 8, 20, 10; 10, 1, 9; 23, 22, 11; 26, 29, 3; 27, 29, 4; 51, 11; 28, 9, 17; 29, 37, 10; 30, 35, 11; 32, 27, 5; 38, 46, 2; 39, 19, 1; 40, 41, 11; 43, 5, 16; 44, 44, 3 (but 2 were given!); *subisset* 9, 18, 18; 37, 4, 4 (word not given); and *transisset* 21, 12, 4; 25, 2; 26, 12, 5; 35, 18, 3; 36, 17, 7; 39, 7; 41, 7, 7; 44, 16, 1. On p. 470 f. the following are omitted: *issent* 24, 31, 11; 36, 3, 2; *abissent* 9, 26, 12; 30, 39, 5; *adissent* 3, 51, 12; 4, 58, 2; 10, 12, 2; 24, 20, 14; 26, 48, 2; 38, 16, 10 (bis); 42, 26, 5 (8); *exissent* 3, 8, 2; 10, 35, 9; 23, 27, 5; 25, 22, 12; 35, 35, 17 (5); *inissent* 6, 1, 9; 24, 43, 2; 26, 1, 1; 32, 1, 1; 38, 35, 7; 42, 26, 8; 44, 17, 8; *redissent* (only one given) 1, 56, 12; 7, 11, 13; 8, 2, 4; 24, 16, 6; 25, 1, 3; 35, 20, 14; 38, 11, 4; 41, 9, 10; 44, 19, 1 (9); *subissent* 44, 9, 8; *transissent* (word omitted) 34, 35, 8; 45, 26, 14.

On p. 490 *nosset* 22, 38, 9 is omitted. In all Livy uses the sing. 59 times, and plural 53 times.

F. Infinitive.

The following table will show at a glance the relative frequency of these forms, the verbs *eo*, *nosco*, and *pluo* being excluded:

CONJ.	CONTR.	UNCONTR.	PER CENT. UNCONTR.
I	182	2	1.1 per cent.
II	7	0	0 per cent.
III	53	6	8.6 per cent.
IV	22	3	12 per cent.
Total ...	264	11	4 per cent.

Notes: (1) In the Infinitive the contracted form almost universally prevails, in the 2nd conj. entirely so.

(2) *Pluvisse* is found 17 times (cf. Neue-W. p. 408), the syncopated form not being used.

(3) *Nosse* occurs 7 times, *cognosse* once. Neue-W. p. 491 omitting *nosse* 32, 11, 2; *ignovisse* 28, 25, 13 is the only uncontracted form.

(4) In the infins. of *eo* and its compounds the syncopated and contracted form, *isse*, was always used, occurring 52 times (cf. *infra*).

As Neue-W. p. 479 do not treat in detail Livy's usage in the 1st Conj. we give a complete list of the verbs used and of the number of times each was used.

(a) FIRST CONJ. The unsyncopated form occurs but once,¹ *consecravisse* 2, 41, 10; (*prostr-* 8, 11, 6), both in the 1st Decade. The contracted form is used 182 times: *abundasse* 35, 48, 7; *abdic-* 2, 21, 3; *adacquir-* 2, 27, 4; *acceler-* 27, 47, 8; *addubit-* 10, 19, 13; *adfirm-* 8, 24, 1; *advol-* 35, 9, 4; *agit-* 22, 43, 4; *alien-* 30, 13, 12; *appell-* 45, 44, 20; *arm-* 41, 1, 1; *capt-* 33, 35, 6; *cert-* 1, 35, 5; 38, 13, 6; *commemor-* 6, 20, 7; *commigr-* 41, 8, 7; *conflagr-* 1, 31, 8; 30, 13, 12; 36, 37, 3; *conjur-* 2, 18, 3; 7, 21, 9; 39, 17, 6; *conspir-* 2, 32, 10; 3, 36, 9; 56, 12; *cre-* 5, 6, 5; 11, 11; 22, 1, 5; *cur-* 39, 25, 8; *dun-* 27, 33, 11; 40, 43, 2; *denu-* 42, 25, 12; *devoc-* 6, 20, 9; *devol-* 21, 62, 4; 27, 11, 4; *dimic-* 34, 28, 1; *don-* 4, 56, 6; *dubit-* 7, 13, 7; 24, 22, 15; *eman-* 7, 39, 4; *evit-* 40, 13, 9; *evoc-* 1, 1, 7; *excit-* 26, 30, 4; *existim-* 2, 38, 4; *expect-* 32, 35, 6; *expir-* 28, 32, 4; *expir-* 22, 7, 1; 32, 25, 9; 37,

57, 2; *expugn-* 5, 41, 12; 22, 24, 13, 39, 26, 1; *exul-* 42, 41, 5; 27, 4, 13; *firm-* 4, 40, 6; *fug-* 22, 29, 9; *habere* 34, 41, 5; *hact-* 3, 18, 11; 35, 43, 3; *ignosc-* 41, 18, 4; 44, 38, 5; 45, 8, 3; *innu-* 27, 46, 13; *innu-* 39, 13, 9; *inop-* 43, 6, 9; *impetr-* 36, 35, 11; 38, 18, 4; 25, 16, 10; *induc-* 28, 19, 6; *induc-* 35, 49, 4; *inla-* 25, 24, 11; 45, 4, 3; *innu-* 4, 48, 2; *intrase* 9, 34, 8; 24, 40, 41; 27, 32, 2; 32, 6, 5; 36, 9, 4; 39, 10, 5; 42, 54, 7; 44, 23, 2; *inot-* 8, 19, 10; *in-* 9, 16, 2; 38, 57, 4; *luc-* 30, 2, 9; *luc-* 30, 44, 11; *lee-* 1, 34, 9; *liber-* 35, 36, 6; *lit-* 8, 9, 1; *loc-* 43, 4, 7; *man-* 27, 23, 3; 28, 11, 3; 45, 15, 5; *mand-* 5, 6, 5; 24, 29, 11; 39, 4, 4; *milit-* 3, 71, 6; 6, 13, 7; 25, 1; *mit-* 22, 19; *mit-* 6, 16, 4; 9, 12, 12; 22, 20; 23, 17, 6; 29, 3, 10; *move-* 2, 33, 8; *acc-* 2, 41, 10; *neg-* 5, 47, 17; 31, 34, 8; 39, 43, 3; *not-* 3, 33, 9; 24, 16, 2; *nu-* 6, 20, 9; 45, 39, 17; *avari-* 2, 20, 12; *obtre-* 36, 34, 5; *occup-* 1, 47, 10; 25, 4, 4; 31, 1, 4; 32, 33, 15; *opt-* 28, 27, 10; *or-* 6, 20, 9; *penetr-* 9, 36, 7; 35, 30, 8; *peragr-* 34, 56, 2; *perlit-* 41, 15, 4; *praecepit* 23, 19, 6; 27, 16, 4; *praequit-* 49, 59, 8; *praeoccup-* 4, 48, 8; *praequir-* 42, 12, 8; *praeopt-* 26, 30, 6; *promulg-* 38, 54, 2; *promu-* 26, 16, 3; *pugna-* 28, 9, 12; 30, 12, 3; 33, 24, 3; 44, 4; 36, 32, 2; 40, 50, 2; 6; 42, 21, 2; 59, 7; 43, 5, 4; 45, 1, 8; 23, 2; *rebell-* 10, 16, 5; 45, 2; 41, 17, 6; *reciper-* 6, 34, 4; *regn-* 2, 1, 3; 4, 3, 10; *renu-* 42, 25, 12; 30, 8; *respir-* 22, 18, 10; *sacrific-* 26, 33, 8; *ser-* 22, 25, 15; 45, 19, 14; *sper-* 4, 15, 6; *suadent-* 30, 42, 20; *sud-* 22, 1, 12; 27, 4, 15; *super-* 21, 26, 4; 47, 5; 38, 40, 10; *templ-* 4, 2, 7; 16, 4; 10, 16, 5; 31, 38, 7; 44, 25, 3; *trans-* 21, 47, 4; *triumph-* 8, 39, 16; 10, 37, 10; 13; 28, 38, 4; *turb-* 30, 31, 1; *usur-* 2, 49, 11; 27, 8, 9; 34, 62, 13; 35, 16, 10; *urb-* 2, 41, 10; *vit-* 38, 45, 2; and *vol-* 27, 23, 3; (105 verbs, 182 occurrences).

(b) 2ND CONJ. But 5 verbs are used *atmosse*, *delesse*, (2) *eripisse*, *flasse*, and *implesse* (2), cf. Neue-W. III² p. 480 f.

(c) 3RD CONJ. 17 verbs are found with a total of 53 occurrences, with *esse* (7) and *cognosse* (1), = 61. The following are to be added to Neue-W. pp. 477 and 483 f.: *descisse* 3, 4, 3; 23, 7; 41, 1; 6, 25, 2; *petisse* (for which none are cited): 1, 11, 2; 35, 2; 4, 35, 10; 9, 44, 9; 10, 16, 5; 21, 5, 3; 27, 30, 14; 30, 28, 1; 31, 9, 1; 33, 40, 4; 34, 41, 10; 36, 15, 1; 37, 52, 7; 38, 19, 1; 57, 5; 42, 42, 3; (16); *quiesce* 3, 16, 4; *quiesse* 28, 35, 8; 39, 50, 7; and *repetisse* 2, 2, 3. On p. 495: *crevisse* 1, 9

¹ If the reading is correct, it seems to be due to Livy's fondness for variety of expression; *verberasse necesse* . . . *consecravisse*.

9; 2, 14, 2; 45, 19, 9; *subcrevisse* 10; 13, 7.

In the 3rd. conj. the contracted Infin. was used 61 times to the uncontracted 6 times (*crevisse*, 3; *decrevisse* 1; *subcrevisse* 1, and *ignorisse* 28, 25, 13).

(d) 4TH. CONJ. Neue-W. p. 473 cite only 5 of *audisse*; add: 5, 32, 6; 21, 22, 9; 24, 22, 2; 38, 1; 30, 20, 1; 33, 22, 7; 43, 4, 10; 44, 20, 6. The following also are omitted: *conciisse* 3, 53, 4; *nequisse* 10, 19, 7; 23, 34, 5; *scisse* 38, 40, 8; *servisse* 1, 39, 5. But 3 uncontracted forms are found: *nequivisse* 21, 22, 7; and *excivisse* 3, 39, 2; 31, 11, 6, to 22 contracted.

(e) EO AND ITS COMPOUNDS. Only the contracted form appears, 52 times. Neue III³ p. 474 omits: *isse* 34, 48, 1; 38, 55, 2; *abisse* 26, 17, 12; 28, 2; 30, 20, 7; 31, 39, 3; 43, 5, 4; 44, 20, 7; *exisse* 6, 37, 5;

inisse 27, 19, 10; 44, 15, 3; *perisse* 2, 50, 11; 26, 32, 3; 29, 32, 9; *redisse* 1, 41, 5; 3, 58, 4; 4, 40, 2; 8, 8, 11; 26, 6; 34, 48, 1; 37, 37, 8; *subisse* 2, 49, 1; *transisse* 21, 20, 9; 25, 37, 8; 26, 2, 14; 12, 6; 34, 33, 12; 35, 23, 10; 35, 7; 44, 38, 1.

Notes: (1) Of the 1172 contracted forms which Livy used 608 are in the plup. subj. and 324 in the infin. making a total of 932, or 79.5 per cent. of all the contracted forms, before ss. (cf. p. 2).

(2) Livy uses in all 56 verbs in both *-assem* and *-asse*, 4 in both *-essem* and *-esse*, and 11 in both *-issem* and *-isse*.¹

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¹ It is evident from the numerous omissions for Livy's usage that are pointed out above, that Neue-Wagener's work is for Livy unreliable and needs thorough revision.

ON THE NEUTER NOMINATIVE. SOME IMPERSONAL VERBS AND THREE DRAMATIC QUOTATIONS.

It should be stated in all manuals of Comparative Philology and noted in every school grammar, though I am not aware that it is, that the Neuter Nominative in Greek and Latin is merely an Accusative or a naked stem masquerading as a subject and that constructions like *haec me pudet* or *haec res me pudet* arise from the accusative of sphere or extent (in *hoc me pudet*) by sheer misunderstanding. In the preface to Bréal's *Semantics* p. xxviii I pointed out that the fact of the Nominative and Accusative Neuter being originally one case explained several remarkable anomalies in concord. But this is not to go far enough. The truth is that the Neuter Nominative is altogether an usurper; and in Greek its erratic behaviour at the head of a sentence reveals the instability of its title. It has as much right as the Vocative to have a finite verb at its beck and call: as much and no more.

The rough and tentative Latin of the earlier Republic would, if we had more of it, furnish numerous examples of these vagaries of Impersonals; and it need not trouble us if Turpilius slips into 'illum illaec pudet' (*fr.* 104 ap. Non. 21. 25) and Plautus *Stichus* 51 into 'et me quidem haec condicio nunc non paenitet.'

It is a different matter when we find in Lucan (S. 495)

semper metuet quem saeva pudebunt

and Bentley did well to be shocked. 'Lucani saeculo non sic loquebantur. *pudet* tum impersonale erat,' though he sought an improper satisfaction for his feeling when he subjoined 'puto Lucanum scripsisse semper metuet, quem *jura movebunt*.'

It were wonderful if *pudebunt* should be Lucanian; but it is a greater marvel still that in *Philippics* xii. 7

'Quod si erratum est, P.C., spe falsa atque fallaci redeamus in uiam. Optimus est portus paenitenti mutatio consilii'

paenitens should have passed so long for Ciceronian.¹

Quotation in ancient poetry was commoner than we suppose or can now detect. The metre often prevented it from being exact, and the original has perhaps as frequently been lost. Our possession of the originals assures us that in Statius *Silvae* i. 2. 252 *agg.*

hunc ipse Coe plaudente Philetas
Callimachusque senex 'Vmbro'que Propertius
'antro'
ambissent laudare diem nec tristis in ipsis
Naso, Tomis 'diues'que 'foco lucente'
Tibullus

¹ C. F. W. Mueller has indeed challenged it, but he has nothing happier to offer than the unsupported conjecture 'paenitendi' (*Philologus*, xix p. 632).

the words *Umbro antro—diues fœco lucente* should be printed as they stand above. Compare Prop. i. 22. 9 sq., iv. 1. 63 sq., 121, id. iii. 1. 5, 3. 6 and 15; and Tib. i. 1. 5 sq.

And Lucan's readers needed no clue to show them that he too was quoting, quoting without much change from a speech of some friend or flatterer of a mythical despot in an ancient tragic drama. The metrical form of the words cannot be restored exactly, but they suggest trochaics

sæua quem pudēbunt semper mētuet . . .

The tragic colour of the second quotation is still easier to recognise and its metre to determine. To say nothing of the unprosaic form of predication *portus est mutatio*, *optimus portus* is Greek all over, κάλλιστος λιμήν; and with but a slight change of order we get an excellent septenarius:

óptumu' portus paénitentist cónsili mutatio.

Nor have I much doubt about its author. He is Cicero's first favourite Pacuvius, whose personal use of *paenitens* 'repenting' here is of a piece with his personal use of *paenitebunt* in *fr.* 31 'proloqui non paenitebunt liberi ingrato ex loco' (ap. Non. 475. 18).

I will conclude by restoring to metre and sense another trochaic septenarius quoted by Cicero and placed among the fragments of the *palliatæ* (Ribbeck, 37), for whose unmetrical form not the philosopher this time but his copyists are responsible. In *de Finibus* II 14 we read

'Hanc quoque iucunditatem, si uis, transfer in animum, 'iuuare' enim in utroque dicitur,

ex eoque 'iucundum' modo intellegas inter eum qui dicat

'Tanta lætitia auctus sum ut nihil constet' et eum qui

'Nunc demum mihi animum ardet'

quorum alter lætitia gæstiat, alter dolore crucietur, esse illum medium

'Quamquam hæc inter nos nuper notitia admodum est'

qui nec lætetur nec angatur.

Madvig gives the general sense of the first quotation correctly: '*constet est stabile firmumque sit*: omnia animo et sensibus confundi et perturbari significatur ut homo ubi sit quid agat nesciat. Similiter Cicero *Tusc.* IV 35, fortasse hunc ipsum versum significans, scripsit: *tum effœretur obacritate ut nihil ei constet quid agat*. . . Nobbius sic hæc disposuit: *tanta lætitia auctus sum. Ut nihil constet*. Sed potest initium esse versus trochaici, *nihil in unam syllabam contracto*.' It is incredible that the dramatist left or that Cicero quoted the line as it now stands in the best MSS, and there is only too much justification for the conjecture (such it appears to be) *ut mihi non constem* of the inferior ones. It is however sound as far as it goes; it needs only carrying further. Thus

tánta lætitia auctus sum ut nil constet
< cordi cónsili >.

The cause of the loss is obvious. It was the 'homoigraphon' (*Cl. Rev.* xvi. 308) in *constet, consili*, nil of course goes with *consili* as in Plautus *Bæch.* 1036. The effects of excessive joy upon the *consilium* need no illustration.

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE PLURAL OF *RES PUBLICA*.

THE Editor of this *Review* in his kind notice of my *Pro Patria* (*C.R.* 1903, p. 397) asks for 'chapter and verse for using *res publicæ* (plur.) of the Boer or any other republics.' As a matter of fact I did not use the plural in my text; but in a note (p. 84) and in one or two passages of the exercises I implied that the plural might be used in the sense of 'republics.' And I still think so. I have counted more than 25 instances of *res publicæ*, in Cicero's orations and philosophical works alone, denoting 'states' or 'constitutions': he speaks of *omnium rerum publicarum optima* (*Leg.* ii

23), *rerum publicarum administratio* (*Fin.* v 58), *rectio* (*ibid.* 11; iv 61), *rector* (*Rep.* v 6), *principes* (*ibid.* i 56, *Fin.* v 7), *instituta* (*Leg.* i 15), *commutationes* (*Rep.* i 65), *conversiones* (*Div.* ii 6), *eversiones* (*de Sen.* 40), *proditiões* (*Acad.* ii 27), *itineræ flævusque* (*Rep.* ii 45), *genera* (*Rep.* i 44, 65), *modi* (*ibid.* 46, 69), *origo* (*De Orat.* i 54), *varietas* (*Rep.* iii 4), *rationes rerum p. constitutarum* (*Rep.* i 11); and he uses the abl. in *id maxime in rebus publicis evenit* (*Rep.* i 68 and 45). No doubt the English 'republic' is generally used in a more limited sense than the Latin *res publica*, which may be applied to any kind

of state, whatever the particular form of its government: Tacitus, for instance, applies it to Rome under the Emperors, and Cicero to Rome under Romulus (Rep. ii 5). But for that very reason *res publica* may be and constantly is applied to states governed by elected magistrates, such as Rome and Athens; just as any other word denoting a genus may be applied to a species of that genus. And what is true of the singular is true of the plural; Cicero speaks not only of *res publica nostra* (Rome e.g. Pro Balbo 6, Verr. iv 124, and elsewhere), but also of *maximae res publicae ab adolescentibus lubefactatae* (among which Rome is clearly included; De Senectute 20). Thebes was democratical at the time of Epaminondas, and we find Cicero writing *nam erudiverunt multos, quo meliores cives utilioresque rebus suis publicis essent, ut Epaminondam Lysis*, etc. (Off. i 155). The cities of Crete were democratical since the 3rd Century, and Cicero writes *neque Lacedaemonii neque Cretes melius quam Romani res publicas suas retinuerunt* (Pro Mur. 74). And among the states referred to in *qui Graeciae formam rerum publicarum dedit* (Tusc. ii 36) some at least were republican. These facts alone would seem to justify the description of the two republics of South Africa as *duae res publicae*.

But, further, the singular *res publica* sometimes denotes the species ('republic') as distinct from the genus ('state'). Speaking of the third kind of state, the democratical, Cicero says *hanc unam rite rem publicam, id*

est rem populi, appellari putant (Rep. i 48), and *ceteras vero res publicas ne appellandas quidem putant eis nominibus quibus illae sese appellari velint* (ibid. 50). In one of his letters he uses the expression *si erit ulla res publica* ('any constitutional government,' Ad Fam. ii 16. 5). Finally we have in Tacitus *dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet* ('a republic'; the speaker is Galba; Hist. i 16, cf. 50), and *quotus quisque reliquus, qui rem publicam vidisset?* (Ann. i 3, cf. iv 19). But if the plural of *res publica* = 'state' may denote 'states' (in the concrete sense, as in the examples with *rector*, *principes*, etc., quoted above), then the plural of *res publica* = 'republic' may denote 'republics.' The Greek *πολιτεία* and its plural may be used in the same limited concrete sense.

As I have already written so much about this word, around which some mystery seems to cling, I may as well add that exaggerated statements are often made about the impossibility of using it in the sense of 'public business.' We have the singular in this sense not only in Plaut. Mil. 103 *magnai rei publicae gratia*, but also in Cic. pro Balbo 14 (see note of Reid); and the plural in *sine multa pertractione omnium rerum publicarum* ('public affairs,' De Or. i 48), and *omnibus rebus publicis instituendis* (Rep. ii 16). Nor must Horace Od. ii 1. 10 *ubi publicas res ordinatis* ('events of public importance') be forgotten. Not that I should recommend either of these usages to writers of Latin composition.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

THE S. JOHN'S COLLEGE (CAMBRIDGE) MS. OF *THE THEBAID*.

THIS MS. is cited—I think—twice by O. Mueller, without comment. Kohlmann does not notice it. I was surprised, therefore, to find two statements about it in Karl Wotke's 'Zur handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung der Thebais des Statius' (*Eranos Pindob.* 1893) to the effect (1) that this MS. (which I propose to call D) was nearly allied to and mediately derived from Sangallensis 865 (G), (2) that it might safely be set aside as worthless by any future editor of Statius. D is lumped together with a number of other MSS. p, c, g, d, Gud. 52, etc. in this condemnation; and the 'Künftiger Herausgeber' is admonished to disregard them all. Lest any editor should follow this advice, I should like to say a

few words about D from my own knowledge of it. Wotke's knowledge of it is perhaps indicated by the fact that his App. Crit. to Bk. i, cites it once only, and that this citation is also one of the two given in Mueller. That G and D are related may or may not be true. The contradictions between them in Bk. i (for which Wotke furnishes a collation of G) are certainly numerous. But in any case D is much the older MS. It is, in that case, G which along with p, c, g, d, Gud. 52, and the rest the future editor must set aside.

D belongs to the tenth century. Originally it was the property of the Priory of Dover—'lib. monachorum de Dovorya,' says the title—and it appears in the old

Catalogue of the Priory (in the Bodleian). It subsequently belonged to Wm. Crashaw (brother of the poet), and passed to S. John's College in 1635 by gift of the Earl of Southampton. It is a quarto volume, with double columns, written in a clear hand which has, however, become very much faded. To restore the more faded portions someone has poured a composition over a number of pages with the result of rendering them (with the exception of a word here and there), quite illegible. Its contents are given on the title page, 'Statii Thebaid. Lib. xii. | Glossæ super Priscianum. | Commentar. in Lib. Sophist. Elenchorum.' This omits the fact (also not noticed in Cowie's Catalogue) that at the point where the Thebaid ends, there follows (to complete the page in verse) a column and a half of hexameters. These are almost wholly undecipherable: but I was able to identify the twentieth Idyll of (the pseudo) Ausonius.

The margin of the leaves containing the Thebaid is sparsely furnished with glosses: these I was not able to examine in any detail, but they do not, I think, bear any near relation to Lactantius. In the text, duplicate readings *eodem manu* are extremely numerous: I will use D¹ to denote the reading *in linea*, D² to denote the reading *supra lineam*: but there is no question of first and second hand.

My attention was first drawn to D by a fragment of a collation of it dated 1830, in the Bodleian, made (not with entire accuracy) for Dr. John Jortin, by Beaupré Bell of Trinity College, Cambridge. Some notes of readings from D are to be found in Jortin's *Miscellaneous Observations*. I imagine Mueller's citations to be derived from the Latin Translation of this work: he constantly cites Jortin as 'Anonymus.' (Kohlmann seems ignorant that Mueller's 'Anonymus' = Jortin.)

The importance of D among the MSS. of the Thebaid was suggested to me in the first instance by the fact that it preserves the remarkable line iv. 716 (*Kohlman*) hitherto known only from P. It gives the line as in P except for the variant *apta* for *rapta*. Its early date is sufficient indication that it does not derive the line from P itself. The line is also given in the margin of *Codex P. Flemingii* with the same variant (and *longumq. laborem*). Of this MS. also (once or twice cited by Mueller) I hope to say something on another occasion. In yet another MS. which I have examined I think we have perhaps a trace of iv. 716

in a form which enables us to supply the necessary correction (MS. Corp. Christ. Oxon. saec. xiii-xiv.). This MS. omits, indeed, iv. 716, but gives iv. 717 thus:—

fuit
haec quoque secreta nutrit Langia sub
umbra.

This superscript *fuit* is clearly not a gloss. I take it to be the *ruit* of iv. 716 in PD: and imagine it to point to an original *fugit* (*ruit-fuit* and *fugit-fuit* are confusions that occur constantly in our MSS.¹ cf. 6. 550; 7. 236). Accordingly I would write iv. 715-717 thus:—

Una tamen tacita (sed iussu numinis)
unda
Rapta fugit Phaethontis equos magnamq.
laborem
Haec quoque secreta (nutrit Langia) sub
umbra

('Yet one stream, in hurried flight, muttling the noise of her waves, escaped—by heavenly ordinance—the pursuit of the Sun-god's chariot and all that peril: yet she too only by stealing through hidden coverts:—Langia was the mother of her waters.' 715. *tacitas . . undas codd.* 716. *Rapta P. apta D. ruit PD.*)

Some corruption lurks, I suspect, also in *haec quoque*: but it is not bettered by omitting l. 716.

D follows in the main the B recension *i.e.* the non-Puteanean recension of which B is the foremost representative. At the same time, as the single example of iv. 716 might suffice to shew, it is very strongly tinged with the Puteanean tradition. Besides iv. 716, D agrees with the reading of P against all other MSS. at the following points:—

iii. 583 recurrent (sic) D—recurant P
recurvant cett.; iii. 696 iacentis; iv. 441
vivoque²; iv. 651 monent; iv. 842 defen-
sasq.; v. 23 abstimus; v. 182 Pares;
habet }
[vii. 334 abit] D habent, P abit cett.; vii

683 eruptoq. (sic) D; ix. 9 proles; ix. 127
tum; ix. 178 aberrat²; ix. 183 nunquam²;
ix. 618 prolem; ix. 626 dira; ix. 729
moriture; x. 128 Acheum²; x. 219 eumque;
x. 359 mediasve; x. 362 animus²; x. 371
cursu²; x. 557 validas²; xi. 25 et om.:

¹ That the *fuit* of the Corpus MS. may go back to some P tradition is made probable by the fact that this MS. preserves with P alone vv. x. 109-114 in their entirety (x. 114 *flamma flammis; Corp.*). In general this MS. is not noteworthy.

xi. 104 retardent; xi. 126 absint*; xi. 274 defecta*; xi. 304 ut om. [But in D it has been written in *sup. lin.* but intended I think as a gloss not as part of the text.] xi. 674 ceu visu squalore*; xi. 692 terramque; xi. 733 referat*; xii. 134 calles [so a late hand in B]; xii. 147 causasse; xii. 239 pecudumq.; xii. 259 limina; xii. 644 coetibus* (1)

The asterisk in each case denotes that the reading is that in the body of the text (D¹) but that the same hand has written the B vulgate above (D²). In all the readings given where the lection is duplicate, that of the P tradition is the one in the body of the text: there can be little doubt that in the period at which our MSS. begin the Puteanean tradition was absolutely dead in the learned world and that scribes and the directors of scribes were at great pains to eliminate all traces of it from their copies. Indeed it is not sufficiently recognised that from the sixth to the twelfth century the B recension was paramount. Priscian shews knowledge of the P recension: [this is easily explained if we accept the conjecture of Vollmer (*Rhein. Mus.* li. 1896) that the Julianus to whom he dedicates his work is the Julianus *vc* of P]: but between the date of Priscian and the twelfth century there is no trace at all of the P recension.¹ In the twelfth century the readings of P began to emerge from their monastic seclusion and found their way in some number into different xii-xv century MSS. We have thus to draw a very sharp line between MSS. of saec. ix-xi and MSS. of saec. xii-xv. Agreements with P in MSS. of saec. xii-xv have no importance whatever—except in certain special conditions. Agreements with P in MSS. of saec. ix-xi have great importance. If Gudianus 52 (so full of P readings) were lost to-morrow the text of Statius would be none the worse. But a MS. like D represents (however partially) a P tradition independent of P itself. That D is actually the descendant of a MS. of the Puteanean recension is, I think, not possible—except in so far, of course, as both recensions go back ultimately to one archetype. I take it, rather, to be the descendant of a MS. of the B recension

(d) which was revised by the aid of a MS. of the other recension. So dead does the Puteanean recension seem to have been that the MS. by which d was revised may not impossibly have been the Codex Juliani *vc*: many MSS. of the P recension, by which it could thus be revised, there cannot have been. How many links we are to suppose between d and D it is not possible to say. The MS. from which D is directly copied was undoubtedly a minuscule MS.—this is everywhere clearly indicated—and probably of the ninth century (*e.g.* i. 564 *amplexum* for *-am*, iii. 583 *recurrent* for *-ant*, etc. point to open 'a').

The following is a list of places where D alone of ix-xi. saec. MSS. agrees with P. I confine the list to Bkk. i-vi: but vii-xii afford equally striking examples. D so frequently agrees with P where P has no other support save such late and worthless codices as Gud. 52 H.L.R.T. (in which the P readings have come direct from P) that it is necessary to exhibit such a list if we are to see D's time relation to the Puteanean recension:—

i. 214 *exsaturabile**; i. 223 *pelagus**; i. 333 *Schirone*; i. 337 *subvecta** (so c?) i. 351 *noctem tenebr. vol. torquens*; i. 357 in *undas* P¹, D²; i. 604 *devesci*; i. 619 *pubes**; iii. 34 *thetys*; iii. 35 *Yperiona*; iii. 115 *avia*; iii. 161 *vulnera* P², D; iii. 302 *exciderint*; iii. 324 *remensus daneia*; iii. 533 *sint*; iv. 86 *et gemino*; iv. 199 *exuerat cultus**; iv. 268 *tonat*; iv. 279 *conubiisve*; iv. 296 *psophidaque*; iv. 357 *lapsa*; iv. 431 *ast*; iv. 437 *molliā*; iv. 472 *tenuit**; iv. 527 *torva*; iv. 560 *sitis* P, D²; iv. 670 *globus iste*; iv. 753 *aspera*; iv. 775 *limite* P¹, D; iv. 782 *parvum circa*; v. 113 *thalami* (so corrector of g); v. 159 *casopeia*; v. 182 *fusus*; v. 300 *pudor*; v. 357 *averso*; v. 454 *cineres*; v. 603 *paret* (?); vi. 449 *iectatq.*; vi. 745 *reicit*.

The MS. with which, of all MSS. whose readings are on record, D most closely agrees is the Anglicanus Heinsii—another of the MSS. which Wotke urges the 'future editor' to dismiss as worthless. I was inclined at first actually to identify Anglicanus with D. Heins cites from Anglicanus many readings which are found in D alone, so far as I know (*e.g.* twelve in *lib. i.*). His citations are most frequent where D is clean and legible: where D¹ is so stained as to be undecipherable, Heins does not cite Anglicanus. A peculiar feature, again, both of D and Anglicanus is the frequency of their duplicate lections. I at first thought that there was no reading cited by Heins from his MS. which is not found in

¹ To quote Lactantius in support of its survival is absurd. 1. Though he occasionally recognises a P reading he does so not more often than any one of our MSS. 2. He can be shewn in numberless places to have used a text in general inferior to that of any of our ix-xii saec. MSS. 3. His text has been endlessly interpolated, and any unique P reading justly arouses suspicion:—*e.g.* i. 32 rightly obelized by Jahnke.

ours. This is, however, as a fuller knowledge of Heins' notes has shown me, true only of *libb.* i.-ix. In *libb.* x.-xii. there are some dozen contradictions between Anglicanus and D. It must also be said that Heins sometimes quotes a reading of Anglicanus which in D is found *in company with another reading* which Heins does not see fit to mention, because, probably, he had it in the text by which he was collating.

The contradictions between D and Anglicanus do not seem to me entirely to exclude the possibility of the identity of the two MSS., but only to make it very problematical. I feel sure that in many cases Heins notes a reading as *e cod.* (i.e. from a MS. he does not care to distinguish more particularly) where he meant to cite it as from Anglicanus; and conversely he may occasionally write 'Anglicanus noster' where he should have written *e cod.* However, I am at present rather disposed to regard *Anglicanus* as a MS. derived from D but through a MS. revised by the aid of a pure B-recension *codex*. The contradictions between D and Anglicanus (so far as I can discover the readings of the latter) are confined to *libb.* x.-xii. and it is in these that the P tradition is D is perhaps strongest. This seems to some extent to confirm my view that Anglicanus is a descendant of D, in which care was taken to restore (largely) the vulgate B tradition.

Of the MSS. of the B-recension, the two most important, besides D, are undoubtedly B and K. Of the relation of these to D nothing definite can be said. A comparison of lacunae is not very helpful: In B there are wanting ll. iv. 270, 386, 716; vii. 296-383; ix. 53-187, 378; xi. 459. Of these iv. 386, 716; ix. 378; xi. 459 are also wanting in K; but all the lines are given in D. The test of the *versus scholastici*, again, does not help much:—as the following table will show: ii. 37-40 *om.* P¹B¹D¹K; iv. 29 *om.* B¹D¹K, *habent* P²B²D² (*im. marg.* D²); iv. 30 *om.* B¹K, *hab.* P²B²D; iv. 31 *om.* P, *hab.*, *in contextu* B¹K, *post v.* 28 D; iv. 702-703 *om.* P¹B¹K, *hab.* D; iv. 747-748 *om.* P, *hab.* B¹D¹K; vi. 51-53, *om.* P, *hab.* B¹D¹K; vi. 79-83 *om.* P¹B¹, *hab.* D¹K² (*marg.*); vi. 88-89, *om.* P¹B¹, *hab.* D¹K² (*marg.*); vi. 177-183, *om.* B¹K, *hab.* P²B²D; vi. 184-185 *om.* P¹B¹K, *hab.* B²D; vi. 227-233, *om.* P¹B¹D, *hab.* B²K; ix. 378 *om.* B¹K, *hab.* P²D; ix. 760 *om.* P¹B¹D, *hab.* K; x. 932-934, *om.* P¹K, *hab.* B (*summ. marg.*) D.

The undoubtedly genuine lines x. 100-105, x. 112-117, given in P, are omitted in common by B¹D¹K. They are not found in

any MS. before the twelfth century (in r.—sæc. ix.—they have been added by a later hand) and 112-117 are found nowhere but in P and the Corpus MS.

A MS. which I regard as nearly related to D is the Magdalen College (Oxon.) MS. sæc. xii.—a MS. good of its kind and containing a great many new scholia. It must I think be a copy of a copy of D, or else descended from D in the third degree. The distinctively Puteanean tradition has been carefully revised away. But a few examples will make clear the very close relation of the two MSS. (Ma = Magd. MS.): i. 12 arcum D¹Ma; i. 48 morte D¹Ma²; i. 519 levare D¹Ma; i. 564 amplexum D¹Ma; ii. 74 cecitatem ducere D¹Ma; ii. 219 tegit D *with gloss* + pectore i.

cingit = tangit Ma; viii. 226 tempore D¹Ma; viii. 251 quantum D¹Ma; viii. 252 ni D¹Ma; viii. 289 an (*for ne*) D¹Ma; viii. negas

317 nefas D¹Ma; viii. 456 miseratus D¹Ma; viii. 508 illum... ipsum D¹Ma; viii. 546 eadit D¹Ma; viii. 577 depascitur D²Ma².

These examples are, I think, conclusive; and they could be multiplied, doubtless; but I have only collated Ma for lks. i-ii and viii. I think such value as it has will probably be found to lie in its glosses.¹

The following is a list of some of the readings of D which deserve attention:—

Lib. i. 129 uno (imo Anglie. (f) *teste Heins. teste Kohlm.*) 309 perstreptit aura D²; 330 mole D¹, more D²; 545 vagas gavisus (-ga- *in ras* ?); 604 tabo D².

Lib. ii. 17 illi D¹, evi D²; 79 sanas + sivi; 269 est ut D¹ (rightly ?); 344 petes (=o K: rightly); 359 demittere (rightly); 432 invideās (the stroke in different ink); 501 nocendi D¹.

Lib. iii. 378 obvia D²; 522 tñ astra D²; 535 inexpleto D¹; 644 vño.

Lib. iv. 171 pallescit; 540 inesset D¹, opertas D²; 546 tu; 648 ille (rightly: so p.); 750 missus; 789 renitens.

Lib. v. 5 sanguinei (rightly); 148 solent: *impositi* 155 tum; 470 asserti D [adversi or assueti codd. Neither gives a good sense. Can asserti be a Statian archaism:—the sense being given by *impositi* ?].

Lib. vi. 242 accelerante manu: 254

¹ Some of these (I have only examined them cursorily) are worth mentioning:—i. 72 proci ante matrem; i. 177 fortunam] potentiam; i. 227 imposita] decepta; innata: ad faciūm; i. 329 queritur quod tam tarde inceperisset fuga; ii. 78 instrumentum taurina pelle involutum. cf. *Adriani's comp.* taurinas . . pelles; ii. 129 irruit in regia; viii. 457 marti (*sic*) in palaestra.

gyro.; 407 Jovis D¹, minor D²; 572 nuda; 909 ostentat.

Lib. vii. 310 tergo; 531 cruore recepto D²; 774 fas D¹, seis D²; 805 maligna.

Lib. viii. 39 nocentum; 56 paruerunt. [This is clearly a gloss which has crept into the text: but it looks as though it had caused the patuerunt of BM.]; 143 profanae D¹; 186 vocasti D²; 378 amictu+hiatu: so Magd. MS. and one or two Bodleian MSS.

Lib. ix. 187 debilitare D²; 216 ne D² (rightly); 482 nube+mole D; 676 sua nec D² (rightly); 770 fudit.

Lib. x. 46 agnae D¹, auae D²; 218 eo solus D² B²; 886 infestare novercam.

Lib. xi. 22 hostes... mortale D² hostiles... morte D¹; 24 tonant+tre-
+perfusus
munt+premunt ead. m. D; 153 perfossum

+fratrem
sanguine fratris D(sic); 161 ast ea quando; 167-168 exigo tandem supplicia fratrem [exigo rightly. I find Imhof: Statius' Lied von Theben, ad loc. had conjectured it.]; 469 vacarent; 548-9 languida somno et regnis... longaque D (bene); 640 tandem pectus; 716 artes D¹; 730 exul erit (rightly).

Lib. xii. 172 repleat D¹ (with gloss *loca*); 181 ulla manus; 182 innumeris.

These are examples of some of the more noteworthy (many of them new) readings in D. For the rest it agrees in the main with B or K or both. I should regard it as, on the whole, as good a MS. as either of them, and as more strongly tinged with the P tradition than either. In general it is, unless I am mistaken, nearer to K than to B. In any case it is not a MS. to be set aside in the flippant fashion of Wotke: and it is certainly the most important MS. of Statius in this country (I mean, of course, so far as the Thebaid is concerned). I have to express my thanks to the authorities of S. John's College for a three months' loan of it.

It is perhaps, unnecessary to add that neither this nor any other known MS. can affect at all the supremacy of P. P was underrated by Mueller: Kohlmann, on the other hand, followed P at once too much and too little. While he admitted into his text such unmistakable glosses as i. 32 *Pierio* and iv. 655 *uvifera*, he has yet rejected the reading of P at a number of places where it should have been retained

either as it stood or with small corrections. In some of these places Vollmer has vindicated (with one or two brilliant corrections) the reading of P (*Rh. Mus.* 1896). I may perhaps be allowed to notice here one or two places, not touched on by Vollmer, where the reading of P—or something very like it—is the true one.

i. 85-86.

nec tarda sequetur

Mens juvenum: modo digna veni, mea pignora nosces.—P and BD.

The text as it stands is preferable to *dira*, *diva*, etc. If any correction is necessary I would suggest

nec tarda sequetur

Mens juvenum, me digna: veni, mea pignora nosces.

(i.e. *me* for *m^o*.)

i. 651-653.

me, me, divum optime solum

Obiecisse caput fati praestabat. An illud, Lene, magis cordi quod desolata domorum Tecta vides? etc.—PD plerique.

Saeve for lene Bentley, Muell., Kohlm.

I would merely alter the punctuation:—
652. An illud

Lene? magis cordi vides?

'Is that too merciful? do you prefer to see?' etc.

vi. 646-648 = 668-670.

Pisaeus Phlegyas opus incohat, et simul omnes

Abstulit in se oculos ex viso corpore virtus

Promissa.

647 (669) ea viso P, exhausto BDK, ex viso *Bachr. prob. Kohlm.* I would read retaining P's ea viso

Pisaeus Phlegyas opus incohat: et simul omnes

Abstulit in se oculos: ea viso corpore virtus

Promissa.

ea = talis. promissa = promissa est.

To Bachrens' reading, or to exhausto, *se* is a grave objection. *In se* cannot mean *in Phlegyam* which is what we want.

H. W. GARROD.

THE MANUSCRIPT PROBLEM IN THE *SILVÆ* OF STATIUS.—ADDENDUM

SOME observations upon my paper in the October No. of the *Classical Review* courteously communicated by Mr. A. C. Clark and Dr. A. Klotz make it necessary for me again to advert to this question.

1. Mr. Clark tells me that the *Matritensis* of Manilius is in the same handwriting as the *Matritensis* of the *Silvæ*, and not in a different one as I had assumed, *loc. cit.* pp. 347–8. The comparison of a photographed page of the Manilius, which Mr. Clark was good enough to lend me, with a similar reproduction of a page of the *Silvæ* has convinced me that this is the case.

My argument did not, however, depend on the diversity of the script in the two cases; but on the insufficiency of the proof which was drawn from the ignorance of the scribe. The fact that the scribe of the two *Matritenses* was a very ignorant man by no means proves that he was Poggio's 'ignorantissimus uidentium.' Crass ignorance is by no means so uncommon as that.

2. Dr. Klotz informs me that he and Dr. Krohn lay a great deal more stress on the resemblance of the writing of the corrector in the *Matritensis* of the *Silvæ* (M²) to that of the *Matritensis* of Asconius and Valerius

Flaccus (class. mark X. 81, Klotz Prooet. p. xlix.) than on its resemblance to that of *Hamiltonensis* 166. I am sorry if I have misrepresented the German scholars' view. But I certainly thought that the appeal was ultimately to the *Hamiltonensis*, which is in the undoubted writing of Poggio. X. 81 has indeed a *subscription*, ending *Nos quod potuimus egimus Poggius Florentinus*, which may, unlike a number of other *subscriptions*, be an autograph. But how is it proved to be such? If the proof be not the similarity of its script to an undoubted Poggian MS, I do not know what it is; and if so, then it is surely more logical to compare M² with the writing by which we have determined that of X. 81 to be Poggian. In fine two propositions must be established: (1) that M² is the handwriting of the scribe of X. 81; (2) that this scribe is Poggio himself. Of these two propositions I still await the proof. But it is a matter of indifference to my argument whether it be furnished or not, as I showed on p. 347*b*; and, as I said there, I am quite prepared to 'accept Herr Krohn's opinion.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTE ON TACITUS *AGRICOLA*, 33. 2.

The first words of Agricola's speech stand thus in the MSS: 'Septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute et auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra, Britanniam vicistis.' Recent editors seem to have found much difficulty in the words 'virtute et auspiciis imp. Rom.'; and as I gather from Furneaux' edition, Peter alone has tried to explain them (wrongly, as I think) by making 'imperii Romani' equivalent to 'imperatoris,' and understanding the auspicia as those of Domitian. Furneaux adopts Nipperdey's conjecture, 'ex quo virtute vestra, auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra,' which is open to the serious objection that Tacitus would hardly have wedged in the auspicia between the virtue of the soldiers and the fides and opera of Agricola. Urlichs' 'auspiciis imp. Rom., virtute et fide vestra atque opera nostra' is not only violent, but spoils the rhythm of the sentence.

I venture to suggest that the MS reading is right, that the combination of virtus and auspicia is not un-Tacitean, that the words should be understood in a general sense and not of the Emperor, and that Tacitus was here thinking of the familiar passage of Virgil (*Aen.* VI. 781), 'En hujus, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma Imperium teris, animos aequabit Olympo.' Just above (29. 4) he has used words from this same book of the *Aeneid*, 'quibus cruda ac viridis senectus'; (*Aen.* VI. 304), and I am inclined to guess that his 'imperialist' feeling led him to the great 'Helden-chaus' of his favourite poet at the moment when he was about to describe the contribution of Agricola towards the extension of the Roman dominion, for in it he would find in poetic combination the ideas of auspicia, virtus, and imperium. That auspicia could be used in a general sense, without special reference to an individual magistrate, seems

proved by Liv. 30. 14 (quoted by Orelli on this passage): 'Syphax *auspiciis populi Romani* victus captusque est': i.e. S. had not been defeated under the auspices of Masinissa, but under those of the Roman people: or Aen. IV. 102, where Juno says to Venus 'Communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus Auspiciis.' By his

'virtus et auspicia' I believe that Tacitus meant that combination of human excellence and divine approbation which had made Rome great: and I doubt if any Roman who knew his Aeneid well would have had any difficulty in following him.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

NOTE ON THE ROMAN *PORTORIA*.

It is commonly stated in writings on Roman finance that the Emperor Pertinax during his brief reign swept away the *portoria*, which were reimposed by his successors. Marquardt, in the *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. p. 262 n., makes the assertion without qualification, while Cagnat in *Les Impôts Indirects chez les Romains*, p. 11, does mention a differing opinion which was advanced, but not confidently, by Burmann in his work *De Vectigalibus*. The only direct reference to the matter in ancient literature is made by Herodian ii. c. 4 § 7. It has no doubt occurred before now to readers of the passage that the inference which Marquardt and Cagnat drew from it was not justified. But as their view is quoted to this day without question, it seems worth while to offer an examination of the one passage on which it rests. This runs as follows:

τέλη τε πάντα τὰ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐς εὐπορίαν χρημάτων ἐπισηθέντα ἐπὶ τε ὄχθαις ποταμῶν καὶ λιμέσι πόλεων ἐν τε ὁδῶν πορείαις, καταλύσας ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκεν.

Herodian must have meant by the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος that the taxes abolished by Pertinax were established by Commodus. This writer, like others of the imperial time, usually distinguished between *τυραννίς*, that is a despotism such as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and Commodus exercised, and *βασιλεία*, the orderly imperial government. In i. c. 16 § 1 Herodian speaks of the Roman empire under Commodus as *τυραννομένην*, and in ii. c. 3 § 1 the fall of Commodus is described as *τῆς τυραννίδος μεταβολή*. The words ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον apply very well to the time which preceded that of Commodus. As is well known, *libertas* to the subjects of the empire meant nothing but normal government under imperial forms (though the name of *libertas* was sometimes taken in vain by the despots themselves). The legend *liberatis civibus* is on the coins of Pertinax; and the

senate set up a statue of *Libertas* to commemorate the tyrant's death. Cagnat renders τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον by 'l'antique franchise.' What could this mean? There can be no thought of the brief period at the end of the Republic, during which the ports of Italy were freed from dues, because it is evident that the measure of Pertinax was not restricted to Italy; and such a reference is on other grounds improbable. It appears then that Commodus, to support his extravagance, raised the amount of the dues payable at the frontiers (maritime or inland) of the provinces and Italy, and also of certain internal tolls. The proposed abolition of these sur-taxes by Pertinax accorded with his promise to govern like Marcus Aurelius (τῆς Μάρκου ἀρχῆς ζήλω τε καὶ μνήσῃ, Herodian ii. c. 4 § 2). Another exceptional device of Commodus for extorting money is mentioned by Dio lxxii. c. 16. It took the shape of a 'benevolence' presented to the despot annually on his birthday, so much a head from senators, their wives, and the members of their families; and this was not only exacted from senators at Rome but from *βουλευταὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις πόλεσι*, apparently all over the empire. Pertinax of course undertook to do away with this exaction, although the fact is nowhere definitely stated. And doubtless in other directions he proposed to bring back finance ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον. But it is to be observed that circumstances were too strong for him at the moment: 'cum tantam penuriam aerarii haberet ut praeter decies sestertium non se invenisse fateretur, coactus est ea exigere quae Commodus indixerat, contra quam professus fuerat' (Capitol. *Vit. Pert.* c. 7 § 6). The word *fateretur* here points to some speech of Pertinax, in which he excused himself for not keeping his word, and (most likely) bound himself to give effect to it in the future.

J. S. REID.

THE SPELLING OF THE SIXTH CENTURY MS. OF PRUDENTIUS.

Now, when Brambach's work on Latin orthography is looked upon as antiquated and some stir is being made to sift the evidence more fully and to lighten the labours of future editors by supplying them with a firmer basis to build on, any small contribution to our evidence (such as the spelling of an early MS.) should be acceptable. To students of late Latinity especially the spelling of the old Putean MS. of Prudentius (Paris Lat. 8084) should have some interest, because the MS. is proved by the occurrence of the signature of Mavortius to have been written, roughly speaking, within a century of the author's edition of the poems, and so may reasonably be held to conform fairly closely to Prudentius' spelling. Further preface is unnecessary: for orthographical discussions are of necessity dry and arid, and it is useless to try to make them otherwise. I would only add that my remarks are based on a recollection of the MS. with Dressel's text, and that for purposes of general statements I have assumed that the reading of the MS. coincides with Dressel's. I would beg the reader to do the same with all due allowance for human frailty.

Assimilation of Consonant in Group.

(1) bc, bd, bf.

Assimilation is almost invariable: the only exceptions I noticed were *subcumbo* always, *subfeca* twice (Ap. 382 and Cath. v. 142 where the *b* is crossed out and *f* written over it), *subfodere* always, *subfunder^d* twice. *Sub^dducere* (Ham. 727) is strange.

(2) bm, bp, br.

In the case of *-bm-* and *-br-* the unassimilated forms appear to be preserved practically invariably, as the only variant from Dressel's text that I noted was *summissum* Cath. viii. 9. Unassimilated *-bp-* is not uncommon: I noted *obpressa* (Ps. 579), *obpugnanda* (Ps. 17), *subpeditare* (Ps. 628, Cath. iii. 57), *subpetat* (Per. ii. 277).

(3) bs, bt.

I noted the following late forms *hydros*, *inobs* (Ham. 363), *labsus*, *nubtus*, *scribtus*, and their compounds and derivatives invariably, I think: on the contrary *optutibus* (Per. ii. 278).

(4) dc, df, dg, dl.

Before *c* assimilation of *d* is invariable except *adincetus* (Cath. x. 75), *adeculentat* (Ps. 183). Of assimilation with *f* I noticed only one instance *affaret* (Cath. vii. 34). With *g* assimilation is the rule e.g. *apparet* (Ap. 717), *agnoset* (Per. ii. 25); an exception is *adgregior*. On the contrary with *l* there seem to be only 2 examples of assimilation *allectus* (Per. ii. 554) for which Buck quotes 20 examples from the first, second, and third centuries, and *alluit* (Per. i. 117).

(5) dp, dr, ds, dt.

Dressel usually prints *-dp-*, and the only variant I recorded was *appellare* (Ap. 240, the only occurrence of the word) a form which according to Buck is almost universal. Per. iii. 160 where Dressel reads *appetit* the MS. has *adpetit*.

The only instance of the group *-dr-* seems to be *adrive* (Ps. 641) which is the usually received form.

Of the *-ds-* group *ascendo*, *aspergo*, and *aspicio*, and their derivatives, appear to be assimilated invariably: *astat* is written once (Ap. 1049), but *d* has been added over the *s*. The late tendency to assimilation is well exemplified by two instances in which *d* is first written, then dotted and *s* written over it (*alsistas* Per. ii. 169 and *alsuetos* Per. ii. 158). Of *-dt-* there are a good many examples: *adtemptare*, *adtigere* (twice), *adtonitus*, *adtreclare*, *adtritus* (three times, in one of which the *d* has been dotted and *t* written over it).

(6) mm and nm.

Against Dressel, who favours the form *-comm-*, I noticed *committo* (always), *commeatum* (Ap. pr. 43), *commencia* (Ps. 34), *commendat* (Ham. 386), *commotior* (Per. v. 41), *commutabile* (Ham. 889).

Though the spelling *imm-* in accordance with the pronunciation was already approved by the first century grammarians the forms in *imm-* are far the most common in our MS. The only instances of assimilation that I noticed were *immolator* once, *immolare* twice, and *immunem* (Ham. 654). There are however five instances in which an *m* has been written over the *n*.

^m*inmemores* (Ap. 709), ^m*immorantem* (Ps. pr. 15), ^m*immortale* (Ap. 171), ^m*immulator* (Cath.

xii. 48), and the stranger case *ip^m mare* (Cath. v. 63).

(7) mp and np.

I noticed no variant from Dressel's spelling *comp-*: on the contrary Put. retains that spelling even in the word *Conplutum* (Per. iv. 43), where Dressel departs from it.

In favour of the spelling *imp-*, which like *imm-* is already recommended by first century grammarians, I noted the following instances *imperium*, *impero*, *imperito*, *implicat* (Per. ii. 194 and Ps. pr. 68) and *implent* (Ap. 60 and 70): the latter word is also twice (Ap. 369, Ps. pr. 68) spelled with an *n* and then *m* has been written over the *m*. *Improbam* too is once found (Cath. vii. 97): elsewhere the MS. seems to agree with Dressel in the spelling *inp-*. Ham. 907, where Dressel contrary to his usual custom writes *impedit*, Put. has *inpedit*.

(8) nb, nl, nr.

The only variant from Dressel's spelling *inb-* which I noticed was *imbicilli* (Cath. xii. 130). Of *ill-* or *irr-* I noted no example, but *colligo*, *collega*, *collegia*, *corripio*, and *corrumpo* are regularly assimilated, rightly according to Buck.

(9) xs.

In contrast to Dressel, who seems to prefer the assimilated form, the MS. preserves the form *-xs-* in *exsanguis*, *exsors*, *exsupero*, and generally in *exstruo*. Besides these words I noticed *exsecratur* (Cath. vi.

108), *expatiantem* (Ap. 130) and *extirpata* (Ap. 535).

ae, e, and oe.

Put. preserves the classical *ae* in the following instances in which Dressel wrongly prints *e*: *caede* (Ps. 432, elsewhere Dressel seems to spell it correctly), *caespes* (Ps. 266, 280), *faenore* (Ps. 583), *faeno* (Ap. 712), *glæba*, *paene* (Cath. xi. 7), *proscænia* (Ham. 368), *saeculum*, *saepibus* (Ham. 227), *saepitus* (I noticed five instances: Ham. 599 it is so written and then the *a* is crossed out), *consaepto* (Ps. 224), *circumsaeperat* (Ps. 753), *sacla*, *taeter*, and possibly *uaesana* (Ps. 523), *uaesania* (Ham. 361. Ps. 160). *E* is rightly preserved in *cena* and *cetera* (three times), *oe* in *poena* and *proelium*.

On the other hand there are a number of misspellings, e.g. *faetus*, *faetidus*, *choraea*,

and even *aeditus*, *praemuntur*: and in 8 cases *ae* has been written and then the *a* crossed out. Similarly in the case of *e*, e.g. *heres*, *letus*, *palestra*, etc.: and I counted no less than 31 instances in which *e* was written and *a* added over it.

A more unusual corruption is the use of *a* alone for *ae* of which I noted 2 cases: *calestis* (Per. ii. 559) and *præcipitem* (Per. iii. 97). The same mistake had been made four more times, but the *e* has been

added above the line: *præcordiis* (Cath. vii. 20), *prasens* (Ap. 117), *præterit* (Ham. 388), *prætentunt* (Cath. V. 56).

e and *i*.

I observed three instances of *-is* as Acc. Plural *cineris* (Per. iv. 38), *legis* (Per. iv. 165), *nascens* (Cath. xii. 128): but, as there are 7 cases in which *-is* appears for *-es* of the Nom. Sing. (*famis*, *prolis*, *uatis*, twice each *mercis* and *subolis*) and one where it stands for a Nom. Pl. (*carnificis*), little stress can be laid on them. Besides the confusion of *i* and *e* is very common in this MS., which shows for example a decided predilection for forms in *di-* instead of *de-*, *distruo* is, I believe, invariable, *discendo* occurs twice, *didita*, *dimissus*, *dispectans*, *dispicis*, *disperare*, *dispoliare*, and *disponsam* once. On the other hand *descedo* is twice found. *Pinna*, a common form in MSS., I noticed three times, *pinnatis* once, and some 15 other instances of *i* for *e* (e.g. *imbicillus*, invariably, *obsequilla*, *stilla*, *liquiscant*, etc.).

In contrast to this last form we find *congemescens*. *E* in *genetrix* (twice) and *competa* (Ps. 849) is attested: in cases like *antestes* (twice), *elegant* (Per. i. 34) *relegamine* (Ps. 359), and *possedeo* (twice, though in one case *i* is written over the *e*) it might be due to late grammatical reconstructions: but there are a number of cases where it is clearly wrong (e.g. *ceneres*, *chresma*, *indegina*, *ueridis*, *uictrex*, etc.). In *uigel*, *uigelare*, *pervigel* it is so invariable that, considering how close the MS. is to Prudentius' lifetime, one is inclined to refer the mistake to the poet himself.

i, *u*, and *y*.

centiplex (Cath. vii. 220), *quadripedum* (Cath. iii. 62) and *monumenta* (Ps. 149) are all attested forms: *syllaba* is the correct form; but *y* is wrongly used in *hyrtus*, *hysutus*, *inclutus*, and probably in *Symeonem* (Ap. 1011). *Azimon* (Ap. 353)

and *sardoniceum* (Ps. 860) seem to be incorrect, and so is *hinnus*, which is the most frequent form in this MS., though *hynnus* is found. *Labyrinthus* again is right, but *Sagyni* (Per. iv. 100) does not appear to be supported.

o and u.

Good spellings with *u* are *acherunticis* (Cath. v. 128), *lucustis* (Cath. vii. 49), *rutunda* (Ap. 210) and *suboles*. *Friuula* is wrong, and there are two or three cases of the same mistake afterwards corrected. Much more frequent is the opposite mistake of *o* for *u* (*robor*, *sedola*, *stridola*, *sulpore*, *sulporeus*, etc., and of course *orbi* for *urbi*). In 9 instances the mistake has been made and corrected. *Nomisma* (Per. ii. 96) and possibly *domos* (Per. ii. 96) are 2 instances where the *o* is rightly preserved.

c and t.

The MS. rightly keeps *c* in *dicio*, wrongly in *planicies*; and rightly *t* in *contio*, *indutiarum* (Per. iv. 126), *infittior*, *infittiatrix*, *setius*.

d and t.

Put. has a great fondness for forms in *d*: *ad*, *adque*, *adqui*, *adtamen*, *inquit* (*t* is once written above the *d*) and *linquit* are, I believe, always so written, and there are three other examples, *liquid* (Cath. x. 74), *reliquid* (Cath. ix. 80), and *capud* (Per. ii. 440).

f and ph.

F is almost invariably used for *ph*: I noted 39 different words in which this occurs, e.g. *profeta*, *triumfus* (except Ham. 148), *efybus* (Ps. 846), but *ephybum* (Cath. xi. 43), *ephibi* (Ham. pr. 1).

h.

h is rightly omitted in the interjections *a* and *pro* and in *eris*, *erilis*, *umerus*, *umor*, *umidus*; and added in *harena*, *harundo*, *heulo*, *holus*, and *pulcher*. *Calchedon* is supported by other MSS. and the spelling of the biblical proper names is not very certain, e.g. *Amalec*, *Amorraei*, *Gomorra*, *Helia*, *Hiericon*,

Hiremias. *Aleluia* without an *h* may be right, though it should have 2 *l's*; and so may *brucus*; but hardly *Babal*, *Israhel*. Six times the omission of an *h* has been rightly corrected: *aetere*, *Uaryblis* (twice), *ciro*, *grafu*, *ammon*, *arusper*.

Double l, etc.

The form *-ella* is correctly spelled, *loquella*, *medella*, *obsequella* (Cath. vii. 51: but *obsequilla* viii. 19), *querella*, *sualetella*. *Paathem*, *paululum*, *paulatim*, *paulisper* have rightly only one *l*, similarly *religio* and *reliquiae*.

Other correct forms with a single consonant are *combium* and *litus*; with a double consonant *brachium*, *futtile*, *immo*, *parricida*, *reppulerat* (Per. iii. 19). Doubtful are *grabattum*, *marcuppium*, and *mucculeculus*. Of biblical names *Emmanuel*, *Erua*, *Eruasi*, *Leui*, *Leuila*, *Sarra* may be noticed.

mq, mn, etc.

The MS. prefers the forms *quicumque*, *tamquam*, *unquam*, etc.: once even *tandem* is found.

Dressel's barbaric *-mpn-* finds no support in Put., e.g. *abumus*, *columat*, *damnum*, *sollemnis*, *somnus* and *contemno*, *contemtor*; but *intentans* (Ps. 409), *retentet* (Ham. 108) and *hiemps*.

Short *a* is changed to *e* correctly in *aegripabilis*, and possibly in *perrectare*, *infereire*: *e* is also preferred in the oblique cases of *pignus*.

With regard to declension: I observed that Put. differed from Dressel in writing *honor* (Cath. v. 161), but *odos* (xii. 70), and in writing *heresim* (Ham. 64), *ionatham* (Ps. 397).

Of the survivals of archaic forms the most noticeable are *gnatum* (Ap. 23), *thensaurus*, and two instances of the coalition of *est* with a preceding vowel *animaeat* (Ap. 879), *indest* (Cath. i. 65).

There remain to be noticed one or two correct or possible spellings and one or two anomalies. *Lutulenta* (Ps. 87) and *uirectum* are certainly right; *bratteoleus*, *conius*, *uortex*, *Moses*, (I noticed this form twice), *pignera*, *Solomon*, *sublegmen*, *tinguo*, *uortex*, are all attested forms: on the other hand *doema* and *flagro* (for *fragro*) can hardly be supported.

The strangest anomaly is the transposition of *h* in the combinations *chr* and *thr* to after the *r*, for example *Crhistus*, unless abbreviated, *antierhistus*, *chriscicola*, *crhisma* (except Ps. 361), *Bactrha* (Ap. 612), *baratrho* (Ap. 785), the oblique cases of *pulcher* (except *pulchrum* Cath. vii. 78 and *pulchra* x. 54), and *trhonus* are all so spelled. The invariable spelling *ludricus* is equally strange.

To give some idea of the most frequent mistakes of the MS. besides those already touched on, I may mention that I noted 11 cases of confusion of *a* and *o*, generally

corrected: 11 in which *m* was omitted and afterwards supplied; 7 cases of insertion of *m*, afterwards deleted; 9 omissions of *s*, 6 of *t*, 3 or 4 of *e*, generally corrected; and various other omissions of letters, besides some 30 instances of insertion especially of *n*. Omissions of syllables, usually due to haplography, but often with no apparent reason, are almost as frequent (some 22): addition of syllables much less common, though two of the 7 corrected cases I noticed are worth mentioning: Ap. 492 *circum iſpiciſcit*, 863 *circum iſſcribitus*. Words also are frequently omitted, but generally supplied; and, in addition to the lines men-

tioned by Dressel as omitted altogether, the following lines have been omitted and supplied between the lines or in the margin: Cath. iv. 50-53, vii. 81, Ap. 19, 427, 602, 902, Ham. 172, 408, 452. Ap. 240, 241 was at first written as one line *appellare patrem numquam niſi ſanctus et unus*: that was next erased and the ordinary reading substituted. Once Dressel has forgotten to mention an omission, or rather includes Put. in the vague phrase '*omnes Heinsii*': Ham. 69 is omitted by Put. as well as many other MSS.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

UNCIAL OR UNCINAL?

In the November number of the *Classical Review*, Mr. S. Allen suggests that the word *uncialibus* in the passage of Jerome from which the palæographical use of the term is probably derived, might well be *uncinalibus* (hooked or curved), in allusion to the curved forms which first occur in uncial writing: and refers to a small popular work by myself, in which owing to restricted space reasons could not be given for each statement. Perhaps I may be allowed a short space for explanation of the word *uncial*.

The cardinal passage will always be the words of St. Jerome in his Preface to the book of Job:—'*Habeant qui volunt veteres libros vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos vel uncialibus (ut vulgo aiunt) litteris—onera magis exarata quam codices—dummodo mihi meisque permittunt pauperes habere schedulas et non tam pulchros codices quam emendatos.*' Jerome is clearly using the word *uncialibus* to indicate fine large writing. It should be remembered that this passage is not cited from a casual treatise, but from one of the prefaces which occur in most of the MSS. of the Vulgate, and that therefore the reading is exceptionally likely to be correct, owing to the mass of early testimony which we have to the text of the Vulgate itself. The only variety of reading appears to be *initialibus*, which is found in a few MSS., but which is an impossible reading. Viewed as the one true reading it cannot stand against the weight of countervailing testimony: and even as a corruption of *uncialibus* it could only belong to a later age than that of Jerome (both for palæographical and historical reasons).

The reading *uncialibus* is further attested by a French writer of the 9th century, who does not seem to have been quoted in full in any discussion of this question since Mabillon's *De Re Diplomatica*, (1709), namely Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, himself a collector of MSS. for the purpose of having them copied in the scriptorium of his own house. In his 5th letter he writes to Eginhard:—'*Praeterea Bertcaudus dicitur antiquarum litterarum, duntaxat earum quae maximae sunt et unciales a quibusdam vocari existimantur, habere mensuram descriptam. Ita quae si penes vos est, mittite mihi eam per hunc quaeso pictorem, cum redierit, schedula tamen diligentissime sigillo munita.*' Lupus here implies that there was a definite size of letters which were believed to be called uncial. The reading of Jerome may therefore on the whole be regarded as incontrovertible.

The meaning is hardly more open to doubt. *Uncia* (whence our *inch* through Old English and our *ounce* through French) denoted a definite weight and a definite length—one twelfth of a pound and one twelfth of a foot. Pliny uses *as uncialis* (weight), *altitudo uncialis* (length), and *ura uncialis* (which might conceivably be either). There is therefore no extrinsic reason why *litterae unciales* should not mean 'letters an inch in height or breadth.' In a Vatican MS. vaguely cited as '135' the word in this passage of Jerome is glossed *longae*: and the meaning is paralleled by *cubitales litterae* and by the satirical expression *sesquipedalia verba*. The only person who has understood it of breadth is Budaeus (*De Asse*, liber i), and the old palæographers Mabillon,

Toustain and Tassin, and Wailly agree in regarding it as implying more or less literally *inch-high*. The style which was just coming in in Jerome's time needed a designation, and this rough and ready word, originating among the scribes or monks (vulgo), was adopted as sufficiently expressive, although not literally exact nor an authoritatively assigned term. It may well have been helped in those pre-scientific days by its resemblance to *uncus*, a hook or curved line.

There are one or two other objections to Mr. Samuel Allen's suggestion of *uncinulibus*. First, the word *uncinus* (a hook) is identical in meaning with the word *uncus*, and therefore *uncinus* as an adjective or *uncinulus*

(used adjectivally by Cicero) would have satisfied all purposes. Next Jerome implies that the term was in common use, and *uncinulis* would under such circumstances have perpetuated itself somewhere in literature, while in this particular passage it had, as I have stated, a quite exceptional opportunity of impressing itself on the text. Finally let Mr. Allen beware of the sharp edge of Occam's razor, 'Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem.' Conjecture is unnecessary, when the received text is both well supported and intelligible, though not theoretically quite satisfactory.

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NOTES.

* *βουλευτός*.—In *Class. Rev.* ii at p. 260, Mr. Frazer argued that this word means not *evening*, as generally supposed, but, *the time immediately after noon*. In support of this view I would adduce the following passage from Heliodorus (*Aethiop.* ii. 19). Cnemon and Thermuthis start on their journey *ἄμ' ἡλίῳ*. They have a meal later on, and proceed again upon their way: *καὶ ἦν μὲν ὥρα περὶ βουλευτὸν ἥδη*. After this they begin to ascend a hill, and on three several occasions Cnemon remains behind *exonerandi ventrem necessitatem coeuvans*. On the fourth occasion he stays away altogether, and runs off into the wood. Thermuthis meanwhile, *ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις ἐγένετο τοῦ ὕρου ἀνέπαυεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τινος πέτρας ἐσπέραν τε καὶ νύκτα ἀναμένων*. It seems clear that the meal was eaten about mid-day, the travellers being half-starving at the time, and that the subsequent journey was completed before evening.

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ARISTOPHANES, *Wasps* 565.—That *ἂν* may be on occasion displaced is proved by the examples cited by Mr. Richards (*Cl. Rev.* xvii p. 9), but has that fact any bearing on the combination *ἔως ἂν*? In a word, could *ἔως ἂν* even under any circumstances be separated the one from the other? In the firm conviction that it was an actual impossibility to disjoin these two particles, my father proposed to drop *ἂν* or *ἀνιῶν* altogether (as I notice by the new Oxford text that Meineke does) and to read—

μέλω (or πλείω) κατὰ πρὸς τοῖς οἴσιν, ἔως ἂν ἰσώσῃ τοῖσιν ἐμοῖσιν.

Might not *ἀνιῶν* by the way have got in from its partial similarity to the characters of *ἂν ἰσώσῃ*?

If the view is correct that *ἔως ἂν* cannot be disjoined—and at least some unimpeachable evidence should be forthcoming before it is taken for granted—the proposed restoration of *Lysistr.* 173 as given by Mr. Richards cannot stand.

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OXFORD, Oct. 31, 1903.

NO. CLVI. VOL. XVIII.

Πολυετής.—Liddell and Scott give: 'πολυετής-εί, of many years, full of years, Eur. *Or.* 473. Hel. 651.' It has been pointed out already, I think, in the *Classical Review*, though I cannot find the reference, that in both the passages cited the meaning is 'after many years.' It may be worth noting that the word is used in the sense given by Liddell and Scott, in Luc. *Hermot.* § 50. Οὐκοῦν, ὦ ἰταῖρε, πολὺ δικαιότερον μέμφοιο ἂν . . . τῇ φέσει ἡμῶν, ὅτι σε μὴ κατὰ τὸν Τιθάνῳ πολυετῇ καὶ μακρόβιον εἶδεναι κ.τ.λ.

I may add that by a curious slip the πεντάγραμμον of the Pythagoreans, mentioned in Luc. de *Lapsu*, § 5, is represented in the lexicon by a star of six points. The correct shape is given in a note in the Variorum edition of 1743.

P.S.—Since the above was written I have found another example of *πολυετής*: ἐλέφαντα πολυετῇ καὶ παμμεγέθῃ. Heliod. x. 25.

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JUVENAL I. 144-146.

Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus
et noua nec tristis per eunatas fabulæ enas;
ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.

Madvig's attempt to correct this passage was so far right that he saw that old men's wills or intestacies were no more in point than young men's. But his reading, *infestata* for *intestata*, does not prepare the way for *iratis*. The anger of the dead man's friends comes from his death without a will, whereby the legacies which they had expected pass to the heirs-at-law. The explanation by which *intestata senectus* is taken to mean that old age is a thing now-a-days unknown is open to the same objection. The fact that the glutton dies without a will must be stated in this list. It follows that the corrupt word is not *intestata* but *senectus*. If we leave the line blank after the three first words we see that the sense required in the blank space is 'the deaths of men

without their having made their wills.' But after *mortes* we cannot look for a direct expression of death. Rather we should expect a particular example. It follows that the last word should be either a generic name for a rich man or, more probably, the proper name of some Croesus who had lately died of his gluttony without making a will. As this glutton was a male, it is necessary to read *intestatus*. This leaves us with *enectus* as the corrupt form of the proper name. The missing word must begin with a vowel and have the scansion of either an amphibrach or a bacchius. It may perhaps not be impossible to find the right name.

J. SARGEANT.

THE SOURCE OF DANTE'S EUNOE.—Since writing a note on this subject, which appeared in the *Classical Review*, March 1903, I have been reminded, by a reference in Dieterich's *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (1903), p. 74, n. 1, that Plutarch, in

his *de Is. et Osir.* ch. 47, says that Oromazes made six gods, the first of whom is the god of *eúnoia*:—ὁ μὲν Ὀρομάζης ἐκ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου φάους ὁ δ' Ἀρειμάνιος ἐκ τοῦ ζόφου γεγονώς πολεμοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξ θεοῦ ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοίας, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἀληθείας, τὸν δὲ τρίτον εὐνομίας, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τὸν μὲν σοφίας, τὸν δὲ πλούτου, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡδέων δημιουργόν· ὁ δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ ἀντιτέχνους ἴσους τὸν ἀριθμόν. Here, I take it, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον is the first counted from Oromazes himself; so that the god of *eúnoia* would be the last reached by the ascending soul of the initiated person on its way up the Mithraic κλίμαξ ἐπτάπυλος. It is a strange coincidence (in the present state of our knowledge, it ought not to be regarded as more than a coincidence) that the last stage of Dante's κλίμαξ of purification—the Mount of Purgatory—should also be *Eúnoia*, *Eunoó*, having passed which his μύστις is

Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle.

J. A. STEWART.

REVIEWS.

GABLER'S *GALEN DE CAPTIONIBUS*.

Galenī Libellus de Captionibus quae per dictionem fiunt. Tradidit CAROLUS GABLER. Rostochii: Hinsterf. 1903. Pp. xvi, 36. Mk. 1.60.

GALEN is buried under the weight of his own facundity; he was too prolix for his own reputation, if we are to take reputation to mean something more than the shadow of a great name. Perhaps there is no other example of so great a literary profusion. It is said that Galen wrote 500 treatises at least; and if the fire in the Temple of Peace, which consumed many of his works, had made even greater ravages, perhaps we should have known not less of Galen but more. As it is, no serious attempt has been made to edit Galen in the light of modern scholarship and science. Daremberg, in his very interesting rendering of some of the medical treatises, did great service; but most unfortunately his prolegomena, which were to have been an introduction to the whole extant work of this heroic physician and philosopher, if they were actually written, are now lost. To Kalbfleisch and others we owe incidental assistance, and Dr. Payne has done some justice to Galen's admirable physiology. Still, in any comprehensive sense Galen has yet to be edited.

Of the whole mass of Galen's manuscripts

about one third were on grammar dialectic and philosophy; and the tract before us is a contribution to this side of his genius. In an Inaugural Dissertation, undertaken under the direction of Kalbfleisch, Gabler has published a text of the treatise at the head of this notice, the dissertation being on textual revision only. The tract itself—on the sophisms of language—is one intended no doubt as an Isagoge for the instruction of beginners, as were many of Galen's philosophical tracts. Such being its purpose we do not expect to find in it any considerable weight or originality; it is a brief tract based, of course, upon the Sophistici Elenchi of Aristotle—virtually the last (ninth) chapter of the Topics, and containing in its conclusion a remarkable summary of the Topics and Analytics. Galen—to warn his pupils against current fallacies in reasoning—takes Aristotle's well known modes of fallacy in diction; namely Equivocation, Amphiboly, Disjunction, &c., &c. Galen's warning against taking ὄνομα for λόγος is one much needed in Medicine even to-day.

The notes are mainly textual; but in one interesting passage Gabler points out that certain inconsistencies of Aristotle ('illa Aristotelea cum incuria dicta') are harmonised by Galen, who elucidates these obscurities by study of the broader aspects of

Aristotle's doctrines, and by comparison of parallel passages. (p. 19).

The important editions of Galen are—Ed. Pr. the Aldine (A) Venice 1525; Froben's edition (B), published at Basel with an introduction by Gesner, 1558 (both these in five vols fol.); the Charteriana (Ch.), ed. Renatus Charterius (Chartier) Paris, 1639–1676—with the Latin translation of Horatius Limanus, nine vols fol.; finally the standard edition of Leipsic (K), ed. Kühn 1821–1833. Unfortunately, Kühn's comprehensive edition can only be called a bookseller's undertaking; Kühn had little to do with it; and Dindorf and Schaefer, who were occupied upon it, took no great pains. It is full of errors; Iw. v. Müller counted 1899 in two volumes of it, volumes in which Dindorf and Schaefer were concerned. The edition owes its acceptance to its convenience, and to its comprehension of tracts not previously published. The lamented death of Daremberg arrested the labour on Galen which he and Bussemaker had commenced. By scientific attainment as well as by scholarship, Daremberg was equipped as few editors of Greek medicine have been or are likely to be. More importance, then, attaches to this contribution to Galenian criticism than its extent would at first sight suggest.

Of the present treatise, Gabler tells us, one MS. exists—Ambrosianus Q3 (M) saec.

XVI (cf. p. XII sq.). This MS. coincides closely with the Aldine (A); the two sources present many common errors, hiatus, &c.; Gabler sets forth a score or so of such significant coincidences. On the other hand, such differences as there undoubtedly are, seem to be such as negligence would account for; there is some other evidence also of the community of A and M, and, as there is no indication of an anterior source common to both, Gabler decides that A copied M. Chartier, on the other hand, probably had not access to M; and as (B) may be neglected, Chartier must have got help elsewhere; this help appears to have been the translation of Limanus. On this he relied, to his own embarrassment at times, and also to the inclusion of some errors; errors which Kühn and Ermerin removed. Now Limanus seems to have collated M.

In his own text Gabler has compared M, A, B, Ch., and K; he has noted all the discrepancies of M, but not all of the Editions, as many of these are printer's errors, or like clerical blunders. His text seems to be very carefully edited, and the variorum apparatus, at foot of each page, to be full: there are also 12 pages of Observations, and an excellent Index verborum. It must be understood, however, that my opinion of the editor's text is not that of an expert.

T. CLIFFORD ALLEUTT.

BOENIG'S *MINUCHI OCTAVIUS*.

M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Rec. HERM. BOENIG. Lipsiae: Teubner, 1903. Pp. xxxi, 116. Mk. 1.60.

It is a fact that the edition of Baehrens, published by Teubner, 1886, could not boast of a universal approbation: that Mr. Boenig also does not agree with that editor's method, even if this were not expressly and frankly stated in the preface, would be easy to discover on every page of this new Teubner-edition. The conservative philologist—perhaps too much conservative sometimes: compare 9. 1, 'eruenda et execranda consensio,' where Cornelissen's correction 'execranda' is neglected, not even mentioned in the apparatus criticus—has but rarely proposed a correction of his own (13, if my counting be right), and has selected with much circumspection from the material he had before him.

The apparatus criticus contains only what

is indispensable: the version of the MS. where it differs from the constituted text, sometimes a good conjecture; so there is room for a selection of quotations from pagan and ecclesiastical literature.

The preface gives a systematic exposition of the errors of the MS.: errors in the writing of Greek names; corruptions at the end, corruptions in the middle, omission of letters at the beginning of words; transposition of letters; corruptions caused by wrong reading; interpolations; glosses; dittographies; omissions; words out of place; after the orthography—each letter separately treated—a brief exposition of certain conjectures, Mr. Boenig's own amongst the rest. The design of this systematic account of corruptions is to lay a firm foundation for right criticism; an explanation of them upon *psychical* grounds is not searched for. If one is to venture as far in this direction, as far as one may, there will, I fear,

arise questions about the utility of the editor's system. For the copyist of the MS. (be it the last or anyone before him) has gravely laboured, as immediately appears, under what I would call a confusion of impressions: the sound of preceding syllables influenced the following, and *vice versa*: thus he wrote (exarsit) carnis for canis, aera (caperet) for aer, itineri (vivendi) for itinere, (vita) capitatur for capiatur, congruentius (promptius) for congruentes, etc.¹ Now the *i* in the mentioned itineri, the *c* in penetreret (for peniteret) are classed among the 'litterae perperam lectae'; the the lapse est for es in the words 'testatus est et paenitenter' is caused, if we are willing to give credit to Mr. B.'s explanation, 'quod librarius exitum vocabuli fortasse neglegenter scriptum non recte intellexit.' Even if the list of corruptions thus systematically classed were not defective and the corruptions themselves as undoubted as Mr. B. believes (in 30. 2 Baehrens supposes 'eepotis' for 'et potis,' not 'epotis'), what direction can be given to criticism by the observation that *p* and *f* have been confounded in reputare and refutare, where we see that the preceding word is potest (15. 1). On the other hand, 'in lumine' for 'flumine' (16. 1) and 'capti in' for 'captis' (6. 2) are not among the litterae perperam lectae; here obviously *f* and *l* are confounded with the abbreviation *ī*.

Amongst the interpolations a passage is given which, though mutilated, has preserved a Minucian trait, 26. 12 [ex qua monet etiam nos procupidinem amoris]; compare 19. 6: 'et Pythagorae deus est animus per universam rerum naturam commeans et intentus, ex quo etiam animalium omnium vita capiatur.'

As an example of an original contribution may be quoted 21. 6: 'itaque latebram suam, quod tuto latuisset, vocari maluit Latium, et urbem Saturniam [dedit] de suo nomine et Ianiculum Ianus, ad memoriam uterque posteritatis, reliquerunt.' In the absurd 'dedit' Mr. B. has recognised a vestige of Virg. *Aen.* viii. 322: 'Composuit legesque dedit Latiumque vocari Maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.'

The knowledge that the copyist of the MS. was a poor hand at Greek has induced

¹ The same mistake was probably committed in 10. 4, where the utter powerlessness of the god is derided: 'cuius adeo nulla vis nec potestas est, ut sit Romanis nominibus cum sua sibi natione captivus.' The version of the editio princeps 'hominibus' seems to be preferable to 'numinibus' of Mr. B. and other critics. Compare Cic. de Divin. ii. 2. 5 Romanis hominibus, Liv. v. 51. 3.

Mr. B. to a fine conjecture. The pagan Caecilius, who had just devoutly worshipped an image of Serapis, is much offended because the Christian Octavius has reproved his Christian friend Minucius for not yet having eradicated Caecilius' superstition; he is silent and is then asked what can be the matter with him, when he confesses the cause of his state of mind and challenges Octavius to a philosophical disputation 4. 4: 'si placet ut ipsius sectae homo cum eo disputem, iam profecto intellet facilius esse in contubernalibus disputare quam conserere sapientiam.' 'Ipsius,' meaning in the style of Minucius 'just now mentioned,' has no sense. The passage was almost given up as desperate: no even plausible emendation had been as yet proposed. But Mr. B. suggests σκέψεως. It is to be regretted that the Greek expression upon which the conjecture is based is not the same: in Sextus Empiricus' ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς σκέψεως the word αἰρέσεως is wanting. May be there will be found somewhere an instance of the combination of both words: the other half is in Eusebius (Praep. Evang. xv. 18 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως οἱ πρῶτοι), but it is useless by itself.

In 7. 1 'Nec tamen temere (ausim enim et ipse concedere et sic melius errare) maiores nostri aut observandis auguriis aut extis consulendis — operam navaverunt' Mr. B. has tried to correct what I believe does not want correction; and so also Cornelissen and Baehrens. It is the misunderstanding of 'melius' which deceived them (Mr. B. reads 'enarrare'). If I am in error, Caecilius says, it is at least a 'pious' error. This interpretation of 'melius' is suggested by 6. 1 'Cum igitur aut fortuna caeca aut incerta natura sit, quanto venerabilius ac melius — maiorum excipere disciplinam, religiones traditas colere' eqs. Compare Tertull. *ad Nationes* ii. 6: 'At si in isto erratur, melius est simpliciter quam ut physici diligenter. Sed melius iam in physico (sc. quam in mythico genere deorum) mortalitas errat, eis divinitatem adscribendo quae super hominem putat situ et vi et magnitudine et divinitate sentiri; quod enim super hominem, credas Deo proximum.' As for Baehrens' conjecture blandimur in 33. 1 ('Nec nobis de nostra frequentia blandiamur: multi nobis videmur, sed deo admodum paucis sumus'), approved by Mr. B., Lindner's annotation may be compared. The whole sentence belongs to ch. 32 and contains an admonition, not an apology: the figure of ch. 33 therefore ought to be placed (as in

Muralto's edition) where 33. 2 stands now; and so 29 for 29. 2 ('nam' forms a transition to a new subject).

In 34. 3 'et Epicureis de elementorum conflagratione et mundi ruina eadem ipsa sententia est. Loquitur Plato partes orbis nunc inundari dicit, nunc alternis vicibus ardescere—,' where Bachrens had proposed a transposition ('eadem sententia est. ipsa loquitur Plato: partes nunc—'), Mr. B. writes 'Similiter Plato' eqs. Now it may be asked if it be prudent to eliminate a word so appropriate to the author's style. One would rather think Minucius has used here 'loquitur' followed by the acc. c. inf., a construction familiar with him (21. 2); then the right place of 'loquitur' is where 'dicit,' a gloss, now stands. The same erroneous method is followed in the emendation of 11. 5 'beatam sibi ut bonis et perpetem vitam mortuis pollicentur, ceteris ut iniustus poenam sempiternam. multa ad haec suppetunt, ni festinet oratio. iniustos ipsos magis nec laboro iam docui. quamquam etsi iustos darem, culpam tamen vel innocentiam <fateor> fato tribui sententis plurimorum. et haec vestra consensus est; nam quicquid agimus, ut alii fato, ita vos deo dicitis . . . ;' where Mr. B. writes: 'iniustos ipsos magno sine labore iam docui.' *Magis* (= *potius*), with its characteristic use in the style of Minucius, is not to be suspected: the words 'nec laboro' are only to be read after 'ni festinet oratio.' In the following 'nam quicquid—dicitis . . . ' there is no word wanting; a similar ellipse is in Cicero *de divinatione* ii. 8. 20 'vultis autem omnia fato.'

In 40. 4 'Post haec laeti hilaresque discessimus, Caecilius quod crediderit, Octavius [gaudere] quod vicerit, ego et quod hic crediderit et hic vicerit' gaudere is suspected by almost all editors, Mr. B. included. On the contrary we ought to be anxious to preserve that verb in the infinitive mood as it is a peculiarity of the author's style; compare 4. 1 'Igitur cum nos hac spectaculi voluptate caperemur, Caecilius nihil intendere neque ridere.' Probably the word 'gaudere' had its place originally before the former 'quod.'

In several places the text of the dialogue has suffered from dislocation, but a mere transposition is not everywhere sufficient, for instance 34. 1 'Ceterum de incendio mundi aut improvisum ignem cadere aut difficile non credere vulgaris erroris est.' Mr. B. has adopted Roeren's conjecture, who transposed the former 'aut' after 'difficile' and quoted Tertull. *ad Nat.* i. 2

to justify the expression 'difficile credere.' That the conjecture 'non egreditur modestiae criticae fines,' as Roeren says, will readily be accepted; but it is unsatisfactory: there is no such real difference between 'not to believe' and 'to believe with difficulty,' as to separate them by 'aut—aut.'

I pass on to Mr. B.'s addition in 5. 9 'fulmina—homines noxios feriant saepe et saepe religiosos' (a conjecture of Klussmann): with the traditional text may be compared the expression 'et interim'—'interim—interim' 19. 10: 'Zenon naturalem legem atque divinam et aethera interim interdumque rationem vult omnium esse principium' (the sentence consists of three parts, cf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* i. § 36), and 19. 11 where the interpunction ought to be this: 'vim divinam rationalem naturam, et mundum interim et fatalem necessitatem deum credit'; the latter part of the sentence, by means of chiasmus opposed to the former, is subdivided into two pieces by another 'et' (= *interdumque*), cf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* i. § 39. The world is not a 'vis divina' but a 'deus'; and so is fate.

I may be excused for not considering all the conjectures made or accepted by Mr. B., but the question ought to be put—a question of importance even beyond the limits of the book—whether it be not an act of critical arbitrariness to posit a sort of *principium elegantiae* and, while admitting, as Mr. B. does, the construction of *asyndeton bimembre*, to make a severe distinction between that worthy to be called 'gratiosum' and such as is to be recognised for false coin 'propter rei fatuitatem.' No sensible man will condemn this manner of criticism if the author be faultlessly elegant and the critic at the same time an infallible, or at least a competent, judge. But a doubt might arise as to whether Minucius should be pointed out as an example worthy of imitation (for style I mean, not for morals); Machly described him as *multiloquus* and *μακρολόγος*, a sentence to which I willingly subscribe: and this is not the only unfavourable epithet he deserves. As for the editor, though his good taste is above suspicion, yet I venture to ask whether it be not a somewhat arbitrary decision, that the asyndeton 'ut potero pro viribus' has elegance enough in itself to be worthy of the pen of Minucius, but that in the words 'nolo non credo' the last two are insipid, and therefore a gloss. Does not the alliteration plead in their support?

The same unsatisfactory method seems to have been followed in 24. 1: 'Quanto vero de diis vestris animalia muta naturalius indicant! mures, hirundines, milvi non sentire eos sciunt, norunt; inculcant, insident ac, nisi abigatis, in ipso dei vestri ore nidificant.' Mr. B. substitutes 'rodunt' for 'norunt' (with Wower). But here is a climax: they know, and they know by experience, as in 26. 9 'eos spiritus daemones esse poetae sciunt, philosophi disserunt, Socrates novit, qui ad nutum et arbitrium adsidentis sibi daemones uel declinabat negotia vel petebat.' In 27. 1 'Isti igitur impuri spiritus, [daemones] ut ostensum magis ac philosophis, sub statu consecratis delitescunt' there is neither an asyndeton nor a gloss (Mr. B. eliminates [daemones]); the magi and philosophers have been said in the preceding chapter to know the demoniacal nature of the impure spirits. A like form of parenthesis is in 12. 2 'ecce pars vestrum, et maior melior ut dicitis, egetis, algetis' eqs.

Mr. B.'s good book has a bad guide—the Index to wit, which I have consulted here and there to test it without examining it fully. Not to speak of the absence of interesting expressions such as 8. 3 'divinitas' (= the deity), 5. 4 'maiestas' (= deity?), and 26. 11 'verum deum merita maiestate prosequitur,' 33. 5 'comprehendere' (= intelligere), or the incomplete citation of words in general (under 'loqui,' 'miscere,' 'gratia,' 'negotium,' are wanting respectively 21. 2 and 4, 7. 6, 27. 7, 28. 7), is it not a little astonishing that in voce 'carceres exaestuant' we are referred to 35, 6 'carcer exaestuat,' that 'addicere' is said

to be synonymous with 'tribuere' and referred to 11. 6 'vos dicitis,' that in voce 'vorare' we are referred to 'devorare,' nowhere to be found in the index, that the passage 34. 2 'quis ignorat omnia quae orta sunt occidere, quae facta sunt interire, caelum quoque cum omnibus quae caelo continentur, ita ut coepisse, desinere? . . . fontium dulcis aqua maria nutrire, in vim ignis abiturum, Stoicis constans opinio est, quod consumto umore mundus hic omnis ignescat' at the same time is quoted as an instance of the use of *si* in an acc. c. inf. (p. 87 in voce 'condicionalia') and of the construction '*opinio est quod*' cum conjunct. pro acc. et inf.,¹ and then the quotations are made in this form respectively: 'caelum, si desierit fontium dulcis aqua maria nutrire, in vim ignis abiturum Stoicis constans opinio est' and 'Stoicis constans opinio est quod mundus . . . ignescat'?

The well-known German accuracy is at fault here.

A. J. KRONENBERG.

ROTTERDAM,
November, 1903.

¹ The supposed construction (in voce 'respondere') is equally uncertain in 13. 4 'Simonides cum de eo, quid et quales arbitretur deos, ab Hierone quaeretur, primo deliberationi diem petit, postridie biduum prorogavit, mox alterum tantum admonitus adiunxit. postremo cum causas tantae morae tyrannus inquireret, respondit ille, quod sibi, quanto inquisitio tardior pergeret, tanto veritas fieret obscurior,' as there may be a brachylogy, and even improbable if compared with Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* i. § 60: 'cum saepius duplicaret numerum dierum admiransque Hiero requireret, cur ita faceret? Quia, quanto, inquit, diutius considero, tanta mihi res videtur obscurior.' So there remain as indubitable examples only 'paenitere quod' and 'nihil prodest quod.'

BRODRIBB'S TRANSLATION OF MINUCIUS' OCTAVIUS.

Pagan and Puritan. The 'Octavius' of Minucius, freely translated by ARTHUR AIKIN BRODRIBB. London: George Bell & Sons, 1903. Pp. xiv, 89. 3s. 6d.

It is not often that one meets with a translation from an ancient author that is so satisfactory as the present. Mr. Brodribb writes not for the specialist but for the educated general reader, and therefore a free translation is the best form his work could take. While his English style is a fit companion to the original for ease, purity, and grace of diction, he is always

careful to convey the sense correctly, although in a few passages the exact sense is made doubtful by corruption. A short introduction furnishes all that is necessary to understand the circumstances of the dialogue, while a few notes (not too many) elucidate the more obscure allusions. The opening words may be quoted as a fair specimen of Mr. Brodribb's rendering:

'Whenever my thoughts dwell on my good old friend Octavius, his charming and lovable personality becomes so real to me that I seem in a manner to return to the past, with something more than a mere recollection of its closed pages. My eyes can no

longer see him, but his portrait is for that very reason all the more deeply engraved on my heart and my inmost feelings. He was a remarkable and saintly man, and his departure from this world left me with an indefinite sense of loss. In truth, he was so much attached to me that our thoughts and wishes, whether grave or gay, always coincided; it was as though we had only one mind between us.¹

There is often much felicity in his phrases. For instance, 'post aestum rabiem in temperiem semet autumnitas derigebat,' 'after the heat of summer there was a touch of autumn in the air': 'ut fecundius nequiora proveniunt,' 'ill weeds grow apace'; 'vicinus et ita: vel improbe usurpo uictoriam,' 'we have won as things are, and I say "we" because I am unprincipled enough to claim a share in the victory': and many other examples might be given.

The editions used are those of Baehrens, 1886 (the Teubner text),² and the quite recent edition by Waltzing. Where they differ Mr. Brodribb follows sometimes one, sometimes the other, as he is justified in doing, 'for,' as he remarks, 'the state of the text is such that finality cannot be claimed for any particular edition.' Speaking generally, the emendations of Baehrens are bold and restore the sense admirably, but they are unscientific inasmuch as he ignores the *ductus litterarum* and thus fails to account for the reading of the only cod. in existence—Parisinus 1661, a minuscule of the ninth century. In 6. 1 the text has 'sed prioribus credere qui . . . meruerunt deos neli faciles habere uel reges.' Here Mr. Brodribb takes Usener's *famulos* which is hardly sense. Baehrens adopts Heumann's *ciues*. In 7. 3 Prof. Robinson Ellis³ seems to be right in defending *equitis* of the cod. in the sense of *equi*—a sense noted by Gellius. Most editors read *equi* here. In 8. 4 we find 'miserentur *miseri* si fas est sacerdotum.' There can be little doubt that *miseris* is right. This is suggested by Prof. Ellis but had already appeared in Baehrens' text. In 11. 9 Prof. Ellis rightly defends 'a uobis *nimirum* credulis' of the cod. 'from you Christians doubtless from over credulity.' Most edd. adopt the 'correction' *nimum*. In the well known difficulty at the beginning of 14 'homo

Plautinae prosapiae, ut *pistorum* praecipuus, ita postremus philosophorum,' Mr. Brodribb keeps *pistorum*, justly observing that the fact that Plautus was a *pistor* is a 'cogent, if not an overpowering, argument for the manuscript reading.' Baehrens reads *disertorum*, others *Christianorum*, or *iuris consultorum* which are all pointless. If *pistorum* did not happen to be the cod. reading it would be hailed by many as an *emendatio palmaria*. At the end of 21 the ingenious conjecture of Prof. Ellis *respicis* (for *despicis*) Isidis ad hirundinem sistrum etc, restores the sense but is made doubtful by the fact that Isis is mentioned almost immediately afterwards. Baehrens takes the whole sentence to be a mutilated marginal note of some lector *Christianus* and is followed by Mr. Brodribb who omits it in his translation. There are many other textual difficulties which it would take up too much space to discuss. Moreover the materials for their solution are inadequate seeing that we have only one manuscript.

There are two subjects of controversy concerning Minucius Felix, (1) the date of the composition of the 'Octavius,' and (2) the way in which Christianity is presented. On both of these topics much has been written and many different views expressed, as might be expected where there is no possibility of reaching a decision that will command the general assent of scholars, and where therefore individual preferences have free play. As to the date the principal question is as to which of the two—Tertullian or Minucius—is the earlier, in other words, whether, speaking broadly, Minucius belongs to the third century or to the second. The *Octavius* of Minucius and the *Apology* of Tertullian have so many points of resemblance that it is almost certain one has copied from the other—unless both have followed some common source, which there is little ground for thinking. The old opinion, supported by the authority of Jerome (or rather of Lactantius whom Jerome quotes) gives the priority to Tertullian. It was only in 1868 that Ebert adequately maintained that Minucius was the earlier, though this view had been expressed long before. His opinion has been very generally followed, but there are not wanting weighty voices to support the old opinion, such as Massebieau in France, K. J. Neumann and Harnack in Germany, and Dr. Salmon here. It has, however, not been sufficiently observed by critics that the date of the dialogue is one thing and the date of its composition another, and that while

¹ Dr. Salmon (*Dict. Chr. Biog.* s.v. 'Minucius Felix') speaks of the author 'mourning for his lately deceased friend Octavius.' There is nothing to show that the latter was only 'lately deceased.'

² There is now a new Teubner text by Boenig, 1903 [v. supra].

³ See a few textual notes by him on Minucius in *Journal of Philology*, No. 52 (1899).

resemblances in language between Minucius and other writers bear upon the date of the composition of the dialogue, historical allusions bear upon the date of the dialogue and only help to date the composition, by fixing a limit after which it must have been written. Thus, it is a reasonable inference from the manner in which Fronto is referred to that he was living at the date of the dialogue, but it by no means follows, as Schanz¹ thinks that Fronto was living at the time of the composition. Fronto died somewhere about 170 A.D. Yet the Octavius may easily have been written thirty or more years later. The more the book is studied the more is it seen to be a work of art in which every objection of Caecilius is in its due order replied to by Octavius; and if it were not that we have external evidence of the existence of Caecilius Natalis at Cirta, we might easily consider Caecilius and Octavius to be mere *personae* introduced to give liveliness to a defence of Christianity. We know from the dialogue that Caecilius was a native of Cirta and inscriptions have been found at Cirta (the modern Constantine) which refer to a Caecilius Natalis as prefect of Cirta 211–217 A.D. It may very well be that the Caecilius of the inscriptions is our Caecilius, in which case he was not a Christian at the date above named. Hence Dr. Salmon gives about 234 as the date of the composition of the dialogue. Moreover the tradition that Caecilius converted St. Cyprian, which event took place in 246, points to a date well into the third century. This tradition and the opinion of Lactantius, already referred to, may not amount to much, still they justify one in not easily resigning the old opinion in favour of Ebert's when nothing decisive is forthcoming on either side.

Let us now turn to the Christianity of Octavius, or rather of Minucius. Gibbon reproaches the early apologists of Christianity for their maladroitness in laying so much stress on the Old Testament and the prophecies: This mode of persuasion, he says, loses much of its influence when it is addressed to those who neither understand nor respect the Mosaic dispensation and the prophetic style. This reproach cannot be levelled at Minucius, for he barely refers to the Old Testament, and the only Christian doctrines on which he lays stress are the unity of God and the expectation of a future existence in which account will be taken of

our life here. In short he argues much more like a philosopher than a Christian. Professor Bury says, 'Minucius does not appear to have been a Christian in the full sense of the word,' and Baehrens actually considers him a predecessor of Strauss and Renan. I do not, I confess, share these opinions. The defence of Christianity is addressed to educated heathens and Minucius therefore addresses them in language and arguments similar to those of Cicero, Seneca, and other writers with whom they would be familiar. The usual charges brought against the early Christians are put forward by Caecilius, namely, ignorance and presumption in attempting to understand divine matters, sacrilege, incest, and cannibalism. Octavius answers Caecilius point by point and seldom if ever travels outside the four corners of his brief. As Mr. Brodribb puts it, the object of Octavius is to make a convert (or rather to clear the obstacles from his path) not to instruct one. The answer to the charge of ignorance and presumption is not exactly what we might expect. It is that all men have a share of sense and reason and that many of the greatest thinkers have lived in poverty. This is true enough, but we might rather have looked for a statement that the Christians preached what they claimed to be a divine revelation, and the only question therefore was not as to their ignorance and station in life but as to the authority of the revelation which they promulgated.

In answering the other charges we know from many sources that it was the habit of the Christians to practise an 'economy' of doctrine in the face of the heathen, for they were well aware that certain of their doctrines might, and did, when misunderstood (as they naturally would be), give some colour to accusations of incest and cannibalism.² Octavius meets these charges by a simple denial and appeals to experience for the conduct of the Christians.

There is then no reason to expect that the whole of the Christian doctrine should here be set forth in its entirety any more than it is in any of the Epistles of the New Testament. There is however one allusion, rather veiled, to the divinity or divine nature of Jesus Christ (29. 2), and the remark that 'miracles do not happen' (20. 4), which is made in order to reject the miracles of polytheism, may be understood as having no reference to the miracles that accompanied

¹ See his article 'Die Abfassungszeit des Octavius des Minucius Felix' in *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. 50 (1895), pp. 114 foll.

² Cf. 19, 15: 'nam et deum novimus et parentem omnium dicimus et numquam publice nisi interrogati praedicamus.'

the propagation of Christianity. The defence of Minucius is what might be expected under the circumstances. He contents himself with answering objections and puts the Christian religion in a form as attractive as possible to an outsider. Mr. Brodribb remarks in a note that it is strange that so cultivated a man as Minucius should accept the shallow rationalism of Euhemerus as accounting sufficiently for the pagan deities. But after all it is not so strange. A far greater man than Minucius—I mean St. Augustine—speaks of Euhemerus with great respect as a historian,¹ and Grote reminds us that the

¹ *Civ. Dei*, vi. 7: 'Nonne attestati sunt omnes Euhemero, qui non fabulosa garrulitate, sed historica diligentia, homines fuisse mortalesque conscripsit!'

doctrine of Euhemerus—that all the gods had once existed as mere men—was welcome to the Christian assailants of paganism, for it enabled them with greater ease to strip Jupiter and other pagan gods of the attributes of deity. They had therefore an interest in speaking well of one who had so well prepared their path.

The Octavius may easily be read through in an hour and it may be hoped that the excellent translation of Mr. Brodribb will make many, who have no opportunity of studying the original authorities, acquainted with the arguments—now so strange to us—for and against Christianity in those far-off times.

R. C. SEATON.

HENDERSON'S *NERO*.

The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero.

By B. W. HENDERSON, M.A. With three Maps and sixteen Illustrations. Methuen. 1903. Pp. xiv, 528. 10s. 6d.

THIS comprehensive volume falls into some five natural divisions. We find (i) a Prologue, briefly indicating the general state of affairs when Nero stepped into power:—(ii) Eleven chapters on the emperor himself, his principate, and certain important events of his time:—(iii) Three appendices on The Ancient Authorities, Christianity and the Government, and Nero's Titles:—(iv) Notes:—(v) Bibliography. To (v), under the sub-head of Christianity and its Rivals, we should like to see added the name of M. Cumont, the investigator of Mithraism, whose conclusions have lately appeared in an English dress. Mr. Henderson refers to his work elsewhere in a note, and says with reason that the religion of Mithras won its triumphs later; but Cumont has much to say about the natural alliance between the worship of Mithras and imperial supremacy; and even the apparently coarse flattery of the Rhodians, who hailed the rising Nero as a second Sun-god, may acquire new meaning from this way of looking at it. When Martial is mentioned and quoted under (iii), his well-known line about *quæ Neroni falsus adstruit scriptor* (iii. 20. 4) should not be passed over. The curious history of the name 'Nero' itself, first a *cognomen* and then a *praenomen*, is omitted under (iii).

But, taken on the whole, Mr. Henderson's survey of the Life and Times is a very complete one. Religious phenomena of the day are noted as occasion serves: so are the economic and social circumstances. But we must demur to speaking of Rome as 'the Greco-Italian town,'—a phrase not so much false as one-sided: it overlooks the Oriental element which was there in strength long before it roused the disgust of Juvenal. In occasional descriptions of Italian scenery Mr. Henderson is very successful. The literature of the time is dealt with chiefly from moral and political points of view, but yet the sections on Persius and Petronius are thorough as well as full of interest. Perhaps the emperor is considered, in spite of his Greek affectations, too real a barbarian to deserve much said of the state of the arts. We hear something about his seizure of statues in Greece, about his Golden House, and about the red brickwork of his aqueduct, 'the most perfect of all Rome's brickwork.' But we owe infinite thanks to Pliny for giving us Nero's real measure in the statement that he gilded the Alexander of Lysippus.

It will be seen from the above scheme of the book that the narrative comes first and the notes and evidence later. There are many points in favour of such an arrangement; and it has lately been carried out in Mr. Rice Holmes' excellent study of Caesar's Gallic Wars. But yet it is possible that the narrative feels the absence of the steady

influence of the old foot-notes. It was hard to be slangy or prodigal of modern instances and catchwords, when the *gravitas* of Roman writers or the mere special type of Greek at the bottom of the page kept the mind serious and fixed it on one period. The references given too, or the words then and there quoted, prevented many a treacherous slip of memory, many a trivial error. In the present work the attitude of Tiridates to Nero's initiation seems to be differently expressed on pp. 193, 414.

We can hardly help saying here that we should have liked a style more smooth in its flow than that which is generally at the author's command. The English is strained, uneasy, full of inversions and poetic turns. 'Were' for 'would be' does not now belong to English prose; 'dissociate' (for 'dissociated') and 'countered' probably never did belong. 'His solution...was proved of default,' and 'this is not of the historian's control,' are not regular or lawful constructions. Once more, the following sentence is awkward:—'Perhaps the 'Oxyporium' medicine which he used to assist digestion and was highly approved by the medical authorities was of real service.' It has often been noticed that an uneasy or ambitious style leads, probably through metaphors, into a certain vagueness about facts; and, though Mr. Henderson is notably careful and accurate as a rule, we must yet protest against his calling Nero a son of Aeneas or a veritable descendant of the dictator Julius (pp. 22, 199, etc.). But behind these mere flaws in expression lies a solid body of historical investigation, built up by hard work. Without always accepting the writer's conclusions, without feeling that he has made a Nero much more intelligible than his predecessors did, we recognize to the full the ability, judgment, and candour with which he has treated many perplexing matters. His tightly-packed notes give the reader means of checking his conclusions and forming, if necessary, an independent decision. We find him also particularly clear and informing on a subject which is not often well or wisely handled in English histories,—we mean campaigns, and military affairs at large. The intricate military history of Armenia, and the consequences of its physical geography, have never been more lucidly explained. (But the map of Armenia is not equal in merit to the text.) In Britain, again, the movements of C. Suetonius Paulinus are set forth convincingly. Mr. Henderson rejects the view of Domaszewski

and Mommsen 'that Suetonius never went to London at all' during the rebellion, 'but remained and fought near Chester.' We were disappointed at first on reading (p. 206) that Suetonius redeemed the province 'by his valour and the valour of his troops.' Taken literally, that would be wrong, and a bad lesson into the bargain. But at p. 213 we found the better verdict, with reasons, that

'As governor of Britain, Suetonius had allowed a great rebellion to surprise him unawares. As general in the crisis he did his best to atone for his blindness by quick decision and clear-sighted judgment in that most appalling of necessities ever imposed upon a general, the abandonment of defenceless towns to the cruelty of merciless barbarians.'

But now to come to the emperor himself:—The biographer's story, so far as it centres round him, must be analysed into two portions, the Emperor's (A) Policy and (B) Character. These alternate in their treatment through the volume, and it is a wholesome exercise to put the data together.

(A). In his judgment upon Nero's foreign policy, especially in its earlier years, Mr. Henderson is distinctly favourable. Of the policy on the Black Sea and on the Parthian frontier he is a warm admirer (pp. 194, 226).

But more than that:—'We have made,' he says,

'the circuit of the frontiers from Armenia to Britain, and back by the Rhine and Danube to the Black Sea and the Caucasus. We have found perils overcome, diplomacy triumphant, rebellion crushed, frontiers advanced, peace undisturbed within them . . . And we cannot deny all praise and all merit to the Emperor whose were the generals and the legions, who determined the policy, and guided the counsels, and ruled the armies from the Euphrates to the Irish Sea. Nero has served the Empire, and no prejudice can deny the fact. That prejudice must feed rather upon the events in Rome.' (p. 227).

As to Nero's constitutional position at home, we cannot discover who was, in Mr. Henderson's opinion, the real author of the programme given in Tac. *A.* xiii. 4. It can hardly have been the boy-speaker himself. Had the senate made terms beforehand with him, or with his mother? Probably not: the senate seems never able to act. Or had

Nero's advisers (Seneca and Burrus) decided to limit, or try to limit, their master's power, one perhaps acting as a Stoic, the other remembering the liberal principles said to be traditional in Nero's branch of the Julian house? At all events the promises put into the emperor's mouth were not strictly observed for long. Nero altered the treasury-system, and

'himself for the future appointed as prefects of the treasury men who had been praetors. This was as great a boon to efficiency of administration as it was a blow to the theory of the dyarchy; for the imperial selection of its officers involved a large imperial control in practice over the State treasury.' (p. 81)

This happened in A.D. 56, within the *Quinquennium Neronis* therefore. Later, of course, any talk of a constitutional position is an idle compliment. Whatever Nero or his favourites wished was done, without any talk of constitutional authority for it, by violence, unless the victims anticipated their fate obediently.

Yet all along someone was watchful for the public interest. Hear Mr. Henderson's general report:—

'These are Nero's services to the provinces, and they are typical of the Principate. Yet this does not diminish the recognition due to the Emperor, whose forethought and activity seem indeed to have been greater than those of two at least of his predecessors. Maladministration...was checked by general administrative edicts, and by an abnormal number of prosecutions, the defendants in which admittedly in almost every case received the condemnation or acquittal which was their due. The operations of the greedy tax-farmers were limited severely in scope and method. Not only were good generals chosen for the great wars upon the frontiers, but good governors for the peaceful provinces within them...Once more it must be repeated that, whatever the private and court scandals and crimes of the reign of Nero, the whole Empire had reason to rejoice in his good government, which extended itself equally to the administration in Rome, in Italy, and in the Provinces.' (See pp. 100-4.)

The water-supply of Rome [and the food-supply were well looked after.

'Projects for harbours and canals, inducements to ship-owners, an honest and efficient prefect, and in the last resort extraordinary measures, all attest Nero's wise anxiety and prudent care for the food-supply.' (p. 78)

Still, with all this care, there is little to show that technical knowledge or actual experience was recognized as important factors in bringing about successful administration. Perhaps a nation has little right to criticise this, which transfers its ministers at a moment's notice from one important cabinet-office to another, and deports its diplomatists from a capital where they have learned everything to one where they have everything to learn. But it is surprising to find, even a generation later than Nero's time, a Frontinus, for instance, suddenly appointed to the charge of the water-supply of Rome, of which he knew nothing. Mr. Henderson makes several references to the Roman 'civil service,' but gives no general account of what it was or how constituted. Precision here would have been the more desirable because, so far as we can judge, he seems inclined to antedate a regular service. At all events the two following statements, if not inconsistent, at least want adjusting to each other through the medium of some general statement or distinction:—'the Equites, whence his [Nero's] own civil service was largely recruited' (p. 265), and 'Knights take the place of freedmen in the Palace Civil Service after Vitellius' (p. 460). In connection with supplies, Nero's rule that 'no made-dishes might be sold in cook-shops' calls for more examination than Mr. Henderson gives it (Suet. *Nero* 16). He suggests that it was passed in the interest of thrift, and on the emperor's own motion. But much the same rule held under earlier rulers (Suet. *Tib.* 34, *Cl.* 38), and it is nowhere, to my knowledge, explained by sumptuary considerations. Renan (*Apôtres*) brings the rule into connection with the prohibition of clubs; and that view seems favoured by the wording of Dion Cass. 60. 6.

Nero's attitude in religious affairs is too large a subject, with too many branches, for us to discuss it. But we may note that the biographer deals with the Jewish question of the day, treats very carefully Tacitus' puzzling chapter about the Christians

(*A. xv. 44*), and analyses the causes of Roman persecution of Christianity.

'The State demanded this recognition [Caesar-worship] from time to time as a sign of loyalty. The Christian promptly refused it as a sin of disloyalty to his God. The state is unable to understand the Christian's objections. The Christian is unable to appreciate the political interpretation which the State puts upon the religious act, which too is really all that the State cares about. The Christian was regarded in consequence by the State as treasonable and disloyal, and the rapid growth of the organisation of the Church raised the question in due course from one of local or provincial control to one of direct imperial concern. The State was regarded in consequence by the Christian as sacrilegious, idolatrous, and blasphemous... War between the two was therefore from the first inevitable because neither side could possibly understand the other. We are not prepared, as sober historians, to blame either side for this' (p. 354).

The remark in the Preface that 'great events, and not in the spheres of action or administration only, befell during the Principate of Nero,' must refer to the contemporary history of Judaism and Christianity, and may include the story of the philosophers of the time. At any rate religion and philosophy have each a chapter to itself.

But the more we read of the well-ordered system of rule, started by Nero in his famous Quinquennium,¹ and never wholly wrecked, the less can we comprehend the orgy at head-quarters which presently set in. How did the machine continue to work when the engine-driver was intoxicated? It really seems as if *ferunt ipsa aequora classem*. Mr. Henderson has an inkling of the difficulty (pp. 104, 113), but feels it less than we do. If the Emperor himself achieved so much (which not everyone will be ready to admit), how did he keep his administrative ability, when he lost his head in every other sense? Even to look on and watch, how did he find time or inclination in a life such as he seems to have led? Some of the stories, moreover, of his later days reveal a childishness which may be consistent with wickedness, but is hardly

¹ Mr. Henderson is inclined to give Nero himself the credit of the Quinquennium; see pp. 76-7.

compatible with wise government. Modern history gives us cases of sober, working princes who are unable to get their plans carried out because they cannot find the right tools. Yet in Nero's case we are called on to see tools working of themselves, like the miraculous figures of Hephaestus in the *Iliad*. The mere power of choosing good servants, which Nero may perhaps have had (see p. 15), does not sufficiently explain the situation.

Another difficulty arises with this. The Emperor's safety rested on the comparatively small guard which he kept in Rome. This guard, always at his heels, saw as well as heard what went on. How was it that the soldiers endured such an emperor and did not give him the fate which their successors gave to Elagabalus? The men were very sensitive about certain things, as the story of Cassius Chaerea goes to show. Mr. Henderson implies that money is the explanation. 'The guard in Rome, paid highly by the Prince and under his immediate observation, preserved a fidelity on which his life depended' (p. 257). But pay would come from the next emperor too. A few men of the praetorian guard felt horror of Nero's crimes; but why a few only?

Again, given the unlimited power and ruthlessness of the early emperors, it is not easy to see why individual citizens ventured to play with them, to criticize, or insult them. To take one instance only, Lucan must have been little less than mad if he retaliated on a Nero 'by mockery and poetic ridicule of the Emperor and his friends.' The Medes or Persians, as drawn by Herodotus, knew better how to keep alive under a despot.

(B) But what does Mr. Henderson think of Nero's character? Was that ruler a ruthless despot as commonly represented? Mr. Henderson seems inclined to 'hedge.' He goes on balancing one side of the Princeps against the other. He declines to judge (pp. 15, 417-8), and yet after all does judge (p. 421-2).

'The historian . . . discovers that Nero, though morally vicious, though in his later years tyrannical to the extent that he would show no mercy to any form of opposition, though the undoubted slayer of brother, mother, wife, and of any who could threaten his continued possession of the Imperial power, though luxurious, effeminate, undignified, and depraved, yet had for thirteen years done good service to the

State, which service cannot be buried beneath an overwhelming mass of his iniquities.'

To come to particulars, he denies that Nero was guilty of cruelty (pp. 129—30, 132—3, 265, 469), the very quality which most sticks to Nero's name,—and yet admits that the busts betray 'a certain ferocity.' He suggests a cause for Nero's ill-fame (unnecessary if Nero was, as he says, the slayer of brother, mother, and wife), the willingness of the Flavian Dynasty to encourage systematic disparagement of the last Prince of the old line (pp. 10, 11, 418). But this wants proof; and it must be remembered that Nero really was the last prince; he left no sprig of his stock for the next dynasty to fear or blacken. Further, Mr. Henderson admits the Emperor's guilt, crime by crime, except in the burning of Rome; and, though for intelligible reasons he cannot be very explicit, he seems to admit the vices as well. Even the matricide he accepts. Such things are hard to disprove; but I have long thought that M. Hochart (or Dacbert) has gone as far as anyone can reasonably hope to go now in disproving the murder of Agrippina. Some of his points were anticipated by Peter (*Geschichte Roms*); but M. Hochart probably first exhibited together the whole body of improbabilities. Yet Mr. Henderson, who has seen Hochart's essays, still repeats the venerable story that the roof of Agrippina's cabin, weighted with lead, fell in upon her. Then 'the ship refused to sink.' Why should it sink if it was made to come to pieces (p. 118)? And why crush the Empress with lead if she was meant to fall into the sea? It is a cock-and-bull story, worthy of the writer ('Tacitus) who lets us suppose in an earlier chapter that Germanicus died of poison and witchcraft. One mode of death is enough. There was little motive too at the moment for killing the Empress, as Mr. Henderson perhaps sees (p. 126).

Finally, we have the hypothetical conclusion (p. 385) that

'if the tales are true . . . Nero was by this time not only drunken with power and artistic glory, but well-nigh insane, at least as a moral agent.'

The tales apparently cannot be denied to any great extent (p. 415). For the shocking result, the mature character of Nero, Mr. Henderson puts forward four possible causes, of which we cannot distinguish the first from the fourth:—

'How far that vice is to be laid at the door of his inherited nature, or his upbringing by Agrippina and Seneca, or his possession, while still a youth, of absolute power, or an inherent depravity, we cannot judge' (p. 415).

Pp. 37—8 take a more favourable view of Seneca's influence over his pupil: and p. 274 lays down a cause of change in Nero at a definite moment. The conspiracy of Piso 'initiated a reign of terror.' 'Nero cannot forget.' This is the story of Commodus over again.

We should like to discuss, if space allowed, our author's careful characterization of Seneca. Though we cannot quite agree with him (for we are more impressed than he is by the tone of the philosopher's letters), we gladly recognize that he has constructed a possible Seneca. In fact, his portrait of the philosopher hangs together better and is more satisfying than that of the pupil. It is of course an easier task, with fuller material. But surely, when Caligula said of Seneca's style that it was 'sand without lime,' he was thinking of building materials, not of the race-course (p. 34).

Of the supposed busts of Nero Mr. Henderson gives six useful reproductions. The one in the Louvre (p. 343) can hardly be seriously taken for a Nero. As to the others, it is curious that no one illustrates the likeness of the Emperor to Apollo in the matter of hair. There is no *effuso cervicis formosa capillo*; nothing to lend point to Juvenal's sneer at Domitian, *calvo Neroni*.

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

JOHN GOWER'S *LATIN POEMS*.

The Complete Works of John Gower. Edited with Introductions, etc., by G. C. MACAULAY, M.A. Vol. IV. The Latin Works. Clarendon Press. Pp. lxxviii., 430. 16s.

THIS volume contains the following matter: (1) a life of Gower compiled from a fresh examination of the materials: (2) a full analysis of the *Vox Clamantis*, with some introductory remarks on this and the other Latin poems: (3) a very full discussion of the MSS. and editions: (4) a critical edition of the poems in the original spelling, the text being taken mainly from the All Souls' MS. (which once belonged to Gower himself): (5) notes historical and explanatory: (6) a glossary of remarkable words.

The book is a monument certainly of industry and, apparently, of acumen too, but for this latter quality Prof. Macaulay can hardly expect his full meed of praise, since there is nobody alive who is competent to award it. Gower's Latin poems have been edited piecemeal and, it would seem, not very well and none more recently than 1850, when H. O. Coxe edited the *Vox Clamantis* for the Roxburghe Club. A bad text, not easily obtained, argues a considerable scarcity of readers, and it may be safely predicated that, of the few who enjoy Gower's English works, still fewer have gone on to the Latin, and of these again some must have succumbed after reading the story of Wat Tyler's rebellion in the First Book of the *Vox Clamantis*. For even this is not told simply and vigorously, but is put into the form of a dream or apocalypse, in which birds and beasts and Wat and Thomas and Simon and the heroes of Troy and William the Mayor and the Tower of London are all mixed up together in a bewildering and tedious confusion. The rest of the poem is a dull and vague tirade on the manners of the times. Nor is there any merit in the diction. All the good lines, and a great many bad ones besides, are cribbed, as Prof. Macaulay points out, from Ovid, or from Peter of Riga, or Godfrey of Viterbo, or Alexander Neckam. Even where Gower is moved by genuine feeling, he cannot rise higher than this:

Singula que dominus statuit sibi regna per orbem,
Que magis in Cristi nomine signa gerunt.

Diligo, set propriam super omnia diligo
terram
In qua principium duxit origo meum.
Quicquid agant alie terre, non subruor
inde,
Dum tamen ipse foris sisto remotus eis;
Patria set iuvenem que me suscepit alum-
num,
Partibus in cuius semper adhero manens,
Hec si quid patitur, mea viscera compaciun-
tur,
Nec sine me dampna ferre valebit ea:
Eius in adversis de pondere sum quasi
versus;
Si perstet, persto, si cadat illa, cado.
Que magis ergo grauant presenti tempore,
saltem
Vt dicunt alii, scismata plango michi.
(*Vox Clam.* VII. Cap. xxiv).

A poem of 10,265 lines should have some better gems to show. The *Cronica Tripertita* is much shorter, and may be of value to the historian of Richard II.'s reign (though Prof. Macaulay does not appear to think highly of its accuracy), but it is written in Leonine hexameter, a metre which soon becomes exasperating. A thousand lines of this sort:—

Interea transit moriens nec in orbe reman-
sit
Humfredus dictus, redit ille deo benedictus:
Defuncto nato, cito post de fine beato
Mater transivit, nati dum funera scivit—

are more than enough for pleasure, even if one reads them but once. Yet Prof. Macaulay, ὁ χαλκέντερος, must have read them about eight times. There can hardly be another scholar in the world who has taken half this trouble and is qualified to give an expert opinion on Prof. Macaulay's work. The present reviewer finds it excellent in those matters of which he has some knowledge, and believes it to be equally admirable throughout: for there is an ἦθος of editors as of orators, and Prof. Macaulay inspires confidence. There are many details of Gower's Latinity, in syntax, spelling, prosody and vocabulary, that deserve the attention of students of mediaeval French.

J. G.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

M. Manilii Astronomicum liber primus: recensuit et enarravit A. E. HOUSMAN: accedunt emendationes librorum II, III, IV. Londinii apud Grant Richards. MCCCIII. Pp. lxxvi, 103, 3s. net.

IN the uncertainty whether an adequate notice of Prof. Housman's *Manilius I* will yet be forthcoming for the *Classical Review*, a brief account of its contents may prove acceptable. The text of I and II 1-3 together with a Latin commentary take up 83 pages, emendations of books II, III and IV 16 more, and the Index what remains of the 103. The commentary which is in Latin is critical and explanatory and only incidentally illustrative. The following figures will give a rough notion of the constitution of the text. It deviates from the MS tradition or traditions in some 160 readings of which, the round 100 belongs in approximately equal parts to Scaliger, Bentley and the remainder of Manilian scholars. The rest are corrections of the editor's own, distinguished by a star. In addition to the Latin commentary and a text thus reformed the purchaser acquires an ample Introduction dealing with the history and condition of the text and the proper method of emending it, written for the most part in English and in the slashing style which all know and few applaud. In its pages a number of contemporary scholars, chiefly Germans and notably Mr. R. Ehwald and Mr. F. Vollmer, the choice of five Universities as editor of the new Latin Thesaurus, are roughly handled. Before it stands a dedicatory poem to a friend who is described as 'harum litterarum contemptor' from which we cull the following dubitation of immortality

o uicture meis dicam periturene chartis,
nomine sed certe uiuere digne tuo.

The volume—a well printed one—is the most substantial English contribution to the criticism and elucidation of Manilius since the time of Bentley.

Bell and Sons' Pocket-book Classics. Horace *Odes* with Conington's translation. 1903. Sm. imperial 32mo., limp leather. 2s. net. (With leather pocket-book and diary 4s. 6d. net and 5s. 6d. net.)

THIS edition of Horace's *Odes* is based on Dr. Gow's text in the *Corpus Poetarum*

Latinorum, of which Messrs. Bell and Sons are the publishers. Opposite the Latin text stands Conington's well known rendering into English verse. The excellent type, thin paper and convenient size of the volume will make a purchaser eager for the appearance of others in the series, which is to include both ancient and modern classics. The corresponding pocket-book does not exceed the ordinary dimensions, and the volume slips easily out and in. Those who desire to make a modest present or a frugal purchase have here their opportunity.

Index Verborum in Varronis Rerum Rusticarum libros tres: composuit RICHARDUS KRUMBIEGEL. (Vol. III. Fasc. ii. of *Cato de Agricultura* and *Varro's Res Rusticae* ex rec. H. Keil) Pp. iv, 292. Leipzig: Teubner, 1902.

PROBABLY the most useful contribution that all but a small minority of scholars can make to the advancement of learning is the compilation of a good special lexicon or index verborum. And Mr. Krumbiegel's volume should accordingly receive a cordial welcome. The compiler is so far dominated by the passion for completeness, that he takes up twenty-one columns of his book with an enumeration of the occurrences of *et*: but by classifying them under as many heads as there are letters in the Greek alphabet he does his best to make amends. A specially valuable feature in the book is the account which it takes of variant readings.

Abriss der Griechischen Lautlehre. Von ALFRED GERCKE. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1902. Pp. iv, 86 (with a Chronological Table). Mk. 1.80.

THIS brief summary of the sound laws of ancient Greek deserves the notice of teachers of Comparative Philology in Great Britain and America. Without making pretensions to novelty its writer shows his independence here and there, as in the section which deals with the *mediæ aspiratae*. His exposition is lucid and succinct, and the attempt made in chapter iv (and the Table) to place the changes of the Greek sounds in their relative order deserves a hearty commendation. We should be very glad to have a similar

abstract of Latin sound-lore, and to see both abstracts in an English dress.

both) should never forget the apologue of Jonah and his gourd.

Two Lectures on the Science of Language.

By JAMES HOPE MOULTON, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.) Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Tutor at the Didsbury Theological College, Manchester, late Senior Classical Master at the Leys School, Cambridge. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1903. Pp. x, 68. 1s. 6d. net.

THIS well printed and unpretentious volume should do something to stimulate the general interest in the Comparative Philology of the Indo-European languages which the rigidly deductive and symbolic treatment prevalent a few years back, to the harm of scientific etymology and phonetics alike, did not a little to discourage. Dr. Moulton writes brightly and not too impersonally; and his happily chosen illustrations set his meaning within the easy comprehension of the learner. The useful bibliography and the full indices deserve a word of praise. If we must criticise, Dr. Moulton is not always proof against the attractions of 'the latest theory.' A philologist and a theologian (and Dr. Moulton is

Systematisches Verzeichnis der Abhandlungen welche in der in den Schulschriften sämtlicher an dem Programmtausche teilnehmenden Lehranstalten erschienen sind. Bearbeitet von Dr. RUDOLPH KLUSMANN nebst Zwei Registern. Vierter Band 1896-1900. 1903. Price of the 4 vols. Mk. 26.

So long as the school-program is a recognised mode of publishing scientific work in Germany will a guide like Dr. Klusmann's *Verzeichnis* be necessary. It would appear to be a quinquennial publication, as the third volume was dated 1899 and covered the years 1891-1895. The increase in size since is inconsiderable, 347 pages now and 342 then. A small portion only of the books is concerned with Classical subjects; but it is one for all considerable libraries to purchase. Its production might be accelerated. The present volume should have appeared in 1901 or at latest in 1902.

J. P. P.

REPORT.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

THIS Association was constituted at the meeting convened by a circular signed by Principal N. BODINGTON, Leeds; Professor R. S. CONWAY, Manchester; Dr. J. GOW, Westminster; Miss E. PENROSE, Royal Holloway College; Dr. J. P. POSTGATE, Cambridge; Mr. A. SIDGWICK, Oxford; and Professor E. A. SONNENSCHN, as stated in the *Classical Review*, Dec. 1903, p. 429; and held in the Botanical Theatre of University College, Gower Street, London, at 3 p.m. on Saturday Dec. 19, 1903.

Amongst those present were the Right Hon. Sir R. H. COLLINS (Master of the Rolls), Dr. D. B. MONRO, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the Rev. Dr. F. H. CHASE, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Sir Frederick POLLOCK, Professor S. H. BUTCHER, Professor P. GARDNER, Dr. J. E. SANDYS, Public Orator of the University of Cambridge, Principal N. BODINGTON, Dr. GOW, Dr. J. P. POSTGATE, Professor R. S. CONWAY, Dr. C. WALDSTEIN of Cambridge, the Rev. T. L. PAPILLON, Mr. T. RICE HOLMES, Mr. V. H. RENDALL, Miss PENROSE, Mrs. STRONG, and Professor SONNENSCHN, who acted as Secretary to the meeting.

Letters and other intimations of regret were received from the Right Hon. H. H. ASQUITH, K.C. M.P., Professor PELHAM (President of Trinity College, Oxford), Mr. T. H. WARREN (President of Magdalen College, Oxford), Dr. BUTLER, Master of

Trinity College, Cambridge; Professor Sir R. C. JEBB, M.P., Professor RAMSAY of Glasgow (president of the Classical Association of Scotland), Professor J. S. REID, Canon LYTTTELTON, Mr. T. E. PAGE of Charterhouse, and Mr. G. A. MACMILLAN.

Principal BODINGTON moved and Dr. GOW seconded that the MASTER OF THE ROLLS do take the chair. This was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said that all those present, and all who were interested in classical studies, must look with some alarm upon the attitude of a very large number of persons towards classical studies—persons who were interested in the development of education in this country. It had been felt that there was a real danger that the time-honoured system which had prevailed for so many years in this country, whereby classical studies were made the foundations of education—that this system would be entirely upset and destroyed and classical studies absolutely excluded from any part in the education of the country. That seemed a formidable fact to face; and many persons had seen it with regret, and had felt that some step, if possible, ought to be taken to prevent it. It was with the view of taking that step that that meeting had been called. Mr. Postgate and others had conceived the idea that the time had come when some general action ought to be taken by those persons who were interested in

keeping alive the study of classics in this country ; and it had been felt that to make any resistance to the movement effective there ought to be organization. With a view to organization it was proposed to form an association to give it shape and body and rules, so as to make it effective in modifying, if it could not prevent, the tendency to displace classics from their position in the studies of the country. They were not met there in any narrow spirit of intolerance of other studies ; on the contrary, classical education, if it did nothing else, tended to widen the sympathies of man with man, and there was no department of intellectual effort which the classic did not look upon with sympathy. They were there because they believed that there was no better basis, no firmer foundation, for education than the study of the classics—a foundation upon which all other studies might be erected, and without which seldom were other studies secure. The study of classics trained a man to receive other ideas, to prove them and assimilate them ; and it was from that point of view that they regarded that study with so much veneration, and were so opposed to seeing it in any way displaced from its true field. It might be that there had been a reaction in this country against what might be thought to be the great primacy accorded to classical studies in our public schools, and they were perhaps not concerned to deny that some of those students who had passed through our public schools and had received a classical training had not quite reached the standard of senior classics when they came away from school. But, on the other hand, they were not yet prepared to admit that those same persons would have reached a higher standard of attainment had they been nursed under any other training. The case was not proved against classical studies by reason of the fact that a considerable percentage of persons passed through our public schools without attaining any very high degree of scholarship while they were there.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD moved, 'That an association open to persons of either sex to be called the Classical Association of England and Wales be and is hereby constituted.' He said he was sure that those who were there had mostly come prepared to sympathize with and join in the movement. For a long time it had seemed to him that some action of the kind was wanted in the interests of classics. He thought they required something on lines similar to those of the British Association for the advancement of science. It was evident that a great deal was done for science in various ways by the British Association, in the papers read before it, and in the encouragement which it gave to all scientific inquiry throughout the country. He was very glad to hear that there was a classical association already in Scotland. He was glad as a Scotsman to know that that country was taking the lead in this excellent work. Most of them knew there was a meeting held every year in Germany of what was called the *Philologen Versammlung*. Many years ago he attended one of their meetings at Innsbruck, and was very much struck with the excellent work which it did in papers, and in bringing together scholars from all over the country, who thus were enabled to make each other's acquaintance. There was a very considerable convivial element in the meeting, which seemed to be all to the good. For these reasons he was very well prepared to sympathize with and join in the present movement. He thought the chairman had put forward a further reason, which was a very serious and important one, why an association of that kind should be started now, and that was from the point

of view of fighting for the defence of classics against the attacks which threatened them at this moment. When they saw the nature of the attack which was being made, they observed that it seemed to proceed from two ideas which were quite distinct, although they were apt to be confused in the minds of the community—namely, they wanted to make education more useful and also to make it more modern. He did not think that either of those points of view should be conceded. In the matter of usefulness they must make some concession at the beginning of education ; but when they proposed to substitute some periods of modern literature or of modern foreign languages for Latin and Greek, then he thought a very great mistake was being made. One thing he thought that they were fully persuaded of, and that was the importance of becoming familiar with and assimilating the highest models of literature of all kinds, and that those highest and perfect models were only to be found in Greek and Latin. That was, he thought, the ground that they must take in this controversy ; and he would be very glad if the movement which they initiated that day did something to protect the ancient education of this country in its highest form from this hostile movement.

PROFESSOR POSTGATE seconded the resolution, and, in doing so, said that to the world outside the greatest testimony of the importance they attached to the classics would not be the testimony of individuals, however eminent and illustrious : it would be the testimony of nations. And there, perhaps, they might say, speaking first of Greek and Latin, that the greatest testimony that one nation could render to another was the one which the Romans rendered to the Greeks. The Romans were a race unsusceptible, strong, and self-seeking. That strong and masterful people bowed to an intellectual ascendancy ; their subjugation was so complete that it was not correct simply to speak of the Latin literature as being a copy of the Greek—it was rather correct to say that it was a reincarnation of part of the Greek spirit, doomed to sicken and expire as the life which created and informed it flickered and died away. There was another nation which possessed a literature, which was, for variety and range and versatility, comparable only to the great literature of Greece. It was drawn from many sources, it had fallen under many influences, but it might be doubted whether of all the great writers who had contributed to that literature there were any who had not felt the Greek influence mediately or immediately. That literature was our own ; and the second great tribute of a nation to the Greeks was the tribute of the English nation. It had been said by their opponents—and they were active, numerous, and loquacious—that the influence, which they admitted had done a great deal for English literature, was now exhausted. They said that the day of Greek and Latin was over. Could they accept those propositions ? If they turned to the literature of the present day, could they regard it with supreme feelings of contentment ? There was a tawdriness, a feverishness, a frivolity about it of which they would look in vain for parallels in the literature of Greece and Rome. Think of Plato and Rudyard Kipling together ! Had the writers of to-day nothing to learn from the calm, the order, the harmony, the self-restraint of the Greek ? There was another argument advanced. It was said, 'You have translations.' Well, what about translations ? Let them apply the argument to literatures where they could test it—to the French and to the German. What was Victor Hugo translated, what was Heine

translated? He would be the last to decry translation as an educational instrument. It had its own utility. But as literature, what was it? Pickled salmon, tinned salmon! That great heritage which they had was one which, in the interests of their own country's literature, they should jealously guard, especially in the days in which it was imperilled. That the position of classics in the country was not what it had been twenty or even ten years ago, was clear from more than one indication. He might mention that at London University for the first time in its history it was possible to graduate without a knowledge of either Latin or Greek, and that Cambridge, in sharp contrast to its action in 1891, had recently appointed a syndicate whose terms of reference covered both classical languages. These were the signs of a dissatisfaction which in part he must admit to be just, and the causes of this feeling it would be the business of their Association to seek out and remove, if the dissatisfaction was not to issue ultimately in downfall. They trusted that it would not; but it was a serious question. They had read in Holy Writ of the Hebrew monarch who lay sick upon his bed, to whom the message came, 'Set thy house in order, for thou shalt die.' The message was given to them also, but the peril now, as then, might be averted. They did not live in the days of Hezekiah. There were no miracles now. They could not expect the shadow to move backward upon the dial; but if they devoted themselves strongly, sincerely, to the tasks which he trusted that Association would have before it, all might be well. 'Set thine house in order and thou shalt live.'

MISS PENROSE urged the claims of the Association on women who are engaged in the teaching of classics. To all teachers in any branch of learning or science who have few opportunities of intercourse with fellow-workers in their own field, the formation of an Association of that kind should appeal with special force. It had already been pointed out by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford that those who are interested in natural science have for many years found in the meetings of the British Association an experience similar to that which it is now proposed to offer to lovers of classical learning. They met those who are in the front rank of science, those who are most actively engaged in enlarging the borders of their subject, they heard about and discussed the work which has been done during the year, and they felt the stimulus of being in the heart of a movement. It would be hard to find a subject in which an Association of the kind would be more helpful, as far as women teachers are concerned, than in the subject of classics. The classical masters in many Public Schools might be able to form something like a miniature Classical Association among themselves. But in girls' schools the proportion of classical teachers was a different one. Just because of their greater isolation they would feel in a special degree the value of a common meeting-ground, such as would be afforded for all who are interested in classical subjects by the general meetings of the Classical Association. Quite apart from the advantages to the individual, she would like to urge, at a time when the place of classical training in our national education was so persistently challenged, that it was incumbent on all who genuinely recognized its value, on all who felt their lives the richer for any glimpse into the realms of classical literature and art, to show their colours, to range themselves on the side of classics by joining an Association of which the aim, as had been so well put by Dr. Postgate, is to hold fast a heritage, to add to it while it was in our possession by throwing new light in dark corners, and to hand it on by such

improved methods of presentation that the next generation might the more easily mount upon their shoulders, might show greater vigour in research and a keener sense of obligation to hand on the scholar's heritage to the future.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of CAMBRIDGE said that no one who served in his office could help having two lessons impressed very deeply upon him. The first was the marvellous multiplicity of studies which found a home, and he believed rightly found a home, in our older universities: the other was the great, he had almost said the supreme, importance of literary and classical studies maintaining their rightful position in our schools and universities, pursued of course in a scientific spirit, in order that they might be both an end in themselves and also an influence imparting an ethos to all those other studies which had so marvellously developed in the present day. He had the honour to move a resolution which dealt with the objects of that Association. The objects were 'to promote the development, and maintain the well-being, of classical studies, and in particular (a) to impress upon public opinion the claim of such studies to an eminent place in the national scheme of education; (b) to improve the practice of classical teaching by free discussion of its scope and methods; (c) to encourage investigation and call attention to new discoveries; (d) to create opportunities of friendly intercourse and co-operation between all lovers of classical learning in this country.'

PROFESSOR BUTCHER, who seconded the resolution, expressed satisfaction at the Association having been formed. The similar Association in Scotland had by its conferences done much even in one year to quicken the interest of classical Teachers in their own subject and in their methods of teaching. The classics were assailed from two sides; first by those who held the trade or apprenticeship theory of education, and looked to direct utility as the end. Even if this were the true end, it might be doubted whether the assailants were taking the best way to attain it. The example of Germany to which they pointed was not in their favour. In the schools of Prussia some 83,000 pupils were receiving a classical training as against some 40,000 whose training was non-classical. On another side the attack was pressed by those who, while supporting a linguistic and literary education, urged the need of greater efficiency, and therefore said, 'Let us have modern languages instead of Greek and Latin.' When this opinion came to be probed, it was frequently found to be nothing more than a demand for such a colloquial and technical knowledge of modern languages as would enable a boy to write a commercial letter. This section, therefore, of the modern language advocates should be ranked with those who held the purely utilitarian view. The old defence of the classics rested mainly on their disciplinary value, on the mental gymnastic afforded by a close logical training in language. It was a sound defence as far as it went. The problems and processes involved in extracting the sense of a passage of Latin or Greek, cultivated an alertness and flexibility of mind which could not be got in equal degree by translating modern languages, which were cast in a mould so similar to that of English. But this defence was no longer adequate. To justify the classics nowadays it must be shown that this study can not only strengthen the mind, but widen and stimulate it, and that a literary interest can be awakened not only in the few but in the many. The process of learning must be made less dry, less toilsome. Not that he believed in true learning ever becoming easy through labour-saving machinery.

On the other hand mere difficulty was of no intrinsic value. Some things were difficult, of which they could only say, 'Would that they were impossible!' And the learning of the classics was perhaps made needlessly difficult by bad or imperfect methods; the effect too often was to repel the pupil and dry up the sources of mental activity. The question, therefore, was, Can the methods of teaching Latin and Greek be improved? He believed that there might be a wise economy of energy; that in the earlier stages they might throw overboard a lot of useless lumber—rare and abnormal grammatical forms, superfluities of naughtiness, that were merely a burden to the memory; that less grammar should be taught and more vocabulary; that books should be read more rapidly, and that boys should be helped to construct their grammars as they went on; that less time should be spent on exercises and composition; that the life and history of the nations of antiquity should be made more real and concrete. Such a change in the method of teaching beginners would, he believed, not only vitalize these studies in their initial stages, but in the long run conduce to thoroughness and accuracy. At present, undoubtedly, the percentage of failures in classical pupils was too great. That fact must be faced. Personally he was inclined to think that Latin and Greek might be begun at a later age. The case for postponing the study of Greek was especially strong. But on these points he wished to learn the opinion of teachers. In any case their aim must be to find a means by which pupils may win an earlier entrance into the domain of literature. Many new experiments should be tried, and the experiences of teachers compared. Though the ordinary boy had a disinterested hatred of all learning, yet appeal to his imagination, his love of a story, his love of adventure, once launch him on Herodotus or Homer, and the literary sense was found to be by no means lacking. Matthew Arnold gave it as the result of his enquiries into the Higher Schools of Germany, that the great superiority of the Germans consisted in their far broader notion of treating even in their schools the ancient authors as literature. The problem, then, that lay before the Classical Association was to devise methods by which the classics should become for a much larger number of pupils not only a useful disciplinary exercise, but a means of elevating, expanding, and inspiring the mind.

Dr. Gow said that the resolution was in the nature of an instruction to the Committee who would hereafter have to draw the rules of the Association. He did not think there could be any doubt that the objects suggested were proper and necessary. A recent report of the Board of Education had called attention to the lamentable neglect of literary studies in the smaller grammar schools, and this decadence was likely to grow worse unless some determined effort were made to educate public opinion. It should be brought home to the town-councils and other authorities that our chief commercial rivals, the Germans, were trained mainly through classics to those habits of accuracy and mental dexterity in which they surpass us. There was abundant material for discussion in regard to the aims and methods of teaching and the order in which subjects should be taken. There were also abundant discoveries in literature, history, and archaeology, the results of which ought to be made more generally known or more readily accessible to English students of the classics. Some of them, such as the fragment of the *Peasypôs* of Menander, were published in foreign pamphlets or periodicals that rarely penetrated to this country. Lastly,

opportunities for social intercourse could not fail to be of value in promoting a general enthusiasm and friendliness among scholars and might also be of service in preventing such disagreeable accidents as that of which we had lately had more than one example, namely, where two scholars, unknown to one another, had spent years of study on precisely the same subject.

MR. R. T. E. ELLIOTT (Worcester College, Oxford), strongly supported the resolution. His speech was chiefly taken up with criticisms upon details in the classical course at Oxford and the neglect of comparative philology.

Mrs. STRONG in supporting the resolution said that those who were lovers of the classics whether in the form of literature or of Art must be sorrowfully aware that the new Academic institutions which were springing up in the country as in London and in Birmingham gave no guarantee that they would still make the classics the centre of gravity so to speak of their curriculum. Thus they were still thrown back upon the systems pursued in Oxford and in Cambridge and the question for them to decide was to what extent these could promise a solid support.

Every system bore—or had imputed to it by the popular imagination—the defects of its qualities. Thus they had repeatedly been told that the main object of the Cambridge system was what was known as pure scholarship, but that this was often pursued too narrowly over an arbitrarily selected portion of the classical field, that a classical scholar in the Cambridge sense remained without a true classical education, being without any enlarged conception of the whole mind of antiquity. On the other hand, in the Oxford system they were told that the tendency was to take the classics for granted, to proceed upon the basis of large assertions without always—or indeed often enough—a sufficient acquaintance with the text of the authors concerned. She had recalled these old and familiar criticisms to shew not so much what are the points of weakness, but what were the lines along which, if this defence of classical scholarship was to be fruitful, they must advance. And a student, looking on from a distance, yet near enough to see distinctly, had every reason for confidence. There was no doubt that learning in Cambridge itself was becoming steadily humanized. Had not a Cambridge scholar in a fascinating book upon Greek mathematics shown that even Euclid and Pappos were individual thinkers, nay, individual men, and not mere institutions? Did they not see in a History of Classical Scholarship, published only the other day, which combines a *quartette* of great Cambridge names, since its distinguished author told us that it was suggested by Jebb and partly inspired by Lord Acton and Professor Mayor, an achievement that brought scholarship at one bound out of its dusty closet to take its place once more, as at a new Renaissance, among the great educating forces of the world?

Or turning to Oxford, did not a recent translation from Euripides shew us the results of her scholarship at their best? Lander used to say of Euripides that he contains 'more parchment than poetry':—it was reserved for a young Oxford scholar while observing the utmost fidelity to his text, to succeed in transferring the whole into poetry that recalls the melody and the rush of Swinburne. Twenty and even only fifteen years ago it was absolutely necessary for the student of classical archaeology to seek his training abroad, mainly in the great schools of Germany. Now, however, while Cambridge with its acknowledged great school of mythology, retained perhaps the place of pioneer, at Oxford also, a

scholar—himself Cambridge bred—had succeeded in establishing a second serious centre for the study of archaeology.

It would seem then that if the classics were to retain the eminent position which so many have claimed for them to-day, that it was Oxford and Cambridge that could most surely help them to do so. What might we not look to from generous cooperation between the Universities, as each learned to borrow and to emulate the best methods of the other? Then they would cease to have the mere 'professional scholar' who had innocently contributed to discredit the science that he toiled for. He would learn to respect not only the methods and aims of other universities, but of those students outside the universities whose intellectual life might be as necessary as his own to the subject both had at heart. Such ends could be served by nothing so well as by an Association which like the one at present in formation will afford 'opportunities for friendly intercourse and cooperation between all lovers of classical learning throughout the country.'

MR. L. HORTON-SMITH moved an amendment to the first resolution. He desired that the word 'general' should be inserted before the word 'classical' in the title of the Association, and this was seconded.

Another amendment was moved by Mr. EDWARD BELL and seconded to the effect that the determination of the exact title of the Association should be left to the discretion of the council when appointed.

Both amendments, however, were lost, and the two resolutions were then submitted to the meeting and carried.

SIR F. POLLOCK in proposing the next resolution that 'The Association shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. The Officers of the Association shall be members thereof and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council' said that a mistake was made in regarding and teaching Latin and Greek as 'dead languages.' The real question, in regard to Latin at any rate, was not whether they should go on teaching it, but what they could do to teach it in such a way as to make learners understand that it was not a 'dead language' at all.

DR. SANDYS, in seconding it, said that he had come fresh from the study of two periods, one the period of the Middle Ages, and the other that of the revival of learning. In the period of the Middle Ages he wished to select for notice the name of Roger Bacon. We were told nowadays that the study of natural science was inconsistent with the study of Greek. If there was any one in the Middle Ages who happily combined both it was Roger Bacon. It was only the other day at Cambridge that the University Press published Roger Bacon's Greek grammar. Let him then be a name of encouragement to them that natural science and Greek were compatible with each other and not necessarily in conflict. There was another name, and this related to the time of the revival of learning. He ventured to think that if those early humanists in Italy could have imagined that in a place so highly civilised as London there would actually be a meeting held for the protection of the study of Greek under the impression that it was being imperilled, they would have been astounded. He would select the name of Boccaccio. No one wrote more matchless Italian prose than Boccaccio, and at the same time he was the first in Italy to learn Greek to any purpose.

The motion was carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR SONNENSCHN in proposing 'That the General Meeting of the Association shall be held annually in some city or town of England or Wales which is the seat of a University,' said that in his opinion the Association would do well to avoid committing itself, as an Association, to an extreme attitude in regard to maintaining Greek as a compulsory subject for *all* candidates for a degree at the Universities, and in regard to the claims of the classics to a prominent position in the curriculum of *all* types of schools. As an example of a *via media* he mentioned the practice of the University of Birmingham, which makes Latin compulsory on candidates for degrees in Arts and Medicine, but optional for degrees in Science and Commerce. The practical work of the Association lay in a different direction—viz. (1) giving evidence to the world that there is a large body of educated opinion in this country that does not regard a classical education as an antiquated superstition; (2) teaching our teachers—including ourselves—how the ideal of a classical education may be made a living reality. The Association should use its influence against the common identification of classical studies with a purely linguistic or grammatical discipline; if there was to be a second or a third classical renaissance, it must be one which, while not neglecting accurate scholarship, will take account of the new fields of enquiry and interest opened up by archaeology and the study of ancient literature as pure literature and from the literary point of view. The study of Greek was essentially a study of our own past. He thought the Association might do valuable service in improving the methods of teaching the very elements of the Greek and Latin languages, and showing how the early years of study might be turned to the best account, both from the literary and from the grammatical point of view.—University towns were the natural places in which to hold meetings of the Association—the newer Urban Universities being situated in great centres of population and each of them standing at the head of large educational provinces, which were beginning to look to them as their inspecting agencies. He thought the Association ought to be able to keep up, and ought to have, an organ for the expression of its opinions in the shape of a Journal, which might be so conceived as to avoid trespassing on the ground of any existing journal.

This was seconded by Dr. MONRO, and carried unanimously.

PROFESSOR R. S. CONWAY moved 'That, pending a decision in regard to the amount of the subscription, members be admitted on payment of an entrance fee of 5s.'; and asked leave to support briefly the general object of the meeting. He desired to make a friendly protest against what appeared to him the somewhat despondent tone of some of the previous speakers who were in residence at Oxford or Cambridge. In several years' experience of teaching in one provincial University, and a term at another, he had seen nothing to justify any doubt as to the abiding popularity of classical studies. Neither at Cardiff nor Manchester had such studies any prescription in their favour; they had to compete freely with the whole range of other subjects, scientific or literary; yet they continued to attract a steadily increasing number of students, a number not smaller than that of any subject on the Arts side. He did not regard the Association as defensive, but as undertaking an education of public opinion rendered now necessary by the extension of the privilege of higher education to masses of the community hitherto entirely debarred from it. The parents of these thousands of scholars could not know the advantages of a classical training

by the light of nature. On the other hand, as Principal Bodington had asked him to point out, there were solid and welcome indications of the thoroughly liberal spirit towards the older learning with which the great County Councils, in the North at least, were taking up their new responsibilities as guardians of secondary education.

This was seconded by Sir F. POLLOCK and agreed to.

It was proposed by the VICE-CHANCELLOR OF CAMBRIDGE and seconded by the VICE-CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD, and carried unanimously, that the Right Hon. Sir R. H. COLLINS, Master of the Rolls, be the first president of the Association.

It was proposed by Mr. R. C. GILSON, Head Master of King Edward's School, Birmingham that the following be the first Vice-Presidents of the Association:—

The Right Hon. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.

Prof. Sir R. C. JEBB, M.P.

The Hon. Mr. Justice KENNEDY.

Dr. D. B. MONRO, Provost of Oriel.

The Hon. Mr. Justice PHILLIMORE.

Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

The Rev. Dr. E. WARRE.

This motion was seconded by Mr. C. D. CHAMBERS and carried unanimously.

It was proposed by Prof. SONNENSCHN and seconded by Prof. POSTGATE, and carried unani-

mously that Dr. WALTER LEAF be appointed Honorary Treasurer of the Association.¹

It was proposed by Prof. R. M. BURROWS (Cardiff) and seconded by Mr. R. C. GILSON and carried unanimously

*That the President, the Vice-Presidents and the Honorary Treasurer, together with the following members of the Association (with power to add to their number) form a Council for the purpose of administering the affairs of the Association until its next general meeting, and of a drawing up a constitution to be then submitted to it for consideration:

Principal BODINGTON.

Prof. CONWAY.

The Rev. Dr. GOW.

Mr. T. RICE HOLMES.

Miss PENROSE.

*Dr. POSTGATE.

Mr. A. SIDGWICK.

*Prof. SONNENSCHN.

Mrs. STRONG.

Mr. T. H. WARREN.*

Votes of thanks to the authorities of University College for the use of the Theatre and to the Master of the Rolls for presiding concluded the proceedings, at the end of which it was announced that the Association numbered 450 members.

¹As Dr. Leaf was unable to serve, it devolved upon the Council to nominate a Treasurer pro tem. It is expected that an appointment will presently be announced.

* Subsequently appointed Honorary Secretaries by the Council.

VERSIONS.

I.

Whether on Ida's shady brow,

Or in the chambers of the East,

The chambers of the sun, that now

From ancient melody have ceased;

Whether in heaven ye wander fair,

Or the green corners of the earth,

Or the blue regions of the air

Where the melodious winds have birth;

Whether on crystal rocks ye rove,

Beneath the bosom of the sea,

Wandering in many a coral grove,

Fair Nine, forsaking Poetry;

How have you left the ancient love

That bards of old enjoyed in you!

The languid strings do scarcely move,

The sound is forced, the notes are few.

WILLIAM BLAKE.

εἴτε κατ' Ἰδαίης ἄρα πίδακας, εἴτε κατ' Ἠοῆς
τυγχάνετ', ὦ Μοῦσαι, πλαζόμενι θαλάμοις,

τῆς πάρος ἁρμονίης ἀμνήμονας, ἥ κατ' Ὀλυμπον
φωνεῖντων τ' ἀνέμων αἰθερίαν γένεσιν.

ἢ χθονὸς εὐαγρές τι κατ' ἔνδοιον, ἢ τὰ θαλάσσης
βένθεα καὶ μυχίους λαιμήεις σπιλάδας.

ὦ Μοῦσαι, τί πεπόνθατ' ἀποστέρεσθαι ἔρωτα
καὶ χάριν ἀρχαίοις ἡβίδ' αἰσιόπολιν;

ἀντὶ γὰρ ἀφθονίης βαιὸς μόλις ἦχος ἐφ' ἡμῶν
ἐρχεται ἐκ χορδῶν γλισχρὰν βαζομένην.

W. HEADLAM.

II.

Come, landlord, fill the flowing bowl
 Until it doth run over !
 For to-night we'll merry be,
 To-morrow we'll be sober.

He that drinketh strong beer
 And goes to bed mellow
 Lives as he ought to live
 And dies a jolly good fellow.

He that drinketh small beer
 And goes to bed sober
 Falls as the leaves fall
 That drop off in October.

δεῦρ' ἡμῖν ἐπίμεστα, παῖ,
 κρατῆρα στέφε τόνδ' ὑπερθε χείλους·
 ὥς εἰς τὸ μὲν αὔριον δέδοκται
 νήφειν, τὸ παρὸν δ' αὖ μεθύειν τε καὶ παίζειν.

ὃς μὲν ζωρότερον πιὼν
 θωρηχθεὶς ἱλαρῶς ἤ' πὶ κοίτην,
 οὗτος βίοντον μὲν οἶδεν εὖ ζῆν
 ὥς δεῖ, κατέλυσεν δὲ ποθεινὸς, εὐδαίμων.

ὅστις δ' αἶθ' ἰδαρῇ πιὼν
 νήφουσιν φρονίμως ἤ' πὶ κοίτην,
 οὗτος φθινοπωριναῖσιν ὥραις
 φύλλον κατακαρφθεὶς ἐπὶ γῇ πεσὼν κεῖται.

W. HEADLAM.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

* * We are glad to announce that Mr. H. B. WALTERS of the British Museum has joined the Staff of the Review as Associate Editor for Archaeology.

SOME ACCOUNT OF A VOLUME OF EPIGRAPHIC DRAWINGS NOW PRE- SERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE drawings of inscriptions which I propose to describe are contained in the second of two volumes bequeathed to Mr C. H. Read, F.S.A. by the late Sir A. Wollaston Franks, K.C.B., and by him presented to the Library of the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities (shelf mark 25 e). The previous history of the volumes is thus given by Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 433) 'A collection derived from Ch. Townley. It now fills a very large portfolio, the drawings however have for the most part been detached from two parchment volumes (designated on the backs as *Bassirilievi diversi*) which in their externals fully correspond with vols. xiii-xvi of the collection at Windsor. The green edging of the sheets ¹

¹ The drawings are almost all mounted on sheets, and the original arrangement has not been preserved, as is shewn by the existence of numbers on many of them, indicating their place in Dal Pozzo's collection, but not corresponding with their present position. In some cases the numbers have doubtless been cut off, in others the drawings have been added by Cardinal Albani (see below).

still observable in many places, the consecutive numbering, the kind of paper, and the whole character of the drawings make it quite certain that they constitute fragments of the collection of the Commendatore Dal Pozzo, though intermingled with foreign elements. With this view moreover a MS. notice of Townley's falls in 'From Mac Gowan's sale Feb. 1804. Formerly in the Albani collection and sold at Dalton's sale at Greenwood's about 1790' (more correctly 1791, as another notice² of Townley shows). The collection of drawings at Windsor is briefly described by Michaelis (*op. cit.* 84 § 50 and 718). It is preserved in the Royal Library and was (according to Michaelis) acquired by George III in 1762 through the agency of James Adam, a younger brother of Robert Adam whose drawings of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalato are well known. It came from the library of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, and many of the drawings had belonged previously to Cassiano dal

² The notice is on the cover of one of the volumes, and runs thus: 'These two portafolios (*sic*) contain drawings from antiquities bought at Mr Dalton's sale, 1791,' and is more likely to have been written by MacGowan after his purchase of them at this sale.

Pozzo, whose aim it was to form a *Corpus* (which he called his 'musco cartaceo') of drawings of Roman antiquities of all kinds. How these two volumes came into Richard Dalton's possession is unknown, and perhaps it were better not to enquire. He was George III's librarian at Windsor and died during his tenure of that office in 1791. (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.* suppl. II. 108). He was sent abroad to purchase works of art for the king, but if Michaelis' statement is correct, he cannot have had any part in the acquirement of these drawings.

The first volume contains 162 leaves of drawings, almost entirely of bas-reliefs chiefly sarcophagi). With these I do not propose to deal at the present moment. They have been examined in Berlin by the best German authorities on the subject, the late Friedrich Matz, Professors von Duhn, Michaelis, and Robert, and several of them have been reproduced and described in the great *Corpus* of sarcophagi (*Die Antiken Sarcophagreliefs*) which is in course of publication under the editorship of the last-named gentleman. A few of them were not, however, it would seem, sent over to Germany by Sir A. W. Franks: and the arrangement of the rest has apparently been slightly altered since that time. The three gentlemen named have been good enough to give me all the information in their power as to the arrangement of the drawings when they saw them, and I have thus been able to recover it with a little trouble. The pencil numbers in the corners of each sheet were apparently placed there by Sir A. W. Franks,¹ and have been followed in the arrangement of the book for binding since it came into the possession of the British Museum. It will be found that certain numbers are missing in the consecutive arrangement (which runs from 1 to 172) and as Prof. Robert's numbering in vols. II and III of the *Sarcophagreliefs* follows the older numbering, it may be well to give the following comparative table.

20	is now 119, 119.*
24	is now 137.
36	is now 117.
45	is now 138.
46	is now 143 (1).
54	is now 116.
59	is now 56.
65	is now 118.
66	is now 139.
74	is now 112.

¹ Prof. Robert doubts the correctness of their attribution to Matz (Matz-Von Duhn, iii. 293, note).

86	is now 94 (1).
89	is now 90 (a duplicate of 32).
91	is now 21* (1).
92	is now 120.
100	is now 114.
101	is now 142 (a duplicate of 63).

I may further add, that in this volume the following drawings of inscriptions are to be found.

On f. 28 the sarcophagus Matz-Duhn 3141 (for the inscriptions see references *in loc.*)

On f. 29 *C.I.L.* VI. 18239.

On f. 30 *C.I.L.* VI. 26566 a (which is only known from this MS.).

On f. 60 *C.I.L.* VI. 26566 a (repeated). XIV. 46, 176 (again derived from this MS.).

On f. 112, there is a drawing of the front of a sarcophagus.

In the centre is a round medallion, while the space on each side of it is adorned with festoons of laurel hanging from hermae, and two tragic masks on each side. The inscription in the medallion (which is, as far as I know, unpublished) is

D · M
VICTORI
ALT (sic)
FIDELIS ·
SIMO

The second volume of the two contains 134² leaves of drawings, chiefly of inscriptions, but also of small objects, gems, rings, etc., etc. But only those which relate to epigraphy will be dealt with in these notes.

The sources from which these drawings are derived are very various. Many of the inscriptions were taken from the MS. of Pirro Ligorio which once belonged to the Farnese family, and is now preserved in the library at Naples. The work was done somewhat uncritically, Ligorio's authority being too highly rated and many are included which have since proved to be mere fabrications.

Other inscriptions are however given which are of more value; and in some cases actual autograph copies have been incorporated in the collection. These do not, however, as a rule, bear the numbers to which I have referred as marking their place in the original collection, and are therefore

² The numbering of the leaves for which I am responsible (this volume, like the first, having come into the possession of the Museum unbound) attempts as far as possible to preserve the original order.

not part of dal Pozzo's 'museo cartaceo,' but must have been collected by Cardinal Albani from various sources (Robert *Sarcophagreliefs* II. p. xi).

It may be worth while to give a short notice of the contents of the volume, without describing it exhaustively. I have traced as far as possible the numbers of the inscriptions in the *Corpus*, and marked them in pencil upon the leaves on which the drawings are mounted: but a mere list of them would be without interest.

Ff. 1—20 can all be traced back to Pirro Ligorio, practically all occurring in the MS. which was once in the possession of the Farnese family at Rome, and is now at Naples, and, as their text shews, derived (with few if any exceptions) from it. They are in large measure mere forgeries, although elaborate drawings in pen and ink of the cippi, etc., on which the inscriptions were placed, with the reliefs which adorned them, are given. The slips bear without exception the numbers indicating their place in Dal Pozzo's collection.

After the first fifteen leaves, letters begin to be added to the numbers, and a yellowish paper is used instead of white: the lettering is not so sharp, and a different hand seems to have been at work.

The variants in the text are always unimportant in themselves. No notice of the place of discovery, real or supposed, is given. Upon f. 19 a drawing is mounted (with several others) which depicts two gems—one of a Cupid slaying a serpent with a trident near a statue of Priapus, the other shows

the same Cupid decorating the statue with garlands after his victory: both are lettered ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙC.

Another drawing on the same sheet depicts the support of the statuette of Venus described in the British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes no. 829, where it is noted as 'acquired from Millingen, 1841.'

F. 20¹ includes a drawing of a relief with the spurious inscription Kaibel *I.G.I.* 87,* referred to by Matz-Duhn *Antike Bildwerke* 3764 as though genuine.

F. 21 has ink sketches of the spurious inscription Kaibel *I.G.I.* 64,* the satyr's head being on one side of the first leaf ('pezzo di bronzo che copre il nicchio') the vines and the second inscription on the other ('il rovescio del bronzo'). This is a rough pen and ink sketch. The other drawing is more careful and shews the longer inscription in ornamental capitals, within the centre the altar of Priapus and the ass in an oval, the altar being lettered θεω.

F. 22 has (a)² a description of an altar, once in the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere (where it is now I do not know), presumed to have been dedicated to Isis from the character of the reliefs upon it—on the front a cornucopie, on the right a patera, on the left a sistrum and a branch of bay, on the back a globe encircled by a serpent and a rudder.³

(b) The following (apparently unpublished) inscription, without any indication of locality,

D · M
SEPTIMIUS · AFRIKANVS · FECIT
SIBI · ET · LOCI · SVAE · ET · LIB · SVIS · ET (sic)
LIBERTIS · LIBERTA
BVSQVE · POSTERISQVE
EORVM · SI · QVIS · AVTEM
POTERV · DONARE · VOLVERIT (sic)
POENA · ABEBIT

(d) A sheet of inscriptions copied in large rough capitals on both sides of the paper (compare f. 24 c, 31 d e k) most of which correspond with copies made by Donius, an epigraphist of the first half of the seventeenth century, in the house of one Lelio Pasqualini, canon of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome (*C.I.L.* vi. p. lviii. no. lxxiv). The handwriting I have not been able to identify.

(f) A leaf of inscriptions relating to Isis, written on both sides of the paper, in the handwriting of Donius himself, all of which are already known.

F. 24. (d) (f) (Kaibel *I.G.I.* 1026) is in the same hand as f. 22 (a).

F. 25. (d) (719) (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1418) (f) (718) (*C.I.L.* vi. 41)—though this is on a different kind of paper—and (g) (540) (*C.I.L.* vi. 257, 14284, 25293, 26038)

¹ After f. 20 the figure in brackets (where it occurs) denotes the number indicating the place of a drawing in the 'museo cartaceo.'

² The letters (a) (b) etc. denote the different slips which are mounted on the same leaf.

³ The description is copied from Smetius f. 30 (*C.I.L.* vi. p. xlix. no. xxxvii.) cf. Marangoni *Cose Gentilesche ad uso delle chiese* p. 175.

may be due to Pasqualini. (See also below.)

(e) is interesting, as it bears a copy of the first part of *C.I.L.* x. 1781, with, on the back, a fragment of a description of Puteoli in the handwriting of Pirro Ligorio. I have not had the opportunity of comparing the text with that of his manuscript works on Roman antiquities (*C.I.L.*, vi. p. li. no. xliii).

CAMERIA L · L IARINE · FECIT
L. CAMERIO · L · L THRASONI · PATRONO
et · L · CAMERIO · L · L ALEXANDRO
PATRONO · EIVS ET
L. CAMERIO · ONESIMO · LIB · ET
RO · SVO · POSTERISQVE · OMNIBVS
VESTIARIIS · TENVARIIS · DE · VICO · TVSC

F. 27 (a) A sheet of inscriptions—xi. 4654, 5042, 5048, 5105 (the last gummed on, but in the same hand) from the neighbourhood of Tuder (Todi) and Mevania (Bevagna) in Umbria. The handwriting is that of some local correspondent of Cassiano dal Pozzo. It bears the collection number 739. (b) xi. 5039, 5078, 5081—agrom Mevania.

(b) A drawing of a tomb—a leaden coffin with iron bolts at the corners, enclosed within brick walls—described as follows, 'questa fabbrica si è trovata quasi in cima del nostro colle vicino doue va la via flaminia e li nostri Cappucini qual' era ripiena tutta di terra e uolendo un cognato di Agostino mio Nipote Raccomandato ha Vostra Eminentia cauare un Radicone di quercia trouo il muro e seguitand(o) p(er) le quattro lati e in mezzo fin che scopri la cassa quale io ho vista in pezzi malcondotti e dintorno tutto fra la terra queste ampolle piene di terra e in fondo di materia Biancaccia la Maschiella naturale e sulla coccia in fondo di una pignatella ui e anco no' pocha materia negracciata e dalla cassa in giu er(a) piena di cennere e carbone di cerqua e dalla cassa in su di terra, il piombo pesa da otto cento libre.'

On the back is the address 'al Can^{co} dal Pozzo.' A drawing of the objects referred to—the small ampullae, the lower human jaw, and the bottom of the pot occurs further on (f. 42 c). The same leaf 42 has two other slips (a) xi. 5044 (b) xi. 5047—two other inscriptions from the same place and in the same handwriting: and I am sorry to say that the error in my arrangement of the leaves is only too obvious.

F. 28 (c) contains several inscriptions, all of which are published.

The leaf is perhaps in the same hand as 25 (d) (f) (g) (possibly (h) also)—certainly

(h) (715, 716) is a copy of *C.I.L.* vi. 930a⁷, 29977, made in 1591—a date which recurs in other copies. The handwriting I have not yet been able to identify. Donius' it cannot be: for he was only born in 1594.

F. 26. (a) has the following apparently unpublished inscription

in that of 31 (g) (m) where the years 1590–1593 are mentioned as the dates at which some of the inscriptions there given were found. It is very probable that 28 (c) and 31 (m) are leaves from the note-book of Pasqualini, for the inscriptions contained in them mostly recur (in the case of 31 (m) without exception) in the Vatican MS. 7113 f. 29 which is a sheet of copies made by Donius 'ex schedis Paschalini.'

(k) has an apparently unpublished Christian inscription

· PRIVATA · DVLCIS
· IN · REFRIGERIO ·
· ET · IN · PACE ·

(l) has *C.I.L.* vi. 2763 with the note 'prope Agonem 1592' in the same hand as (c), to which (f) (n) (r) (s) may also be attributed.

(f) has *C.I.L.* vi. 12563 (n) *ib.* 1663 (s) *ib.* 16578.

(r) (720) contains the following inscription—unpublished as far as I know—

D M
C IVILIVS NECTAREVS
FECIT SIBI ET IVLIAE
CHARIDI · CONIVGI · BENE
MERENTI ET · FILIS · SVIS
POSTERISQ · EORVM
ET · LIBERTIS · LIBERTABVSQ
VE · POSTERISQVAE (sic)
EORVM

On f. 31 we have the leaf (m) already referred to, and written on both sides¹: in the same hand are (g) (l) (*C.I.L.* vi. 339) (o) *C.I.L.* vi. 17771, 20652. (g) represents *C.I.L.* xv. 15 (a fragment of a brickstamp) with the note 'pezzo di tegola nel monte

¹ The inscriptions given on it are *C.I.L.* vi. 370, 1846, 23232, 21441, and (on the back) Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1973.

Aventino vers(o) 1593 il primo di Genaro.' (g) bears the number 756, (o) 757.

Further on, the drawings are not so interesting, being mostly rather 'formal' copies, so that the hand of the copyist is not always clear. There are also several drawings of reliefs with which inscriptions are associated.

On f. 44 is an ink drawing washed with brown of *C.I.L.* xi. 1842, and on the back some sketches in ink (with one head in red chalk) which seem to be after Raphael's manner.

On f. 45, 46 are drawings of the relief described by Matz-Duhn *Antike Bildwerke in Rom* 3885 (*C.I.L.* vi. 25531). The former he attributes approximately to the year 1600.

A fine pen drawing with sepia wash of Matz-Duhn 3773 (*C.I.L.* vi. 432) occupies f. 48. It bears the number 272 as Dal Pozzo's collection mark.

F. 51 is occupied by the following inscription (pencil drawing inked over). It is published in *C.I.L.* xiv. 472, and the drawing bears the number 283.

D M

M E L I O R I S C A L C V L A T O R I S

(sic) VIXVANNXIII HICVTANIAE MEMORIAE ET SCIENTIAE

(sic) FVITVI AB ANTIQVORVM MEMORIAVSQVE IN DIEM

FINIS SVAE OMNIVM TITVLOS SVPERAVERIT

SINGVLA AVTEM QVAE SCIEBATVOLVMINI POTIVS

(sic)

QVAM TITVLO SCRIBI POTVERVNT NAM

COMMENTARIOS ARTIS SVAE QVOS RELIQVIT

PRIMVS FECIT ET SOLVS POSSETIMITARI SI EVM

INIQVA FATA REBVS HVMANIS NON INVIDISSENT

SEX AVFVSTIVS AGREVS VERNAE

SVO PRAECEPTOR INFELICISSIMVS

FECIT

INVP II

INVP VI

EXCESSIT ANNO VRBIS CONDITAE

DCCCXCVII

The rest of the volume is of a miscellaneous character.¹

On f. 89 (*b*) is a drawing of a lamp of the Christian period from the collection of Monsignor Ciampini, with a cross on the front and the letters CARMERO on the back; and on f. 91 drawings of the stamps on similar lamps; on one FLOREN, on the other the monogram $\frac{R}{E}$.

On f. 94 we have pen drawings (washed) of the lamps *C.I.L.* xv. 6221, 1; 6479 a.

On f. 95 a red chalk drawing of *C.I.L.* vi. 368.

On f. 98 careful pen drawings (washed) of *C.I.L.* xv. 6350, 66, 67.

On f. 100 is the drawing of the top of a lamp marked 'pezzo di tegola di bassissimo rilievo trovata sul monte Aventino sopra il circo massimo 1593 il primo di dell'anno.' Cybele is depicted in relief with the cornucopiae in her left hand and a double representation of the rudder in her right.

On f. 102 is a drawing of *C.I.L.* xv. 6450 d and of a lamp very like xv. 6200.

On f. 105 is a drawing of the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1264 and 1665 and of a bronze disk bearing the inscription

M E R V · C · I ·
M O N A N I · P R A E
C A S T R O · L E G ·
I I I I · S C Y T I C A

The rest of the volume has no features of special interest—the last few leaves (f. 123—134) bear MacGowan's collection mark (IMG in an unsated tablet).

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

ZEUS, JUPITER AND THE OAK.

(Continued from Vol. XVII p. 421)

I CONTINUE my examination of the Zeus-cults.

Zeus in Lycia.

In Lycia the evidence is as follows. On three sides of the 'Harpy' tomb from Xanthus is a male figure, enthroned and sceptred, holding a flower (E), a pomegranate and perhaps an apple (S). To this personage on each side of the monument a man is bringing a gift, viz. a helmet (N), a cock (E), and a dove (S). Braun (*Ann. dell' Inst.* 1844 p. 151) proposed to identify the seated

figures with Zeus (S), Poseidon (E), and Hades (N). But Panofka (*Arch. Zeit.* 1843 p. 49 ff.) and E. Curtius (*ib.* 1855 p. 1 ff.) with more reason took them to be Zeus viewed under a triple aspect. Weleker too regarded them as 'three Zeuses' (*Gör. Götterl.* i. 164). And Overbeck, whose knowledge of Zeus-reliefs was unrivalled, admits that they are in all probability 'eine Trias des höchsten Gottes' (*Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 24). That the triple deity of Xanthus was indeed Zeus may, I think, be shown from the local legend. Xanthus, the eponymous hero of the town, was the son of a certain Triopas. He led a company of Pelasgians from Argos first to Lycia, where he reigned awhile as their king, and then to Lesbos, whose name he changed from Issa to Pelasgia (*Diod.* 5. 81). Now H. Usener in his *Dreieit.* p. 161 ff. (extr. from *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. lviii) has proved that a divine triad, conceived as having three bodies, may degenerate into a single body with three heads or faces or eyes. Thus Hecate, who was usually represented as three complete figures back to back, is often *τρεκάπῃρος*, a three-headed herm, sometimes *τρεπρόσωπος* with a three-faced head, and once at least *τρίγῃρος* with a three-eyed face (*ib.* pp. 163–166, 184). Usener offers the same explanation of the the name Triopas, which he regards as 'eine Verkürzung ursprünglicher Dreileibigkeit' (*ib.* p. 183 ff.). The name was borne by several mythological characters, of whom I shall have more to say. For the moment we are concerned with Triopas, father of Xanthus. Did he, as his name suggests, represent a 'three-eyed,' and therefore originally three-bodied, god? Triopas was the grandson of Argus (*Paus.* 2. 16 1, *Hyg. fab.* 124, 145) the Argive eponym, whom Wernicke (*Pauly-Wissowa* ii. 797 f.), Je-sen (*Roscher Lex.* iii. 1549), and mythologists in general identify with Argus *Ἰαρόπτης* *Ἰαλ*, according to Pherecydes (*ap. schol. Eur. Phoen.* 1116), three eyes, one of them being on his neck. Besides, on the Larisa at Argos there existed down to Pausanias' time 'a wooden image of Zeus with two eyes in the usual place, and a third eye on the forehead' (*Paus.* 2. 24. 3). There can then be little doubt that Triopas the Argive derived his name from a triple Pelasgian Zeus. And, since he bore the title appropriate to Zeus, it is not improbable that he was regarded as the human representative of the god. But was this triple Zeus at Argos sky-god, water-god, and earth-god, as my hypothesis demands?

¹ Nearly all the drawings mentioned bear collection numbers.

Pausanias is explicit: speaking of the same *xoanon* he says (2. 24. 4)—‘The reason why it has three eyes may be conjectured to be the following. All men agree that Zeus reigns in heaven, and there is a verse of Homer which gives the name of Zeus also to the god who is said to bear rule under the earth:—“Both underground Zeus and august Proserpine.” Further, Aeschylus, son of Euphorion, applies the name of Zeus also to the god who dwells in the sea. So the artist, whoever he was, represented Zeus with three eyes, because it is one and the same Zeus who reigns in all the three realms of nature, as they are called.’ Pausanias’ conjecture was probably founded on what he was told by the sacristan on the spot. At any rate it is strongly supported by a collateral piece of evidence. Xanthus, son of Triopas, we saw, led his Pelasgians from Lycia to Lesbos, which he re-named Pelasgia. A bronze coin of Mitylene has on its obverse a head of ΖΕΥC · ΒΟΥΛΛΙΟC, on its reverse a design unique in ancient coinage—Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades, standing side by side and inscribed ΘΕΟΙ · ΑΚΡΑΙΟΙ · ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ (Eckhel *doct. num. vet.* ii. 504, Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 207). Whether the triple Zeus of Argos was connected with an oak, we do not know. But it is noteworthy that the Argive Triopas was the son (Diod. 4. 58, Paus. 2. 16. 1, 4. 1. 1) or father (*h. Ap.* 211) of Phorbas, who—as I have shown (*C.R.* xvii. 270)—was the royal guardian of a sacred oak at Dryoscephalae near Plataea.¹

Zeus at Cnidus.

The Triopium of Cnidus, one of the most important religious centres in Asia Minor, was named after a Triopas, though the ancients were not agreed as to who this Triopas was or whence he had come. Jason the historian in his work on *Rhodes* seems to have identified him with Triopas, son of Phorbas (schol. vet. Theocr. 17. 69, where Muncker c.j. Φόρβαντος for MSS.

¹ There is one doubtful tradition of an oak-king in Lycia itself. Plut. *de def. or.* 21 mentions three chiefs of the Solymi—Arsalos Dryos and Trosobios—who were worshipped by the Lycians as *σεληρηοί θεοί*, being invoked in public and private imprecations. The name *Δρύος* is certainly suggestive of an oak-cult. But Euseb. *præp. ev.* 5. 5 in his quotation from Plutarch gives the triad as Ἀρσαλον καὶ Ἄρυστον καὶ Τόσιβιν and their title as σκιροὺς θεούς. See Loebck *Aglaoph.* p. 1186 n. i. It should be added that a coin of Sagalassus in Pisidia, a city sometimes reckoned as belonging to Lycia (Ptol. 5. 3. 6), shows the head of Zeus wreathed with oak (Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 234).

Ἄβαντος). Diodorus pronounces in favour of Triopas, son of Helios and Rhodos (5. 56, 61, cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 131, Suid. s.v. Αἰθων), who may have been one with Triopas or Triops the father of Merops the Coan (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μέροψ, schol. vet. Theocr. 17. 68). Since the early population of both Cos and Rhodes appears to have been Carian (Ridgeway *E.A.* i. 197 f.), a Coan or Rhodian Triopas might stand for the Carian cult of a triple oak-Zeus (*C.R.* xvii. 415 ff.). But our best source for the Triopian myth is Call. *h. Dem.* 24–117, according to which Triopas was the son of Poseidon and Canace. The Pelasgians, says the poet, before they migrated from Thessaly to Cnidus, had planted a grove for Demeter at Dotium. Here dwelt the royal family of the Triopidae. Erysichthon, son of Triopas, acting under some infatuation, armed his followers with axes and hatchets, and invaded the grove. The first tree attacked was a magnificent poplar (37 αἰγιρος),² which groaned aloud. Demeter heard it and, appearing in the likeness of her priestess, attempted to dissuade the madman. He at once threatened to fell her with his axe, being bent on fashioning the timbers of a house in which to feast with his friends. Demeter in wrath resumed her godlike form; and Erysichthon’s comrades horror-struck left their axes sticking in the oaks (60 ἐνὶ δρυσί). She punished their chief by inflicting on him a hunger that nothing would satisfy. *Ov. met.* 8. 738 ff. tells the same tale with some variations. He describes the tree cut down by Erysichthon as an ancient oak (743 ingens annoso robore quercus) adorned with filets and tablets by the pious rustics. Though the Dryads had often danced beneath it, the son of Triops bade his servants fell it. When they hesitated, he caught up an axe and swore that the tree should fall, though it were not merely the favourite of the goddess, but the goddess herself. Thereupon the *Deoia quercus* (758) shivered and groaned and blanched, and at the first stroke shed blood. One of those present protested: Erysichthon beheaded him on the spot, and went on with his impious work. From the stricken trunk was heard the voice of the tree-nymph, who ere she died prophesied the evil end of the Thessalian. The Dryads implored Ceres to avenge their sister’s fate. She banished Erysichthon to Scythia, the abode of

² On the poplar as a mythological equivalent for the oak see *C.R.* xvii. 181, 273, 407, 418, 419 n. 3.

Hunger. What Callimachus and Ovid relate of Erysichthon was by others related of Triopas himself. Diod. 5. 61 says that Triopas, son of Helios and Rhodos, helped the sons of Deucalion to drive the Pelasgians out of Thessaly. When he came to divide up the land, he laid waste the precinct of Demeter in the plain of Dotium and used its timber to make a palace: hence he was hated by the natives and had to fly the country. He sailed to Unidus and there founded the Triopium. Diodorus adds that some authorities made Triopas the son of Poseidon and Canace, others of Lapithes son of Apollo and Stilbe daughter of Peneus.

This legend of Dotium must be set beside that of Dodona (on Δώτιον, Δωδώνη see *C.R.* xvii. 179). The primeval cult of the earth-mother, the sacrilegious feller of the oak, the divine warning, the axe left on the spot, the human victim beheaded, all these are traits common to both, which incline us to see in Triopas another Hellus. On this showing he would be a priestly-king, warden of the Pelasgian oak-Zeus. As such he probably had a doublet in Triopas, a savage king of the Perrhaebians (Eust. 448, 11, schol. *Il.* 4. 88); for the Perrhaebians dwelt round about Dodona (*Il.* 2. 750) in the Pelasgian district of Thessaly (Aesch. *suppl.* 256), the very district from which the cult of the oak-Zeus was imported into Epirus (Strab. 329). Indeed, the name Triopas seems to have been restricted to kings of Pelasgian or quasi-Pelasgian origin: the father of Pelasgus himself was called Triopas (Hellanicus *ap.* schol. *Il.* 3. 75, Paus. 2. 22. 1, Hyg. *fab.* 145). Moreover, the name hints that the king posed as the incarnation of the three-fold god; which in the case of Triopas king of Dotium is the more credible, since his mother Canace was sister of Aleyone, who called her husband Zeus, and of Salmoneus, who claimed to be Zeus himself (Apollod. 1. 7. 3 f.).

Zeus at Troy.

But Pausanias has more to tell us about the three-eyed *xoanon* at Argos. 'They say that this Zeus was the paternal god of Priam, son of Laomedon, and stood in the court-yard under the open sky; and when Ilium was taken by the Greeks, Priam fled for refuge to this god's altar.' (Paus. 2. 24. 3, cp. 8. 46. 2).¹

¹ Panofka shrewdly cp. a vase by Euthymides, which shows a strange three-eyed head as a blazon on Hector's shield (*Arch. Comm. Paus.* p. 30, pl. 3, 15, 15a).

The schol. Eur. *Tro.* 16 cites from Agias and Dercylus the confirmatory statement that the Zeus Ἐπειῶς of Priam had three eyes. Further, there seems to have been some special link between the royal family of Troy and the oak; for oaks (φῦλοι) were planted on the tomb of Ius, the eponymous founder of Ilium (Theophr. *h. pl.* 4. 13. 2, Plin. *h. nat.* 16. 88). Also Ganymedes, the brother or son of Ius, is represented as standing beneath an oak (*C.R.* xvii. 405 n. 2). And a son of Priam slain by Achilles was named Δρόφις (*Il.* 20. 455, Apollod. 3. 12. 5). In view of these facts it seems a fair conjecture that the kings of Troy, who in all probability were Pelasgians (Ridgeway *E.A.* i. 179 f.), worshipped the Pelasgian triple oak-Zeus.

This conjecture becomes a certainty, when we take into account the cult of Zeus Ἰδαῖος. I propose to show (1) that Zeus Ἰδαῖος was an oak-god, and (2) that the Zeus Ἐπειῶς of Priam was none other than Zeus Ἰδαῖος. (1) The slopes of Mt. Ida were clothed with a forest of oaks (Eur. *Rhes.* 289): to which fact it owed its name; for Ἰδῆ was an Ionic term for an oak-clad mountain (Hesych. s.v.). On Gargaros, the highest peak of Mt. Ida, Zeus had a precinct and an altar (*Il.* 8. 47 f.). Hence he was worshipped far and wide as Zeus Ἰδαῖος. Imperial coins of Scepsis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 84, pl. 16, 1) represent ΖΕΥC ΕΙΔΑΙΟC standing with an eagle in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. Other coins of the same town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 83, pl. 15, 13) show an eagle with spread wings enclosed in an oak-wreath, which must be regarded as the wreath of Zeus. A rare coin of Aegae in Aeolis (Fig. 1 = Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus Münztaf.



2, 19, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Troas*, etc. p. 96, pl. 18, 4) shows Zeus standing in a very similar attitude within a handsome wreath of oak-leaves and acorns. Since the Aeolians of Asia Minor were 'of

old called Pelasgians' (Hdt. 7. 95), it may be claimed that this is again the Pelasgian oak-Zeus. At Aegae, as at Dodona and elsewhere, he had a public hearth; for the Bulenterium or Prytaneum bore the inscription Ἀντιφάνης Ἀπολλωνίδα Διὶ Βολλαίῳ καὶ Ἰστίᾳ Βολλαίᾳ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ (R. Bohn u. C. Schuchhardt *Altertümer von Aegae* p. 34). Coins of Ilium from the time of Faustina the Younger onwards show Zeus seated on a throne and holding the palladium: the legend is ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΑΙΕΙC (Dörpfeld *Troja u. Ilium* ii. 517, pl. 63, 65). Zeus Ἰδαῖος had indeed been worshipped in Troy since the earliest times; for Homer mentions Onetor as his priest and says of him — θεὸς δ' ὥς τίετο δῆμῳ (*Il.* 16. 605), a phrase which, in view of the Pelasgian practice, may be taken quite literally (see *C.R.* xvii. 277). It is clear, then, that Zeus Ἰδαῖος was an oak-god whose sacred bird was the eagle. (2) But have we a right to identify the Zeus Ἐρκείος of Priam with this Zeus Ἰδαῖος? In *Il.* 24. 283 ff. Hecuba advises Priam to pray to Zeus Ἰδαῖος (290 f. κελαιρεφέι Κρονίῳ | Ἰδαίῳ) for a safe return and to ask him for an omen of his favour. Thereupon Priam standing μέσῳ ἔρκει (306), i.e. by the altar of Zeus Ἐρκείος, prays—Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδῆθεν· μεδέων, κ.τ.λ. (308); and Zeus in response to his prayer sends him the omen of a black eagle (315 f., cp. *Q. Smyrn.* 1. 182 ff.). After this it is impossible to doubt that the Zeus Ἐρκείος of Priam was one with Zeus Ἰδαῖος. It follows that the Zeus worshipped by the Trojans in general and by the royal house of Priam in particular was the triple oak-Zeus of the Pelasgians.

Eust. 664, 33 had long since pointed out that the Trojans regarded the oak as sacred to Zeus. The oak (φηγός) that grew near the Scaean Gates (*Il.* 6. 237, 9. 354, 11. 170) he rightly identified (Eust. 653, 47, 664, 31, 1263, 15) with 'the fine oak (φηγῶ) of aegis-bearing Zeus,' under which Sarpedon was deposited by his companions (*Il.* 5. 692 f.)—'to be healed by his Father,' says the scholiast *ad loc.*—and on which Athena and Apollo perched in the form of eagles (*Il.* 7. 59 f., cp. 21. 549)—'sitting as they should,' adds the scholiast, 'on their Father's oak.' Eust. 515, 43 had also remarked that Φηγεύς, son of Dares (*Il.* 5. 11, 15), was 'named after the φηγοί or oaks on Mt. Ida, which were used for sacrificial purposes by his father Dares, who burnt the victims on cleft billets of oak.' Other Trojans named Phegeus are mentioned by Verg. *Aen.* 5. 263, 9. 765, 12. 371, and a

comrade of Aeneas *ib.* 10. 346 is called Dryops.

How far the cult of Zeus Ἰδαῖος was diffused, it is difficult to say. An autonomous coin of Tomi (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 54) has a bearded head as its obverse, an eagle with spread wings in an oak-wreath¹ as its reverse design. If this reverse, occurring on the coin of Scepis (*supra*), was the symbol of Zeus Ἰδαῖος, the same or at least a similar cult must have existed at Tomi. Prof. P. Gardner in his *Catalogue* describes the bearded head as 'Poseidon?': but Mr. G. F. Hill informs me that it may with equal probability be regarded as 'Zeus'; and, since other coins of Tomi show Zeus seated and holding an eagle with spread wings (*ib.* p. 56, cp. p. 63), I should prefer to interpret it in that sense. Yet other coins (*ib.* p. 55) represent a young male figure inscribed ΤΟΜΟC ΚΤΙCΤΗC. Now the cult of the oak-Zeus at Dodona was founded by Hellus the δρυτόμος. Possibly, then, this hero Τόμος was another mythical wood-cutter:² the tradition that connects the name of the town with the murder of Absyrtus (*Apollod.* 1. 9. 24. 2, Steph. Byz. s.v. Τομεύς, *Ov. trist.* 3. 9. 5 ff.) might well be due to some later aetiologist. In favour of my conjecture is the fact that Tomi was a colony of Miletus (*Ov. trist.* 3. 9. 3), which town was built on the spot where Neleus found and felled a superb oak-tree (schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 77). Further, there was at Tomian Ἀργαδέων φυλή (Michel 1289); and these Ἀργαδῆς, as the Athenians called them, traced their descent from Argus the Argive eponym (*infra*), who, as I have shown, was but another form of the triple Pelasgian oak-Zeus.

Zeus in Phrygia Minor.

Cyzicus was founded by Cyzicus a king of the Thessalian Pelasgi, whom Jason and the Argonauts slew by mistake (*Con.* 41, *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 936 ff.). At the expiatory rite effigies of the dead were made of oak (*Val. Fl.* 3. 444 f.). The misadventure was followed by adverse winds; and, to lay them, the Argonauts wearing wreaths of

¹ Pick *die ant. Münz. v. Dacien u. Moesien* pl. 5, 7 figures a specimen, on which the eagle has closed wings, additional oak-leaves being introduced into the design.

² The word τῶμοι is used of ship-timber in an inser. (*Boeckh Urkunden* p. 412, 165). In the second cent. B.C. the priest of the Samothracian deities at Tomi had, among other duties, to provide cleft wood for the *mystac* on a particular day (Michel 704 Ἀπαυτοῦ πρῶτος ἐβδόμη παρ[έξει τὰ ξύλ]α σχίζας).

oak-leaves sacrificed on Mt. Dindymon to a *xoanon* of Rhea covered with oak-boughs (*C.R.* xvii. 408). In such a locality, where the ilex and the Valonea oak still flourish (*J.H.S.* xxii. 178), we might look to find traces of an oak-Zeus.¹ But Zeus gave Cyzicus as a dowry to Cora (App. *b. Mithr.* 75); and it is with her, not him, that the oak is there connected. On Cyzicene coins an oak-wreath occurs as reverse to a head of Cora Σώτεια (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Mysia* p. 37 ff., pl. 9, 17; 10, 2, 3) or to a bull's head (*ib.* p. 39, pl. 10, 4, 5). A rare bronze coin of the same town (*Arch. Zeit.* 1849 pl. 10, 1), has obv. a ship's prow, rev. a bucranium enclosed by an oak-wreath. The story told by Appian, *l.c.* (cp. Porph. *de abst.* l. 25) of the black heifer, which 'found her own way to the temple and took her place by the altar' of Cora, recalls the ritual of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος, the oak-god of Halicarnassus (*C.R.* xvii. 415 f.). A fine tetradrachm of Cyzicus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Mysia* p. 38, pl. 10, 1) shows the head of a queen, probably Apollonis the Cyzicene lady who married Attalus I (Wroth *ib.* p. 38 n.), wearing an oak-wreath; also a torch etc. within a similar wreath. Probably Apollonis is here conceived in the character and with the attributes of Cora. It is known that she was deified not only after her death (at Cyzicus, *id. ib.*, cp. Anth. Pal. 3 *passim*; at Teos, Michel 499) but before it (Pauly-Wissowa ii. 164, 24 ff.).

Coins of the Abbaeti, a tribe inhabiting the borders of Mysia and Phrygia, have a laureate head of Zeus on the obverse, a winged thunderbolt within an oak-wreath on the reverse side (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Mysia*, p. 1, pl. 1, 1). Other coins of the same people show a goddess wearing a *stephane* on the one side, a double-axe in an oak-wreath on the other (*ib.* p. 1, pl. 1, 3).

Zeus in Phrygia.

From Phrygia Minor we pass to Phrygia proper. Here too Zeus was connected with an oak—witness the tale of Philemon and Baucis, who received Zeus and Hermes in human form, and were metamorphosed into an oak and a lime respectively (Ov. *met.* 8, 620). Further, the Phrygian Zeus bore the title Βαγαῖος (Hesych. s.v. βαγαῖος), i.e. 'the

oak-god' (Kretschmer, *Eind.* p. 81, 'von *baga, gr. φῆγός'), with which cp. the Celtic divinities mentioned in inscriptions of the Allobroges: Dessau 4620 Iovi Baginati, 4669 Bagino et Baginatibus. That these too were oak-deities appears from Max. Tyr. *dissert.* 8. 8 Κελτοὶ σέβοντι μὲν Δία, ἀγάλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ἱερῇ ὁρῇ. The Celtic cult was probably maintained by the Celts of Galatia, whose senate met at a place called Δρυμέτος (Strab. 567). The Phrygian and Galatian Zeus was a sky-god; for he was also called Βροντῶρ, 'the thunderer,' and stood in intimate relation to the sun (Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 891, 12 ff.). Prof. W. M. Ramsay lays stress on his chthonian character, citing a dedication at Nacoleia θεοῖς καταχθονίοις καὶ Διὶ Βροντῶντι (*J.H.S.* iii. 124) and observing that 'almost every inscription in which he is mentioned is a gravestone' (*ib.* v. 257). Hence Cumont *l.c.* concludes that Zeus Βροντῶρ had 'einen himmlischen und chthonischen Charakter.' Prof. Ramsay also maintains that Zeus Βροντῶρ was one with the Carian Osogo or Zenoposeidon (Marindin in *Class. Diet.* 709 b). If so, he was at once sky-god, water-god, and earth-god. Again, Zeus Βροντῶρ was called πατήρ (*J.H.S.* iii. 124); and it is probable that he should be identified with the Phrygian god Πάπας (Hippol. *ref. haer.* 5, 118), cp. such inscriptions as *J.H.S.* v. 260 Διὶ Παπᾷ ἐγχύρ, *C.I.G.* 3817 Πατὴρ Διὶ Σωτήρῃ, κ.τ.λ. But Πάπας was only another name for Ἄττις (Diod. 3. 58), which seems indeed to be derived from ἄττα as Πάπας from πάππα. On this showing Attis would be identical with the Phrygian Zeus, an equation which is expressly made by Psellus *περὶ ὄνομ.* p. 109 Boiss. ὅτι γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἄττις τῇ Φρυγίᾳ γλώσση ὁ Ζεὺς, κ.τ.λ.

Zeus in Bithynia.

The Bithynians worshipped the same god under much the same titles. Inscriptions in honour of Zeus Βροντῶρ occur in Bithynia (Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* 1111 n. 3) and 'Arrian in his account of Bithynia states that the Bithynians used to go up to the tops of the mountains and call upon Zeus as Πάπας and Ἄττις' (Eust. 565, 4 ff.). This is not to be wondered at, since the Bithynians (Hdt. 7, 75), like the Phrygians (*ib.* 73), were a Thracian tribe which had migrated from Europe into Asia. We are, then, prepared to find that the Bithynian Zeus also was connected with the oak. At Heraclea Pontica Heracles planted two oaks by the altar of Zeus Στράτιος (Plin. *hist. nat.* 16,

¹ Aeneas, the father of Cyzicus, was son of Stilbe and Apollo (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 948). The Thessalian Triopas according to some (Diod. 5. 61) was son of Stilbe and Apollo's son Lapithes. Thus the father of Cyzicus would be brother or half-brother of Triopas, whose name attests the cult of the triple oak-Zeus (*supra*).

239). Appian (*b. Mithr.* 66 White) describes a sacrifice to this god: 'Mithridates ...offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present...and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea,' etc. This description reminds one of the bonfire on the top of Cithaeron kindled once in sixty years at the Great Daedala, when the oak-brides of Zeus were burnt (Paus. 9, 3, 1 ff.). There can be little doubt that in both cases the blaze was meant to replenish the powers of a solar Zeus: the words *οἱ βασιλεῖς ξυλοφοροῦσι* express tersely the primitive duty of the oak-king (*C.R.* xvii., 185). Coins of Amaseia, the residence of the Pontic kings (Strab. 561), have been rightly interpreted as referring to this cult (Cavedoni in *Bull. Corr. Arch.* 1840 p. 70). They exhibit a large altar, sometimes of two stages and flaming. Beside it are two trees with twisted trunks. Above it in some specimens there hovers an eagle or the sun-god in his *quadriga* or both (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Pontus, etc., p. 12, pl. 2, 6; *cp. ib.* p. xvii., pl. 2, 2-5). An example described by Mionnet (suppl. t. iv. 431 no. 79) shows a victim, perhaps a bull, lying on the altar. Again, an imperial coin of Prusa in Bithynia represents Zeus reclining on a rocky hill from which grow two oak-trees (Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* ii. 1, p. 89, pl. 9, 5). Another coin of Prusa perhaps shows the ritual of the same cult (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 197, pl. 35, 7). Caracalla, sceptre in hand, is sacrificing at an altar, which burns before a tree. That the sacrifice is to Zeus appears from the eagle hovering above the tree. The boar approaching the altar of its own accord is like the bull on a coin of Stratonicea (*C.R.* xvii. 417 Fig. 14). The resemblance between the two types suggests that at Prusa the emperor took the place, as he sometimes did, of the local sacred king. Close to Prusa ad Olympum is Cius; and from the neighbourhood of Cius comes an inscription Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ Ἀστραπαίῳ καὶ Διήμητρὶ Καρποφόρῳ (*B.C.H.* xvii. 540). Possibly, therefore, the second oak-tree at Prusa and at Heraclea Pontica was that of Demeter, who had sacred oaks

elsewhere (*C.R.* xvii. 180, *cp.* Paus. 10. 33. 12). In any case *ἀστραπαῖος* = *βροντῶν*. Zeus *Βροντῶν* was sometimes paired with Hecate (*C.I.L.* vi. 733), not inappropriately since Hecate as an earth-goddess is wreathed with oak (Soph. *frag.* 480 D., Ap. Rhod. 3. 1214 and schol. *ad loc.*).

Zeus in Northern Greece.

If the Thracian tribes known to history as the Phrygians and Bithynians thus worshipped an oak-Zeus, there should be relics of the cult in Thrace itself. In point of fact the suggestive name *Δρύας* occurs more than once in the myths of Thrace and northern Greece; and in each case connexion with the oak-cult is probable. (1) It will be remembered that one Dryas, when claimant for the hand of Pallene and the kingdom of the Thracian Odomanti, was defeated in a chariot race and slain by Clitus (*C.R.* xvii. 270). The 'oak-man' killed by his rival, who thereby succeeds to the kingdom, and burnt on a great pyre (*ib.*) may well be regarded as an oak-king of the usual type.

(2) Another Dryas was brother of the Thracian king Tereus, who slew him on suspicion that he was plotting the death of Itys (*Hyg. fab.* 45). The story told how Tereus, armed with a *πέλεκυς*, also pursued Procne and Philomela on the same ground till the gods changed them all into birds—Tereus becoming a hoopoe (*εἰπὺς*), Procne a nightingale (*ἀηδὼν*), Philomela a swallow (*χελιδὼν*). A doublet to the Tereus-myth (Apollod. 3. 14. 8) is that of Polytechnus (Ant. Lib. 11), in which Polytechnus of Colophon pursues Aëdon and Chelidonis till Zeus transforms all the family into birds—Polytechnus becoming a *πελεκᾶν* because Hephaestus had given him a *πέλεκυς*, the brother of Aëdon becoming a hoopoe, etc. Now Prof. D'Arcy Thompson *Gloss. Gk. Birds* pp. 52, 56 f. has pointed out the strict parallelism between the hoopoe and the wood-pecker in ancient myth.¹ Thus Tereus the hoopoe is tantamount to Polytechnus the wood-pecker. But we have already seen (*C.R.* xvii. 412) that in Crete the name Wood-pecker was given to king

¹ *e.g.* Ael. *de nat. an.* 3. 26 makes the hoopoe release its young from a nest in the wall, which has been stopped with a patch of mud, by means of a magic herb (*cp.* Bochart *Hierozoicon* ed. 1796 iii. 112, Aristoph. *av.* 93, 654 f.). Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 40 tells a very similar tale of the *picus Martius*; and Dr. Frazer informs me that the wood-pecker is still credited with the same powers in continental folklore.

Minos as visible representative of an oak-Zeus (Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς), whose sacred weapon was the double-axe. The recurrence of oak and axe and wood-pecker in the Tereus-Polytechnus myth cannot be accidental. I infer that Tereus and Polytechnus were oak-kings,¹ armed with the weapon of and transformed into the birds of an oak-Zeus. When Euelpides in Aristoph. *av.* 480 spoke of Zeus as 'soon destined to restore the sceptre to the Wood-pecker,' it was no mere flight of fancy but a genuine folk-belief.

(3) A similar tale is told by Ant. Lib. 14. Dryas was the father of Munichus, king and seer of the Molossi, who had by his wife Lelante a son Alcander, a better seer than himself, and three other children. Robbers set fire to their homes; and Zeus rescued them from the flames by turning them all into birds. Lelante became a wood-pecker (πιπῶ) of the sort that chops at the oak (κόπτονσα τὴν δρῦν) for insects.² The 'oak-man' as father of the king, the royal seer, the woodpecker-queen, plainly belong to the same cycle of religious ideas. The Molossian kings used to sacrifice to Zeus Ἀπειος at Passaron near Dodona (Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 5); and it is probable that Zeus Ἀπειος was akin to Zeus Στράτιος, the oak-god of Caria (*C.R.* xvii. 417) and Bithynia (*supra*).³ Indeed, Dodona itself was in Molossis (Strab. 321, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη). The first king of the Molossi was Phaethon, who entered Epirus along with Pelasgus (Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 1); and a head of the sun-god figures on coins of the Molossian prince Alexander i. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Thessaly, etc. p. 110, pl. 20, 2, 5). Coins of Epirus show the Dodonaean Zeus wearing an oak-wreath and sometimes accompanied by Dione (fig. 2 = *ib.* p. 89,

pl. 17, 5). When the Molossian princes became kings of Epirus, they adopted similar designs (*ib.* p. 110, pl. 20, 3



Fig. 3.

Alexander i.: fig. 3 = *ib.* p. 111, pl. 20, 10 Pyrrhus).

(4) But I have yet to prove that the deity represented by Δρῆας in northern Greece was threefold, comprising the characteristics of sky-god, water-god, and earth-god. This appears from a very singular myth preserved most fully by Laet. *Plac. ad Stat. Theb.* 7. 256. A pious man named Pelargus or Pelasgus hospitably entertained Jupiter, Neptune, and Mercury. They offered to grant him a wish. Being childless, he desired a son. 'Minxerunt ergo numina' into the hide of an ox which their host had sacrificed to the gods. This they bade him bury in the earth and dig up after nine months. From it sprang Orion ('ex urina nomen accepit'), who attempted to seduce Diana. The same authority elsewhere (*ad Stat. Theb.* 9. 843) states that the son of Orion was called Dryas, and adds inconsistently that Dryas was the son of Neptune, Jupiter, and Mercury, and hence bore on his armour the insignia of two gods (*ad Stat. Theb.* 9. 856). According to others, the putative parents of Orion were Hyrieus son of Poseidon and Aleyone daughter of Atlas (Palaeph. 5), or Hyrieus and Clonia (Apollod. 3. 10. 1, Tzetz. *ad Lye.* 328). The scene of the myth is usually laid in Boeotia (schol. *Il.* 18. 486, schol. *Od.* 5. 121, Palaeph. 5, Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 96 ff.), but once in Thrace (Hyg. *fab.* 195). Tzetzes' version *l.c.* mentions as the three gods Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo (not Hermes): in either case they were sky-god, water-god, and earth-god. In the 'oak-man' thus sprung from Zeus + Poseidon + Hermes (or Apollo) in the home of Pelasgus



Fig. 2.

¹ As such they would pass for Zeus. This may underlie the statement that Polytechnus and Aëdon impiously claimed to love each other more fondly than Zeus and Hera (Ant. Lib. 11).

² Cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 614a 35, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 480, and the passages cited in *C.R.* xvii. 412.

³ Zeus Ἀπειος occurs also at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 6) and at Iasos in Caria (Overbeck *Kunstmyth.*

Zeus p. 209, Münzt. 3, 11): the former I have identified with a tree-god (*C.R.* xvii. 271 ff.); the latter was presumably related to the Carian oak-Zeus (*ib.* p. 415 ff.).

I find a clear trace of the triple Pelasgian oak-Zeus.

(5) Lycurgus, king of the Thracian Edones (Soph. *Ant.* 956, *alib.*), was probably another oak-king. His weapon is the βονπλήξ or double-axe (*Il.* 6. 135). He is a man and yet a god (Eur. *Rhes.* 971 ff. ἀνθρωποδαίμων . . . σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός). Above all, he is the son of one Dryas (*Il.* 6. 130, *alib.*) and the father of another Dryas, whom he slew with an axe (πελέκει), mistaking him for a vine (Apollod. 3. 5. 1). The whole story of his opposition to Dionysus gains fresh point, if we may assume a conflict between the old oak-cult and the new vine-cult. Lycurgus, son of Dryas, pursuing with a βονπλήξ the nurses of Dionysus on Mt. Nysa (*Il.* 6. 130 ff.) has an exact parallel in Butes the Thracian, brother of Lycurgus son of Boreas, pursuing the nurses of Dionysus on Δρύος, the 'Oak Mt.' in S. Thessaly (Diod. 5. 50).¹ As an oak-king, Lycurgus would be responsible for the fertility of the land and in time of drought might even be put to death. Dr. Frazer *G. B.*² i. 158f. draws attention to Apollod. 3.5. 1: 'When the land remained barren, the god delivered an oracle that it would be fruitful, if Lycurgus were put to death. Hereupon the Edoni took him to Mt. Pangaeum and bound him. There he perished according to the will of Dionysus, destroyed by horses.' The manner of his death recalls that of Hippolytus-Virbius (*G. B.*² i. 6, ii. 313 ff.) and strengthens my contention that Lycurgus was an oak-king.

(6) Of Dryas the Lapith, the associate of Ixion (δρύς and ἰξός), I have already spoken (*C. R.* xvii. 420).

(7) Yet another Dryas was the brother of Meleager present at the Calydonian hunt (Apollod. 1. 8. 2, Hyg. *fab.* 173). They

both came from Calydon, a town which was personified as a nymph φηγῶ ἐστεμμένη (Philostr. *lun. imag.* 4). The mistletoe-bearing oak seems to have played some part in the myth of Meleager; for Sophocles in a fragment of his *Meleager* (354 b Dind.) mentions ἱσοφόρους δρύας. Now Dr. Frazer *G. B.*² iii. 446 ff. has made out a strong case for the mistletoe as a plant containing the external life of the oak-hero. Is it overbold to conjecture that the brand which contained the external life of Meleager was of mistletoe or mistletoe-bearing oak?² Another oak-and-mistletoe hero seems to be Caeneus, whose myth is not unlike that of Balder. The Centaurs struck at him with oaks and firs (schol. *Il.* 1. 264, Eust. 101, 10 ff.), since he could not be wounded with iron but only with tree-trunks (Hyg. *fab.* 14). Ov. *met.* 12. 470 ff. states that they tried to bury him beneath a huge pile of oaks, from which a bird with yellow wings and loud scream was seen to issue. He calls the assailants of Caeneus 'Ixione natos' (*ib.* 504), sons of the Mistletoe; and Ion in his *Phoenicia* or *Caeneus* δρύος ἰδρῶτα εἴρηκε τὸν ἰξόν (Athen. 45 D). Texts and monuments are further discussed by Seeliger in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 894 ff. and by Prof. E. Gardner in *J.H.S.* xvii. 294 ff. pl. 6.

The ship Argo was built of timber resembling that of the mistletoe-bearing oak (Plin. *n.h.* 13. 119). It is usually described as pine (reiff. in Pauly-Wissowa ii. 721); but Val. Flacc. 1. 95 speaks of 'oaks,' and the grammarians of a special wood ἀργώ (Hesych. *s.v.*, schol. Opp. *cyn.* 1. 28, cp. *et. mag.* 136, 29). Argus the ship-wright must be identified with Argus the Argive eponym; for he wears the bull's-hide of the Argive hero (Ap. Rhod. 1. 324, Hyg. *fab.* 14), and is sometimes said to have built the vessel at Argos (Hegesand. *ap. Tzetz.* Lyc. 883, Hegesipp. *ap. et. mag.* 136, 32, schol. rec. Theocr. 13. 21). But Argus the Argive eponym was, as we have seen (*supra*), only another name for the triple Pelasgian Zeus.³ It follows that the Argo was the ship of Zeus and derived its name

¹ Ultimately a compromise was effected between the oak-cult and the vine-cult. In an inscr. from Thessalonica (*B.C.H.* xxiv. 322) a priestess of Πρινοφόρος, the Bearer of the Evergreen-oak, who speaks of herself as θύσα and εὐεία, leaves certain vineyards to her θιασος, the πρινοφόροι: if the conditions of the bequest are not fulfilled, the property is to go to another θιασος, that of the δροιοφόροι or Oak-bearers. Coins of Thessalonica have a wreath of oak-leaves enclosing the word ΘΕΞΞΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Macedonia, etc. pp. 108, 113 f.) or of ivy enclosing a bunch of grapes (*ib.* p. 109). Tzetzes in Lyc. 212 read Φηγαλεύς, not Φιγαλεύς, as the epithet of Dionysus, cp. Eust. 664, 48 ὁ Φηγαλεύς Διόνυσος τῇ φηγῷ παριωνυμίσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀναδενδράδας ἀμπέλους. The Bacchants in the neighbourhood of Dryosephalae (*C.R.* xvii. 270) wear wreaths of oak (Eur. *Bacch.* 703 cp. 110, 685, 1103).

² According to Tzetz. Lyc. 492, Malalas 6. 209, Althaea had eaten a spray of olive before Meleager's birth and borne it along with him: on this his life depended. The olive was elsewhere a substitute for the oak (*C.R.* xvii. 273).

³ Ἀργος, the 'Bright' one, obviously corresponds in meaning to Ζεύς, the 'Bright' one; cp. Ζεύς ἀργής (Emped. 160), Ζεύς ἀργικέραυνος (*Il.* 19. 121, *alib.*). The word ἀργής denoted 'a thunderbolt,' and Ἀργηος was a Cyclops who forged thunderbolts for Zeus (Eust. 906, 46; 1528, 35).

from that fact. This explains why a fragment of Dodonean oak was built into her (Tzet. Lyc. 1319, *alib.*): Zeus must be aboard his own vessel to direct her course. It is commonly stated that the trees of which the Argo was built grew on Mt. Pelion (Hdt. 4. 179, *alib.*). The summit of the mountain boasted a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀσπαῖος, to which in the heat of summer, when the dog-star appeared, came a procession of young men, chosen by the priest from the best families at Demetrias and clad in fresh ram-skins (Dicaearch. 2. 8). Now we have already found the title Ἀσπαῖος θεοί applied to Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades at Mitylene (*supra*). Further, the oak-woods of Pelion are mentioned by Ov. *fast.* 5. 382, Val. Flacc. 1. 95; it was in an oak on Pelion that Asclepius nurtured his snake (Nic. *ther.* 439, Euteen. *ad loc.*, cp. Apollod. 1. 9. 11)¹; and the northern summit is still 'clothed with oaks' (Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 569). Not improbably, therefore, the cult of Zeus on Pelion was that of the triple Pelasgian oak-god. Again, the Argo went in quest of the golden fleece, which had been stripped from the ram sacrificed by Phrixus to Zeus Λαφύστιος (Paus. 1. 24. 2, schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 653) or Φέγιος, and nailed to an oak in Colchis (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, 16). Phrixus was the son of Athamas, and the whole Phrixus-myth is bound up with the ritual of the Athamantidae (Pauly-Wissowa ii. 1929 ff.), which furnishes one of the clearest examples of a priestly-king sacrificed as soon as his fertilising powers decay (Frazer *G.B.*² ii. 34 ff., Paus. v. 172 f.). Note that in Athamania also there was a cult of Jupiter *Acræus* on a height named Aethiopia, which commanded the capital Argithea (Liv. 38. 2).

The Ἀργεῖδαι, the kingly clan of Macedonia, appear to have come from the district of Ἄργος Ὀρεστικόν (App. *Syr.* 63), though for political reasons the Macedonian monarchs claimed descent from the Temenidae of the Peloponnesian Argos (Hdt. 8. 137, Thuc. 2. 99). At Αἰγαί or Αἰγέαι was 'the hearth of the Macedonian kingdom' (Diod. *exc.* p. 563, 31); and here the Macedonian kings were buried (Plin. *n.h.* 4. 33, *alib.*) along with much treasure (Diod. *l.c.*, Plut. *v. Pyrrh.* 26). Their funeral games (Diod. 19. 52) included a *μονομαχία* (Athen. 155A). 'Populus Pelasgi' says Just. 7. 1. 3; and it is very possible that the Argead kings were representatives of the Pelasgian oak-god. This would square with the honours

paid to Zeus at Dium by Archelaus (Diod. 17. 16) and Alexander (Arr. *an.* 1. 16), with Alexander's claim to be the son of Zeus, if not Zeus himself (*C.R.* xvii. 404), and with the type of the Dodonean Zeus on coins of Macedonia in general (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 13). The oak-wreath surrounding a club, which occurs so often on Macedonian coins (*ib.* pp. 7, 8, 14, 16, 17, etc.) is probably the symbol of Heracles, not Zeus. Oak-deities were long-lived in Macedonia: the peasant still dreads the *Drymides* in spring as wood-nymphs, in autumn as water-nymphs (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* p. 63 f.).

In Thessaly too an oak-crowned Zeus appears on the coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Thessaly, etc. p. 1 ff., pl. 1, 1), and there are legends of oak-kings. Triopas king of Dotium and Triopas king of the Perrhaebians I have already mentioned (*supra*). At Phylace in Phthiotis there was a sacred oak into which Phylacus, the eponymous king of the place, had thrust his knife when gelding rams (Apollod. 1. 9. 12). The sacred oak, the royal guardian (φυλακός), the knife sticking in the tree, the rams, are all traits that suggest the cult of an oak-Zeus; and it is noteworthy that Deion, the father of Phylacus, was the brother of Athamas (Apollod. 1. 7. 3).

Zeus in Central Greece.

Dryops, the eponym of the Dryopians, was father of the river-god Peneus (Pherecyd. *ap. schol.* Ap. Rhod. 1. 1213), or son of the river-god Spercheus and the Danaid Polydora (Ant. Lib. 32), or son of the Arcadian Lyeaon and Dia (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1218), or son of Apollo and Dia daughter of Lyeaon (Paus. 4. 34. 11, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1283, *et. mag.* 288, 34, Tzet. Lyc. 480)—variants which correspond to successive abodes of the Dryopians on their southward migration.² As an infant, Dryops had been hidden by Dia in the trunk of an oak (Tzet. Lyc. 480). Since *δρυόψ* means 'a wood-pecker' (Aristoph. *av.* 304), Prof. D'Arcy Thompson plausibly conjectures that 'the Dryopes were probably, like the descendants of Picius, a Woodpecker-tribe' (*Gloss. Gk. Birds* p. 52). The Dryopians are said to have called the gods *πόποι* (Tzet. Lyc. 943, Plut. *de aud. poem.* 22c, schol. *Od.* 1. 32), as did the Scythians their

¹ Cp. the species termed *δρυῖνας* or *δρύωνος* (Steph. *Thes. s.v.*).

² Δρυονίς was subsequently named Δαυρίς (Hdt. 8. 31), the 'Oak-land' (Schrader *Reallex.* p. 164); so that the importance of the oak in Central Greece is incontestable. Indeed, one great division of the Greek race, the Dorians, derived their name from it.

underground images (*et. mag.* 823, 31, Herodian. *ap.* Theognost. *can.* 158, 14). Prof. W. M. Ramsay (*J.H.S.* iii. 124) connects the word with the Phrygian and Bithynian Πάπας and the Scythian Zeus Παπαῖος (Eust. 565, 7). If this connexion is sound, it is probable that the Dryopians, like the Phrygians and Bithynians, worshipped an oak-Zeus.

Another woodpecker-king was Celeus. Celeus was a Cretan transformed by Zeus into a green wood-pecker (κελεύς) for stealing honey from his cave in Crete (*Ant. Lib.* 19). Another Celeus was the early king at Eleusis, who received Demeter into his house (*h. Cer.* 96 ff.) and bade the people build her a temple (*ib.* 296 ff.). He invented the Prytaneum (*Plut. symp.* 4. 4. 1), and used to bring home 'acorns and bramble-berries, and dry faggots for his hearth' (*Ov. fast.* 4. 509 f.)—doubtless a *εστία* such as oak-kings had elsewhere. Ascalabus of Eleusis, for mocking at Demeter, was changed by her into a spotted lizard (ἀσκάλαβος *Ant. Lib.* 24, *alib.*), an animal whose tree-climbing habits Aristotle compares with those of the *δρυκολάπτῃς* (*h. an.* 614 b 4, *de mir. ausc.* 831 b 6). The mysteries were imported from Eleusis into Andania, where they were celebrated in an oak-grove (*Paus.* 4. 1. 5 f.). And the boy who at Athenian weddings pronounced the Eleusinian formula *ἔφυγον κακόν, ἤρην ἄμεινον* was wreathed with oak and thorn (*Hesych. s.v.*). Probably, therefore, Demeter had once at Eleusis, as elsewhere (*C.R.* xvii. 180), sacred oaks. Further evidence is wanting, unless indeed we may venture to regard Triptolemus son of Celeus as a representative of the triple god.¹

We come next to Athens. *Ael. v.h.* 5. 17 states that, if any one cut down a young evergreen oak from a *heroön*, the Athenians used to put him to death. From this I infer that one or more Athenian heroes

were connected with the oak.² But who? Possibly the old kings of Athens. Strab. 321 gives as samples of 'barbaric' (*i.e.* Dryopian, Pelasgian, etc.) names Cecrops, Codrus, Aeolus, Cothus, Drymas, Crinacus. The first four of these belong to the genealogy of Athenian kings; the last one to that of Boeotian kings: so that Drymas, who is otherwise unknown, was in all probability an Athenian or Boeotian hero. However, there is better evidence for supposing that Athens had at one time oak-kings. Lycus, son of Pandion, when driven from Athens by his brother Aegeus, took with him the cult of the Great Goddesses and established it at Andania in the Λύκων δρυμός, an oak-coppice named after him (*Paus.* 4. 1. 6, 4. 2. 6): he was a seer and the founder of the Lycomidae (*Roscher Lex.* ii. 2186). Aegeus too may have had some connexion with the oak; for he gave Theseus a sail stained red with oak-dye to hoist if he returned in safety from Crete (*Simon. ap. Plut. v. These.* 17 φοινίκιον ἱστῖον ὑγρῷ πεφυρμένον πρίνου ἄνθει ἐριθάλλον). Neleus, son of Codrus,³ when he led a colony from Athens, was bidden by an oracle to make an image of Artemis from a very fruitful tree. Having found a very fruitful oak at Miletus, he made an image of the goddess from it and there built his town (*schol. Call. h. Iov.* 77).⁴ Finally, Lyc. 1378 speaks of Codrus himself as ἀνακτος τοῦ δρυηκόπου because, when he devoted his life for his country, he dressed as a woodman (*Tzetz. ad loc.*); cp. *Tzetz. chil.* 1. 193 f. ὁ γνοὺς ὁ Κόδρος καὶ πολλὴν ἀψάμενος δρυτόμον | πελέκει Λακωνά τινα κτείνας ἀνταναιρεῖται. If the last of the Athenian kings on so solemn an occasion appeared as an oak-cutter armed with an axe, we may be sure that this was no mere disguise but the ancient ritual costume of an oak-king.

Athens, then, had her oak-kings: but we have yet to prove that they were the priestly representatives of a triple Zeus. In their old palace, the Erechtheum, stood three altars—one of Poseidon, on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus in obedience to an oracle; one of the hero Butes; and one

² Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 75, fig. 63, published a 'hero-relief' from Athens, which represents a young warrior standing beside his horse and feeding a large snake coiled round an oak-tree. On the tree are perched two small birds (wood-peckers?). It is also decked with armour (sword, spear, shield, breast-plate). A boy approaches with a helmet in one hand and a palm-branch in the other. In the background is a pillar supporting a vase.

³ On the cult of Codrus in the *temenos* of Neleus and Basile (*Ditt.* 550) see Kern in *Pauly-Wissowa* iii. 41 f.

See further *C.R.* xvii. 415.

¹ Triptolemus crossed the world in his car 'borne aloft through the sky' (*Apollod.* 1. 5. 2). 'The car was borrowed by Antheus, who fell off and was killed' (*Paus.* 7. 18. 3). This certainly recalls Phaethon and the solar car. Triptolemus was sometimes said to be the son of Oceanus and Ge (*Pherecyd. ap. Apollod.* 1. 5. 2); and was often regarded as a judge in the Underworld (*Plat. ap.* 41A. *Preller-Robert* p. 770 n. 3). An Argive legend made him the brother of Eubuleus, son of Trochilus 'the Wren' a priest of the mysteries at Argos (*Paus.* 1. 14. 2). Thus he had connexions with sky, sea, and earth. The shape of his car, a wheeled seat, invites comparison with the *sella curulis*, which was originally a chariot (*Gell.* 3. 18. 4, *alib.*, cp. *Babelon Monn. de la Rép.* ii. 532) used to prevent the sacrosanct person from contact with the ground (cp. *Frazer G.B.* iii. 202 f.).

of Hephaestus' (Paus. 1. 26. 5). (1) Poseidon's 'sea' on the Acropolis is compared by Paus. 1. 26. 5 to that at Aphrodisias, a town where the cult of a triple oak-Zeus seems to have flourished (*C.R.* xvii. 416): note also the 'place called Πέλαγος which is full of oaks' adjoining the sanctuary of Poseiden Ἰππίος on the road from Mantinea to Tegea (Paus. 8. 11. 1). (2) Butes can hardly be separated from the βουφόνια yearly performed on the Athenian Acropolis: indeed Hesychius expressly interprets Βούτης as ὁ τοῖς Διῶπολοις τὰ βουφόνια δρῶν. The βουφόνια were sacrifices to Zeus Πολεύς (Paus. 1. 24. 4, 1. 28. 10, schol. Aristoph. *νub.* 985), and their peculiar ritual resembled in several points that of the oak-Zeus. Oxen were driven round the altar and the ox that tasted the cakes upon it was slaughtered (Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30): exactly the same thing was done with geats at Halicarnassus in the cult of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος (*C.R.* xvii. 415 f.). The axe figured largely in the Athenian rite, being left on the spot by the βουφόρος and afterwards tried (Paus. 1. 24. 4, 1. 28. 10) at the Court in the Prytaneum (Paus. 1. 28. 10) and sunk in the sea (Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30): the axe was almost everywhere a feature of the oak-cult, and the special circumstance of an axe 'left on the spot' recurs at Dodona (*C.R.* xvii. 409) and at Dotium (*supra*). The flight of the βουφόρος (Paus. 1. 24. 4, 1. 28. 10, cp. Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29, schol. *Il.* 18. 483) also has parallels in the oak-cults of Italy (Frazer *G.B.* 2 ii. 67). It is probable, therefore, that Butes 'the oxman' was originally the priestly-king of an oak-Zeus. This agrees well with the legend of Butes pursuing the Bacchantes on the Oak-mountain in Thessaly (*supra*): Wernicke has shown the essentially Attic character of that legend (Pauly-Wissowa iii. 1082). (3) The third altar in the Erechtheum was that of Hephaestus, who in the extremely archaic Athenian myth (Apollod. 3. 14.6 *alib.*) was the father of Erichthonius ὁ γηγενής (Eur. *Ion.* 20). It appears, then, that the three altars in the Erechtheum attest the cult of Poseidon, Zeus, and a chthonian deity.

Further, it is probable that these three were but diverse forms of Zeus. Poseidon's title Ἐρεχθεύς (*C.I.A.* i. 387, iii. 276, 805, Plut. *vit.* X *or.* 843 n, c, Hesych. s.v.) was by some regarded as a title of Zeus (schol. Lyc. 158 τὸ δὲ Ἐρεχθεύς τινὲς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἤκουσαν). Again, Butes, the representative of Zeus Πολεύς, was the ancestor of the Eteobutadae, who were the hereditary priests of

Poseidon Ἐρεχθεύς (refl. in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 1080). And rightly so: for Zeus on the Acropolis was a rain-god (Paus. 1. 24. 3), a ποταμός. Lastly, Hephaestus is armed with the βουπλάγξ, when he cleaves the head of Zeus for the birth of Athena (*et. myc.* 371, 41, *app. metr.* Westerm. p. 360, 3). Indeed, Hephaestus, the celestial smith, is beyond doubt (see Roscher *Lex.* i. 2047 ff.) a god of thunder and lightning, like Zeus himself. As such, he would naturally be connected with the oak. A well-known relief in the Vatican (Roscher *ib.* 2046) shows him leaning on a maiden wreathed with acorns, etc. And a Cretan coin already figured (*C.R.* xvii. 413) identifies him with Zeus as an oak-god: for Zeus Φελάχρος is Volcanus, the Italian Hephaestus¹; and Zeus Φελάχρος is seated in an oak. The tradition (Cinaethon *ap.* Paus. 8. 53. 5) that Hephaestus was the son of Talos again connects him with an oak-Zeus (*C.R.* xvii. 406). So does his title Δαίδαλος (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 59, Eur. *Herc. fur.* 471, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. F 269: see Pauly-Wissowa iv. 1995 f.); cp. the Δαίδαλος of Crete and the Δαίδαλα of Plataea (*C.R.* xvii. 412). I suggest, then, that in the three altars of Poseidon, Butes, and Hephaestus, which were preserved in the Erechtheum down to the second century of our era, we have an indication that the early kings of Athens worshipped the triple Pelasgian oak-Zeus. The altar inscribed Διὶ Νάϊω, which was found to the west of the Erechtheum (*C.R.* xvii. 186), was indeed appropriately placed.

My argument is supported by the fact that the old oath prescribed on the wooden pillars of Solon was an oath by the τρεῖς θεοί (Hesych. s.v.), who, if Pollux is right, were a triad of Zeuses: Poll. 8. 142 τρεῖς θεοὺς ὀμνῖναι κελεύει Σόλων, ἱερίστον καθάρσιον ἐξακροτήρα. Since these pillars (ἄξονες) were kept for centuries in the Prytaneum and stone copies of them (κύρβεις) in the Stoa Basileios (Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 2 ii. 290 ff.), it is highly probable that the oath was that of the old Athenian kings. The position thus accorded to Zeus as the supreme god of early Athens agrees with the importance attached to the Diasia in the time of Cylon (Thuc. 1. 126). For the Diasia² was a festival of Zeus Μελέχτιος, a chthonian

¹ The coin representing Zeus Φελάχρος is a coin of Φαιστός. Does this fact throw any light on the derivation of the puzzling name Ἡραίστος? It is at least a singular coincidence.

² The name is probably a lengthened form of Δία, on the analogy—as Mr. P. Giles has suggested—of Διονύσια. There was a festival Δία at Teos (Michel 1318): cp. the Athenian Πανδία.

form of Zeus (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2558 ff.¹) regarded as one with Zeus Μαιμάκτης and Zeus Καθάρσιος (Hesych. *μαιμάκτης· μελίχιος· καθάρσιος*), i.e. as a threefold Zeus. That Zeus Μελίχιος was at once storm-god (= sky-god) and earth-god is generally admitted: that he was also a water-god appears from an Attic relief, which shows him seated on the head of Acheloius (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2559). At Sicyon he was represented by a stone pyramid (Paus. 2. 9. 6), probably a three-sided block (so Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 221, cp. the Zeuses of Mallus, Tarsus, etc.: De Visser *de Gr. diis* p. 45, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1520) like the *τριγώνω στήλη* that Pindar set up beside the altar of Zeus Ἄρμων inscribed with his hymn to that deity (Paus. 9. 16. 1). The comparison suggests that the Athenian κύρβεις, which, to judge from the extant fragment of one (*C.I.A.* iv. 2. 559), were three-sided prisms of stone, simply copied the primitive idols of the triple Zeus. If so, they naturally enjoined the oath by the *τρεις θεοί*. Again, of the four ancient Athenian tribes one, the Γελέοντες, certainly stood in some relation to Zeus, cp. *C.I.A.* iii. 2 Διὸς Γελέοντος ἱεροκῆρυξ; another, the Ὀπλητες, may have done so, cp. Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος in Caria and Arcadia (Preller-Robert p. 141, n. 2); a third, the Αἰγικορῆς, very possibly denoted the 'sons of the Oak' (cp. αἰγίλωψ, αἰγίς, Eiche, etc.); while the fourth, the Ἀργαδῆς, seems to have traced its descent from Argus the Argive eponym (Maass in *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1889, ii. 107 f.), who was none other than the triple Pelasgian Zeus (*supra*).

But, it will be objected, there were no oaks on the Acropolis. True: but Theophrastus in a list of trees that thrive on high ground mentions, along with various species of oak, a nut known as the 'acorn of Zeus' or 'royal' nut (ap. Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 18. 4 *καρία, ἣ καὶ Διὸς βάλανος*. hanc Graeci etiam basilicam vocant, cp. Theophr. *h. pl.* 3. 3. 1). When, therefore, we find worked into the south porch of the Erechtheum six figures called *Καρνάτιδες* (Athen. 241 E, Vitruv. 1. 1. 5), it seems probable that they represent Nut-maidens (cp. Artemis *Καρνάτις* Paus. 3. 10. 7, Hesych. *s.v.*), the nymphs of a quondam nut-grove, which did duty for an oak-grove as the abode of Zeus

and his royal representative. 'Nuces,' says Servius, 'in tutela sunt Iovis: unde et *iuglandes* vocantur, quasi Iovis glandes' (Serv. *buc.* 8. 30, cp. Cloatius Verus ap. Macrobi. *l.c.* '*iuglans*...quasi *Diuglans*'). Conversely acorns are called nuts in Eubul. ap. Athen. 52 B *φηγούς, κάρνα Καρίστια*. On the sacred tree utilised as a pillar of the house see Mr. A. Evans in *J.H.S.* xxi. 143 ff., 156 ff., 186 ff.: perhaps the closest analogy to the Caryatides of the Erechtheum is offered by the Nymphae Querquetulanae, who support a transverse beam on coins of the gens Accoleia (Babelon *Monn. de la Rép.* i. 100). Now at Dodona there were six nymphs, who were said to have been the nurses of Zeus (Hyg. *fab.* 182), though others explained that Zeus had given them Dionysus to tend (schol. *Il.* 18. 486). The six Caryatides at Athens may well have been a similar group of nymphs, 'nurses' of the oak-Zeus. The nurses of Dionysus are regularly called *τιθήναι*, and Plut. *symp.* 3. 9. 2 uses the same word of the nurses of Zeus. This, I believe, gives us a clue to the meaning of Ἀθήναι. I take it that **ἀ-θήνη*, like *τι-θήνη*, was a strengthened form of the root that appears in Hesych. *θήνιον· γάλα*.² The *ἀθήναι* or 'nurses' of Zeus were a prominent feature of the Acropolis, and they gave their name to the town built about it. Athena in turn took her name (*Ἀθηναία*, *Ἀθηνάα*, *Ἀθηνᾶ*) from Athens (*Ἀθῆναι*), not Athens from Athena. A parallel case is perhaps that of *Ἀθῆναι* Διάδες in Euboea; for on the mountain above it Heracles sacrificed to Zeus *Κήναιος* and fed the flame *ἀπὸ πείρας δρυός* (Soph. *Trach.* 766), and in the near neighbourhood was the district *Δρυμός* (Strab. 445).

Oaks must at one time have been common in Attica, as is shown by the deme-names *Φηγαία* (belonging to the tribes *Αἰγυγίς* and *Παρδιονίς*), *Φηγούς* (belonging to the *Ἐρεχθίδης*), *Δρυαχαρνέϊς* (Zonaras p. 569, *alib.*), by the town *Δρυμός* (Dem. 446), by the island *Αἴγινα* (*C.R.* xvii. 405), by the *Σαρωνικός κόλπος* (*σαρωνίς*=old oak: Plin. *n. h.* 4. 9 sinus Saronicus, olim querno nemore redimitus, unde nomen, ita Graecia antiquitus appellante quercum), etc. When they gradually disappeared, and were replaced by more profitable trees, Zeus, as at Olympia (*C.R.* xvii. 273), took over the olive in place of the oak. The thunderbolt-god Zeus *Καταιβάτης* became Zeus *Μόριος* guardian of the *μορίαί ἐλαταί* (schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705), in

¹ Miss Harrison in her interesting chapter on 'The Diasia' (*Prolegomena* p. 12 ff.) regards the cult of Zeus as grafted upon that of an ancient serpent-deity Melichios: but she admits that any educated Greek of the fifth century B.C. would have said 'Zeus Melichios is Zeus in his underworld aspect—Zeus-Hades.'

² Eust. 83, 25 Ἀθήνη . . . οἶονε ἀλήθη τις οὔσα ὥς μὴ θηλάσασα hits upon a somewhat similar etymology. I owe the passage to Miss Harrison.

which the 'external' life of the Athenians was probably thought to reside (cp. the olive-spray in the story of Meleager: *supra*). Hence we hear of the ἀσπὴ ἑλαιά (Poll. 9. 17, *alib.*), of the sacred oil used for the perpetual lamp in the Erechtheum (Plut. v. *Num.* 9) and awarded to successful athletes at the Panathenaea (schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705). The same transition appears in the myth of Halirrhothius, son of Poseidon, who in attempting to cut down Athena's olive decapitated himself with his axe (schol. Aristoph. *uvb.* 1006, Serv. *georg.* 1. 18), just as Lycurgus son of Dryas hewed off his own leg with an axe in attempting to cut down a vine (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2194). But the memory of the old regal cult died hard. When the comedians hailed Pericles as Zeus (Plut. v. *Per.* 3, 13), they gave voice to the immemorial belief that the strong man of the day was Zeus incarnate (*C.R.* xvii. 277 f.); and one of them, Plato, spoke of oaks as 'royal' trees (Hesych. s.v. ἀρχοντίδας). The Pandia indeed was soon thrown into the shade by the Panathenaea: but it is instructive to note that even at the Panathenaea a freedman or barbarian was expected to carry a branch of oak (Bekk. *an.* 242, 3 δρὺν φέρειν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς), presumably in token that he was acting as a genuine son of Athens (cp. the δροισόφοροι of Thessalonica, *supra*).

Zeus in Southern Greece.

When the Heraclidae returned to the Peloponnese, an oracle was given them that they should take as their guide τὸν τριόφθαλμον. On the suggestion of Cresphontes they followed a man driving a mule, which was blind of one eye. This man was Oxylyus, to whom they promised the land of Elis as his reward (Paus. 5. 3. 5 f.). A very similar tale is told by Apollod. 2. 8. 3 and Suid. s.v. τριόφθαλμος. Apollodorus adds that, on gaining possession of the Peloponnese, the Heraclidae built three altars to Zeus Πατρώος and cast lots for Argos, Lacedaemon, and Messene (2. 8. 4). Now the three-eyed Zeus of Argos was said to have been the Zeus Πατρώος of Priam (Paus. 2. 24. 3). We are thus led to enquire whether Oxylyus too was an oak-king, the representative of a triple Zeus. Strab. 354 states that the Olympic contest was founded by Oxylyus and his Aetolians: Ephorus (*ap.* Strab. 357 f., cp. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 12, Paus. 5. 8. 5, 5. 9. 4), that Oxylyus took charge of the Olympic cult and consecrated the land of Elis to Zeus. But I have already shown

that the kings of Elis were incarnations of an oak-Zeus (*C.R.* xvii. 271 ff.). In the case of Oxylyus this connexion with the oak is particularly clear. His name means 'Woodman': Hesych. ὄξυλον . . . ἰαρόξυλον, cp. also the ξυλαῖς at Olympia (*C.R.* xvii. 181). Of his tomb Paus. 6. 24. 9 says: 'In the market-place of Elis I saw another structure: it was in the form of a temple, low, without walls, the roof being supported by *oaken* pillars. The natives agree that it is a tomb, but do not remember whose it is. If the old man whom I questioned spoke the truth, it is the tomb of Oxylyus.' Oxylyus' son Andraimon married *Dryope*, the oak-maiden (Ant. Lib. 32). Pherenicus, the epic poet of Heraeae, spoke of another Oxylyus who became by *Hamadryas* the father of the nymphs Karya, *Balanos*, Kraneios, Orea (? Morea), *Aigeiros*, Ptelea, Ampelos, Syke (Athen. 78b). L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex.* iii. 1236, 66 ff. says of Oxylyus the Aetolian: 'Manches in dem ihm umgebenden Sagengewebe deutet auf einen solarischen Heros.' Not without reason, if I am right in supposing him to have been the priestly-king of an oak-Zeus.

The principal Zeus-cult of the Peloponnese was that on Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia. Pausanias, who gives the best account of it, says (8. 38. 6 f. Frazer): 'There is a precinct of Lycaean Zeus on the mountain and people are not allowed to enter it; but if any one disregards the rule and enters, he cannot possibly live more than a year. It is also said that inside the precinct all creatures, whether man or beast, cast no shadows. . . On the topmost peak of the mountain there is an altar of Lycaean Zeus in the shape of a mound of earth. . . In front of the altar, on the east, stand two pillars, on which there used formerly to be gilded eagles. On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning.' Again (*ib.* 5), 'On Lycaeus there is a sanctuary of Pan, and round about it a grove of trees; also there is a hippodrome, and in front of it a stadium. Here of old they celebrated the Lycaean games. Here, too, are bases of statues, but the statues are no longer there: an elegiac inscription on one of the bases states that the statue was that of Astyanax, and that he was of the stock of Areas.' Lastly (*ib.* 10), 'The river at Mt. Lycaeus is the third river that bears the name of Acheloius.' Now it is in Arcadia, if anywhere, that we should expect to find parallels to the cult

of a Pelasgian Zeus. And in point of fact we are not disappointed. Zeus Λυκαῖος in several respects challenges comparison with Zeus Νάϊος. To begin with, on Mt. Lycaeus Zeus was reared by three nymphs, of whom two at least were water-nymphs (Paus. 8. 38. 3), just as at Dodona he had three Naiad-nymphs for nurses (Hyg. 182). Next, in both places he seems¹ to have had the same partner; for at Lycosura, high on the slope of Mt. Lycaeus, was a famous sanctuary of Demeter and her daughter (Paus. 8. 37. 1 ff.). Then again, Zeus Λυκαῖος was probably a solar god: no shadows were cast by man or beast in his precinct (Paus. 8. 38. 6, Theopompus *ap.* Polyb. 16. 12. 7), and Lycosura was 'the first city that ever the sun beheld' (Paus. 8. 38. 1). Zeus Λυκαῖος, like Zeus Νάϊος, had a peculiar spring, which flowed with an equal body of water in summer or winter (Paus. 8. 38. 3). Again, Zeus Λυκαῖος, like Zeus Νάϊος of old, was served with human sacrifices (Plat. *rep.* 565 D, Theophrastus *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 27), which the author of pseudo-Platonic *Minos* 315 c compares with the offerings made by the descendants of Athamas. The recurrence of a river Acheloiis (Paus. 8. 38. 9 f.) is another point of resemblance between Mt. Lycaeus and Dodona. The two gilded eagles perched on columns in front of the Lycaean altar (Paus. 8. 38. 7) recall the golden dove (Philostr. *Maj. imagg.* 33. 1) or pair of doves (Soph. *Trach.* 172 with schol.) at Dodona. Zeus Λυκαῖος had a sacred hearth, corresponding to that of Zeus Νάϊος; for on the summit of Mt. Lycaeus there is still to be seen a circular level, about fifty yards across, covered with a layer of potsherds and charred bones (Frazer *Paus.* iv. 382).² The Lycaean games or Λύκαια (Paus. 8. 38. 5) were similar to the Dodonaean games or Νάϊα: they were founded by Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, the inventor of athletic sports (Paus. 3. 2. 1, Plin. *hist. nat.* 7. 205), and besides the races in the hippodrome (Paus. 8. 38. 5) included a foot-race and a

race of men carrying shields (Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* i. 78 no. 240). But, after all, the central feature of the Dodonaean cult was the sacred oak. Are there, it will be asked, any traces of an oak-cult in connexion with Zeus Λυκαῖος? Pausanias, speaking of the spring Hagno on Mt. Lycaeus, says (8. 38. 4 Frazer): 'If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak-branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia.' In this rain-charm note, first, that it is the priest of Zeus who is thought to control the weather; secondly, that Zeus has a sacred spring—is in fact *váios*; thirdly, that his priest carries a bough of oak, which implies that the oak was his sacred tree. All these points remind us forcibly of Dodona. I would go further and conjecture that the two pillars in front of the altar of Zeus Λυκαῖος resembled the two oaks in front of the altar of Zeus Στράτιος, and were simply conventionalised oaks. On this showing, the parallelism between the gilded eagles perched on the Lycaean pillars and the golden dove perched on the Dodonaean oak is complete. Similarly Demeter and Despoina at Lycosura seem to have had a sacred tree. 'Above the so-called Megaron,' says Pausanias (8. 37. 10), 'is a grove sacred to Despoina and surrounded by a stone wall. Inside the wall there are trees and, in particular, an olive and an evergreen oak growing from the same root: this is not a product of the gardener's art. Above the grove are altars of Poseidon Ἰππιος, as father of Despoina, and of other gods: on the last of the altars is an inscription stating that it is common to all the gods.' The remarkable tree here described, part oak, part olive, and the neighbouring altar 'to all the gods' send us back to Olympia where the sacred olive, the substitute for the oak, grew ἐν τῷ Παρθείῳ ([Aristot.] *mir. ausc.* 51, schol. vet. Aristoph. *Plut.* 586). But further proof of the affinity between Zeus Λυκαῖος and the oak is forthcoming. Pliny *hist. nat.* 8. 82 cites from a Greek source the statement that Demaenetus the Parrhasian at the human sacrifice offered to Zeus Λυκαῖος by the Arcadians tasted the entrails of a boy-victim and was thereupon

¹ If it be objected that the Arcadians regarded Demeter as the wife of Poseidon (Paus. 8. 37. 9), I should reply that Poseidon was but the local form of Zeus. Pausanias in this very passage goes on to say that Despoina, the daughter of Demeter by Poseidon, corresponded to Cora, the daughter of Demeter by Zeus.

² The local tradition, mentioned by Dr. Frazer, 'that these are the bones of men whom the ancients caused to be here trampled to death by horses, as corn is trodden by horses on a threshing-floor' is deserving of attention. We have found a parallel to it in the myths of Lycurgus and Hippolytus-Virbius (*supra*).

transformed into a wolf, but that nine years later he returned to human shape and won a victory in boxing at Olympia. Now Pliny has just before (S. 81) quoted another Arcadian tale to the effect that the family of a certain Anthus cast lots, and that the man on whom the lot fell was taken to a lake and, after hanging his clothes on an oak-tree, swam across the lake to a desert place, where he was transformed into a wolf; that he associated with other such wolves for the space of nine years, and, if he had during that time abstained from attacking men, he was restored to his original shape, resumed his cast-off clothing, and had an additional nine years' lease of life granted him. This 'impudens mendacium,' as Pliny terms it, when taken in connexion with the story of Demaenetus, not only confirms the wolfish character of Lycaean Zeus, but also makes it clear that Zeus was represented by an actual oak-tree. For the transformation into a were-wolf for nine years, which befell Demaenetus on eating the sacrifice of Zeus *Ἀρκαῖος*, in the case of the Anthidae befell the man who hung his clothes on the oak.

Elsewhere in Arcadia there are traces of an oak-cult. Thus Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 198 argues that at Psophis an oak-Zeus was worshipped by the side of Aphrodite, just as an oak-Zeus was worshipped along with Dione [and Aphrodite] at Dodona. Certainly the older name of Psophis was Phegeia (Paus. 8. 24. 2 and 8), the town having been called after Phegeus, the 'oak'-king.¹ And that the people were given to tree-worship might be inferred from Pausanias' account of the cypresses sacred to Alcmaeon, son-in-law of Phegeus, which went by the name of Maidens and must not be cut down (S. 24. 7 f.). Also, there was near Psophis an oak-wood dedicated to Aphrodite (Paus. 8. 25. 1); and the acorn occurs as an emblem on coins of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins*, Peloponnesus, p. 198, No. 4).

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

GARDNER'S ANCIENT ATHENS

Ancient Athens. By ERNEST ARTHUR GARDNER, Yates Professor of Archaeology in University College, London. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902. Pp. xvi, 579; 8 photogravures, 12 plans, 162 illustrations. £1 1s. nett.

THE author is certainly to be congratulated on his success, and I take great pleasure in

recommending this beautiful book in the warmest terms of praise to the student and to the public in general. Prof. Gardner is especially happy in his method of handling the great mass of material at his disposal, and, on the whole, his illustrations are well-chosen.

On p. 129, however, where the Tyrannicides are represented, it would have been far more instructive if an illustration such as the one in Luckenbach, *Abbildungen zur alten Geschichte*, p. 19 or even in Joulin, *La Sculpture Grecque*, pp. 48, 49 had been selected, rather than the group in Naples, with the falsely restored youthful (Skopasian) head on the torso of Aristogeiton, which only serves to lead one astray, for Aristogeiton was a middle-aged man. On p. 184 the Moschophoros should have been pictured as the statue now stands, that is, on its inscribed basis. Furthermore, I am convinced that Prof. Gardner would have done better to have given a full-face view of the 'Maiden' illustrated on p. 196. She is by far the best of the series, and deserves a whole page in illustration much better than the head illustrated on p. 197. It would have been an easy matter to have procured a better illustration of this statue, for good photographs have been on sale at Athens quite a number of years. The diagram on p. 233 showing details of the Ionic order, as illustrated on the temple of Athena at Priene (see Baumeister, *Denkmäler I* p. 277) is incorrectly explained as 'Ionic Capitals of Propylaea and Erechtheum.' This, of course, is a slip of the pen.

It goes without saying that a book of 579 pages, printed in America whereas the author lives in London, could hardly be free from printer's mistakes, none of which, however, are of such importance that they need be corrected here.

What seems to an American a rather amusing argument is advanced on p. 325 to prove 'that in ancient Greece, as in England now, it was customary to take the left side of the road when passing another vehicle,' because 'the driver always occupies the right of the car.' To us this is less convincing than to our English cousins.

Generally speaking, Gardner does not follow Dörpfeld. So, for instance, I am sorry to say, he holds to the old theory of placing the Enneakrounos (Kallirrhoe) in the bed of the Ilissos just below the Olympieion, and places the Linnai on the south instead of the west slope of the Akropolis. Furthermore, he does not believe in what I too consider an untenable

¹ Goerres *Studien zur griech. Mythol.* p. 17 identifies Phegeus with an oak-Zeus.

theory of Dörpfeld's on the rebuilding of the old Hekatompedon after the Persian invasion. Again, with good reason, the author is inclined to reject Dörpfeld's theory on the stage-question, and to adopt the ingenious solution of the problem advanced by Puchstein. On the other hand, however, Gardner accepts Dörpfeld's convincing identification of the Eridanos. His readers would, no doubt, have wished for a more detailed account of the subterranean aqueduct with quadrangular tile channels, discovered by Dörpfeld some four or five years ago. This aqueduct, built in the sixth century B.C. supplied Athens with the purest of pure spring water from Mount Hymettos. I sincerely hope that Dörpfeld will carry out his plan of cleaning the whole stretch of the tunnel, so that it may once more be put into practical use, thereby furnishing Athens with good water. As it is, the city now depends on the water from the springs of Lykabettos, the water being collected in a reservoir where it quickly becomes stagnated and contaminated with typhoid germs. All archaeologists eagerly look forward to the time when Athens will once more, as in the time of Solon and Peisistratos, have wholesome water. Then it will be the most enticing spot on earth.

This leads me to speak of the question of restoration which Prof. Gardner discusses on pp. 509—510. I am surprised that he condemns the good work. To my mind a poor picture of a building procured by the re-erection of fallen columns is better than no picture at all. Of course, any such restoration should be opposed as would lead the student astray, such as the erection of modern columns where the old ones are lost. That process would be as sinful as adding the missing parts to a mutilated statue. But if the head and feet of a torso be found, what harm is there in patching together the whole statue? It is hard to understand why it should 'deceive' the student, or 'hinder his investigations' if, in like manner, a fallen column be re-erected, even though the junctures of the drums cannot be fitted together as accurately as they were originally. Indeed very few ruins give us an adequate idea of the neatness and accuracy of finish, for which ancient architecture is justly so renowned. Earthquakes have loosened the joints of the column drums, have often thrown them out of position, and yet, nobody calls these ruins 'displeasing,' 'unsatisfactory' and 'revolting.' Why take the trouble to strengthen 'whatever is left standing, so that no more

may fall,' since in most cases these very ruins are as scarred and patchy as any modern re-erection of ancient pillars would be. It seems to me that the Greek government should be encouraged to continue the good work of restoration.

There are a few statements in Prof. Gardner's book which need correction or modification. In calling attention to these errors, I do not wish it for one moment understood that I seem to be trying to belittle so noble a monument. On p. 119 note 1 Gardner gives the lower diameter of the columns of the temple of Zeus at Olympia as 7 ft. 3 in. and says that these are 'the largest extant Greek columns known,' whereas the diameter of the columns of the temple of Apollo near Selinus (G) are 3.45 metres.

In discussing the building materials used in ancient Athens, our author should have qualified his statement that island marble (Parian and Naxian) was used at Athens in early times 'for sculpture as well as for architecture' (p. 32 f.). In fact we have no evidence for the slightest use of island marble in Athens for statuary before the middle of the sixth century B.C. Not until about 550 did Peisistratos call foreign (Chian) artists to his court. It is quite clear that island marble was first used in those female statues on the Akropolis which are in the Chian style. Before that time, all the works which can be grouped around the Moschophoros are either in soft limestone or Attic (Hymettian) marble; so, for example, the sphinx from Spata (*Ath. Mitt.* iv. Pl. 5), the scribes (*Ath. Mitt.* vi. Pl. 6 and xi. Pl. 9, 3) and the maiden carrying the pomegranate and wreath ('Εφην. 'Αρχ. 1891, Pl. 11 = Collignon i. p. 353, Fig. 178). The order in which our author discusses the island and Hymettian marble would lead one to conclude that he considered the former to have been used earlier than the latter in Athens, which, as we have just seen, is not the case. None of the Attic works in island marble are as early in date as the Moschophoros group in Hymettian marble.

Prof. Gardner is without doubt mistaken when he says on p. 34: 'This (Pentelic) marble appears not to have been discovered until the fifth century' and also when he says on p. 212 that the drums of the columns of the original Parthenon planned by Themistokles offer us the first clear example of the use of Pentelic marble. Omitting doubtful cases, such as the pedimental sculptures of the colonnade of the pre-Persian temple erected by Peisis-

tratos, we have several examples of sixth century monuments made of this marble. For instance, the stele of Aristion made by Aristokles about 540 B.C. is of Pentelic marble, so also the two maidens or κόραι found on the Akropolis, one of which (Museum number 671, published Overbeck I¹ p. 189, Fig. 39) must be dated between 545 and 540 B.C., the other (Mus. no. 683, published Collignon i. p. 354, Fig. 179) between 540 and 535 B.C. Again, the basis of the female statue, daughter of the potter Nearchos, a work of Antenor which must be dated between 535 and 530 B.C., is also of the same marble.

On p. 187 Prof. Gardner compares the pedimental sculptures of the peristasis of the pre-Persian temple with the groups in the pediment of the temple of Apollo at Delphi both for 'style and subject.' As far as I am aware (see also Frazer, Pausanias's Description of Greece V p. 340) the sculptures which occupied the gables of the temple of Apollo at Delphi have not been found, the only known extant sculptures being a few fragments of the metopes built into the foundations of the later temple.¹ Nor is it all certain that the pedimental sculptures at Delphi illustrated a gigantomachy, for such a scene is not in accord with the description given by Pausanias X 19, 4 (see Frazer, *l.c.* pp. 329, 336, and 340). It is, therefore, rather misleading to make any comparison between the gable decorations of these two temples. Much more apt would have been a comparison with the reliefs in the gable of the Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia.

On the same page, the author, while discussing the stylistic peculiarities of these sculptures, calls attention to the falsely rendered turn in the lower part of the body of the giant at Athena's feet. But this whole region is modern plaster of Paris, as can be even distinctly seen in the photographs. It is inconceivable that these sculptures were executed before foreign influence made itself felt in Athens. Prof. Gardner errs, therefore, on p. 191 in grouping the marble pediment of the 'Old Temple of Athena' with the 'earlier Attic works,' namely the 'limestone pediments.' Furthermore, it would have been better not to have compared them with the majority of the female figures found on the Akropolis, which were made by Athenian artists under

foreign influence, since the marble pedimental groups show the next step in the development of Attic art, being later than most of these 'Maidens,' and not earlier, as our author implies.

As regards the limestone architectural sculptures of the pre-Persian temple before the peristasis was added, namely the Triton and Typhon groups, Prof. Gardner (p. 81) without sufficient reason doubts their connection with the temple. He labours under the illusion that nothing could have been buried on the Akropolis before the Persian invasion. The pedimental figures under discussion were not found in the 'Perserschutt,' and could very easily have been buried on the Akropolis when Peisistratos built the colonnade. He also claims (p. 181 note 1) that the Triton and Typhon groups cannot be reconciled with the probable age of the temple. I do not know what Prof. Gardner considers to be the probable age of the temple, but I do know that these two pediments cannot be dated later than 560 B.C., and I doubt whether the temple can be dated much earlier than that period.

In speaking of the frieze of the temple of Nike the author says (p. 375 f.): 'It has been suggested with much probability that these three scenes are to be taken as typical and commemorative of the three great battles of the Persian wars, Marathon and Salamis, in which the Athenians overcame the Persians, and Plataea, where it fell to the lot of the Athenians to meet the Thebans, then fighting on the Persian side. . . . If this explanation is right, each side of the temple appropriately faces the direction of the field where the battle it records was fought.' To my mind this explanation is far from probable. We have no occasion to see more than a general allusion to the Persian wars in the north and south friezes. To take the west frieze as that part of the battle of Plataea, where the Athenians met the Thebans is highly improbable. The so-called Boeotian cap which is worn by some of the combatants is not limited to Boeotia; indeed, it is found, as Wolters (Fr.-W. p. 284 note) correctly remarks, on many Attic and Lycian monuments.

Moreover, it is not only in the field of sculpture that Prof. Gardner advances doubtful interpretations and dates, but also in the field of architecture. I hold that he is mistaken (see pp. 426 and 98) in dating the 'pit of sacrifice' on the south slope of the Akropolis earlier than the Asklepieion, which was founded, as we now know in 420 B.C. He is led astray by the common

¹ The marble and tufa figures described by Homolle in *B.C.H.* xx. pp. 649-652, xxv. pp. 457-515 with 10 plates, do not, it seems to me, belong to the temple under discussion.

though erroneous assumption that polygonal masonry, of which this pit is constructed, is necessarily early, whereas it occurs in reality as late as the fourth century, nay even as late as the second century, B.C., in the newly discovered second Agora and in the Theatre-terrace at Pergamon, as Dörpfeld has pointed out in the current number of the *Athenische Mitteilungen* (xxvii. pp. 23 and 26). The Tholos or Thymele, for it is to this structure that Prof. Gardner refers, was an essential part of the Asklepieion, and was built along with the sanctuary of healing after 420 B.C., and certainly not before that time.

As regards the vexing topographical problems connected with the Agora discussed on pp. 125 foll. and 534 foll. there is so much uncertainty that I shall refrain from any criticism whatsoever, especially since Prof. Gardner himself admits on p. 513, 'that there is sometimes insufficient evidence to justify the apparent dogmatism of the text, which is merely a matter of convenience.' The spade must settle these questions.

Nor do I believe that the author did well in rejecting with Leake the existence of the third Long Wall (see pp. 56 foll. and 68 foll.), for it has led him into a hopeless tangle as to the situation of the harbours of the Piræus (see plan facing p. 542 and pp. 562 f.). If Angelopoulos is right in his measurements, then Gardner on p. 554 is certainly mistaken in placing Zea in the extreme north end of the great harbour of the Piræus. But the discussion of these points would lead me far beyond the limits of a review.

It is to be regretted that the author did not have the advantage of using Keil's *Anonymus Argentinensis*, Strassburg, 1902. In that valuable book (p. 112 foll. note) Keil has offered convincing arguments to prove that Kimon was not recalled in 458 as Gardner (p. 57) asserts with others, but about 453 B.C. One of the excerpts of the Strassburger papyrus (Keil, *l.c.* pp. 20 foll. and 79 foll.) deals with the history of the Parthenon. We learn from it that this temple was planned in the spring of 456 B.C., that the plan was submitted to a commission consisting of two epistatai, ten magistrates (tamiai?) who were elected annually, one from each tribe, an architect and a secretary (grammateus), and that ten years later, work was actually begun, (447-6 B.C.). A second excerpt of this most important papyrus must be mentioned in this connection, for it too deals with the history of Athens. It informs us that at the

instigation of Perikles the treasury of the allies was transferred from Delos to Athens in 450-49 B.C.,¹ and not in 454 as was usually supposed. As a result of this change, a law was passed to repair the old and to build one hundred new ships (Keil, *l.c.* pp. 29 foll. and 116 foll.)

Though there are fourteen interesting and instructive chapters in Prof. Gardner's artistic book, it is not hard to pick out the best, for the seventh chapter on the Parthenon excels all the others in every respect. This, of course, is due to the fact that the Parthenon is the most carefully constructed building of the entire Greek world. How varied has been the history of that noblest of all noble temples! And how varied has been the history of the solid rock on which it stands! In the beginning, the home of a Mycenaean king; later, the sanctuary of Erechtheus and Athena, and the pride of democratic Athens; still later, desecrated by petty followers of Alexander the Great; in the early period of our era, the place of worship of devout Christians; then for almost four hundred years desecrated by the Turks; but to-day, once more a sanctuary where the whole civilized world loves to worship.

PAUL BAUR.

YALE UNIVERSITY,
February, 1903.

PERROT'S *ART IN ANTIQUITY*. (VOL. VIII.)

Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité. Tome VIII.: la Grèce archaïque: la Sculpture. Par GEORGES PERROT. Paris: Hachette, 1904. Pp. 756, with 14 plates, and 352 illustrations. 30 frcs.

M. PERROT's great work, the progress of which has been noticed in the pages of the *Classical Review* from time to time, has now completed its eighth volume. It says much for the interest taken by the French public in ancient art, that a work on so vast a scale should find an appreciative public and continue its triumphant march through volume after volume. The last three volumes, of over 750 pages each, have been devoted to Greek art, yet they bring down the history only as far as 480 B.C. On the scale on which the early Greek schools are treated in this volume, it will hardly be possible to finish within four more volumes the story of Greek Art in the strictest

¹ This date is rejected by Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, v. preface, as 'völlig unmöglich.'

sense of the term; and thereafter Graeco-Roman, Roman, and Etruscan art will demand several volumes. A work on this scale is quite a remarkable monument of patience, skill, and learning, and to these fundamental qualifications the author adds a high degree of taste and delicacy in perception. In many respects this volume seems to be the best of the series and to show M. Perrot's qualities to the best advantage.

In his introduction to the present volume, the author has to mourn the loss of M. Charles Chipiez, who has co-operated with him for so many years. In his preliminary statement M. Perrot expresses in graceful and convincing terms his appreciation of M. Chipiez's work, and declares that to him it is due that in these volumes for the first time architecture has received from historians of art alongside of sculpture that equal share of attention which is its due, not merely as being one of the contemporary manifestations and expressions of the Greek mind, but as the master art which made sculpture and painting its servants and instruments, allotting to them their several parts in the great building which the architect alone planned. Out of that subordinate position, sculpture in Greece gradually wrought out for itself its own independent place and made its own laws. Fortunately M. Chipiez had completed the most important part of the joint work: the archaic period. In the preceding volume archaic architecture was fully treated; and the present volume is concerned with sculpture almost exclusively. Thus M. Chipiez's special knowledge has had full effect in moulding this book for the period when architecture was the determining influence in giving law to Greek art.

It is impossible to give in a brief notice any idea of the richness of this volume, and one can only allude to the attitude which M. Perrot adopts to one or two topics in which the readers of the *Classical Review* are most likely to be interested.

After two chapters devoted to city architecture, for military and for social purposes, and to the construction of the tombs, M. Perrot discusses in a long preliminary chapter the principles and character of Greek archaic art, its subjects and its classes and its use of colours. He describes in a very elaborate and thorough chapter *la polychromie naturelle*, which he defines as resulting from the employment in one statue of several different coloured materials, chiefly ivory, silver, ebony, bronze,

gold, and precious stones, and *la polychromie artificielle*, which gained similar effects of contrast and harmony by applying various colours to the surface of one single material. From the original relation of subservience in which sculpture stood to architecture, it was impossible to have simple monotone statues as parts of a building which was a blaze of colours. He points out (quoting here largely from M. Lechat) that the colours used on marble statues were chiefly red and blue, black regularly in eyes and eyebrows but nowhere else, with yellow and gold rarely employed, and that the colouring extended at the most only to about one-fifth of the surface. He puts the question whether in the other four-fifths the surface of the marble was left in its natural condition, whether the artist neglected the fine effect of the pure surface or shrank from the somewhat harsh contrast between the pure but hard white surface and the brilliantly coloured parts; and concludes that a suitable tone was imparted to the naturally too glaring surface of the fresh marble by a coating of wax, which produced an effect similar in character to the richer tone that marble acquires through age. The coarser materials employed for statues by more primitive art were entirely covered with colour, which concealed the faults and made the surface more uniform in apparent texture.

In approaching his subject, M. Perrot has to begin by classifying the monuments and defining the schools. Every Greek city had its own individuality, and prided itself on its independence and its diversity from other cities. All the more important and especially the more progressive cities had their own artistic production; and the art of the city to a certain degree expressed the character of the city. But this tendency towards diversity was counteracted by other causes which tended to produce a certain similarity of type among groups of cities, groups which were not purely geographical. Thus there came to be, not a distinct type of art in each art-producing city, but only a small number of schools. Of those schools M. Perrot admits only three: (1) the art of Asia Minor and the Islands, frequently called by the too narrow name of Ionic, for some of its great homes were not Ionic cities: (2) the art of the Peloponnesus, Central Greece, and the Italian and Sicilian colonies: (3) the art of Athens, and Attica generally. The north-Greek art, which Brunn discovered and defined, is not admitted by M. Perrot, who remarks that

as the known monuments of the north-Greek cities increase in number, they are found not to confirm Brunn's theory, but rather to fall into groups which stand in close relation to one or other of the three main schools.

It should not pass without notice in an English review that M. Perrot makes more liberal use of books and articles in our language than is the case with most foreign archaeologists. I observe within a few pages about p. 170 that quotations are made from Messrs. H. S. Washington, Walters, Flinders Petrie, and E. A. Gardner. One of these names is, of course, American.

W. M. RAMSAY.

FOLKLORE AND CLASSICAL STUDIES.

DIETERICH, *Ueber Wesen und Ziele der Volkskunde*; USENER, *Ueber vergleichende Sitten- und Rechtsgeschichte*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1902. Pp. 67. 1m. 80pf.

DIETERICH traces the revival of classical learning under F. A. Wolf—its 'second spring'—to the influence of folklore. 'F. A. Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum*,' he says, p. 10, 'are evidence of the first stronger influence of "folklore" upon classical Philology.' But this influence was not confined to the study of Homer. It became possible elsewhere to mark off more clearly the earlier from the later stages of culture, and Roman history, also, was rewritten by Niebuhr and his successors (cf. p. 28).

These two papers are suggestive pleas for the study of the classical literatures in the light of the historical method, and may be warmly commended. Yet I miss in both of them the name of Vico. His *Scienza Nuova* is the first modern attempt—it was published in 1725—to base the higher criticism upon a history of the stages of culture. His definition of philology, 'the knowledge of the languages and acts of peoples,' anticipates the conception which Boeckh and his successors have formulated of philology as '*cogniti cognitio*,' the reconstruction of the antique past through its remains. In pleading, therefore, that the methods of folklore should not be neglected by classical students, Dieterich and Usener are in harmony with the deepest tendencies of the classical revival.

Die Mysterien des Mithra von FRANZ CUMONT, autorisierete deutsche Ausgabe von Georg Gehrich. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903. Pp. xvi, 176. 3m.

PROFESSOR CUMONT's work upon the worship of Mithra has long been recognised as the standard authority upon the subject, and ought to have been mentioned by the writer of the article 'Mithra' in the supplement of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It is a great convenience for those who do not possess Cumont's larger work, that there should be published a handy summary of results such as we find in this little volume. I believe that a corresponding English translation is to be obtained.

The earlier and larger part of the summary is reproduced from the second volume of the *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*. It is important not only as casting light upon the religious life and the politics of the later Roman empire, but also upon the spread of Christianity, to which, as is well known, the spread of Mithra worship is curiously parallel. It is noteworthy that the British sees represented at the Council of Arles, are included among the sites of Mithra worship enumerated by Cumont. It is possible that these British bishops presided over communities of immigrants resembling the communities of Mithra worshippers, and that there was no considerable native church.

The closing pages contain some new material. In them Professor Cumont discusses the sources from which the sculptors of the monuments drew their inspiration. I think that he lays too much stress upon the Nike balustrade as furnishing a model for the familiar relief of Mithra slaying the bull. He does not refer to another subject which to me seems far more important. The figure of Mithra has almost certainly been influenced by the beautiful statue of Paris attributed to Euphranor and represented by a fine example in the Vatican museum (Helbig, *Führer*, I. 124).

FRANK GRANGER.

UJFALVÝ'S PORTRAITS OF ALEXANDER.

Le Type Physique d'Alexandre le Grand. By CHARLES DE UJFALVÝ. Paris: A. Fontemoing. 1902. Pp. 183: 22 full page plates and 86 figures in the text. 4to. 40 fr.

EXCEPT to present illustrations of all the ancient marbles bronzes and gems, which may

be supposed to reproduce Alexander's features in varying degrees of idealization, and of a considerable number which most assuredly do not represent them at all, this book of M. de Ujfalvy's cannot be said to fulfil a very useful purpose. It is uncritical just where criticism is most necessary. All authorities, and indeed almost all 'Alexander' heads, seem of equal value to the author: and the statements even of Freinsheim, the librarian of Christina of Sweden, weigh equally with the information given by Arrian or Plutarch. We read the book in the hope that we were going to arrive at either a criterion for judging the Alexander heads, or some conclusions as to the racial type to which Alexander himself belonged. We arrived at neither one nor the other; but came on some remarkable mistakes. For example, on p. 147, the well-known Caracalla medallion, which formed part of the Treasure of Tarsus, appears as a coin of Lysimachus.

The only useful work that can be done among the very miscellaneous, and as a whole, indifferent Alexander representations that we possess, is to classify them into groups, and, adopting as a standard the scanty information which the better ancient authorities, especially Plutarch, give us as to such physical details as statuary can reproduce, place them nearer to or farther from the original types of Lysippus and

Leochares. A most suggestive study on these lines has been issued lately by Theodor Schreiber. Like Koepf, he regards the Louvre herm with its group as the nearest type we have to the Lysippean and the nearest too to life; but he goes beyond Koepf both in forming other groups and in accounting for them by two distinct stages of idealization, due to the growth of the Alexander Cult. Prof. Schreiber's remarks on the influence of the statues on the cult and of the cult on the statues are especially interesting. He rejects, and rightly in our opinion, the beautiful Sidonian sarcophagus portrait, equally with the earlier coin types, pronouncing all to be representations simply of a Heracles type. Bad as our material is, we have obtained a fair idea of what at least two Lysippean statues of Alexander were like; and what were the traits which veneration or sentiment later introduced into the portrayal of the hero. There ought to be little difficulty in future in recognizing real portraits and rejecting false ones. But we do not find that the question of Alexander's real appearance in life has been much advanced by these studies. It appears that the doctors now disagree on the presence or absence of *torticollis*, in the Louvre herm; and to compensate for the unsettlement of this accepted fact, we have been given no new one.

D. G. HOGARTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 27, 4. 1903.

P. Mazon, *Sur le Proagôn*. It is an announcement, ἀπαγγελία (Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 1109), an *exposé* of the pieces presented for competition (Schol. *Aeschin.* 3, 60). M. L. Earle, *Observationes ad locos quosdam poetarum romanorum*. On some passages in Verg. *Ecl.*, Hor. *Od.* i. 2, and Catullus. C. E. Ruelle, Aristote, *Probl.* xix. 3. F. Gaffiot, *Études Latines* III, *Le subjonctif après quotiens*. Maintains that the subj. with *quotiens* adds to the essential idea of subordination a particular nuance—that of eventuality. V. Mortet, *Notes sur le texte des Institutions de Cassiodore*, Vth art. C. E. Ruelle, Psellos, *περὶ παραδόξων ἀναγνωσμάτων*. A. Cartault, *Le rôle d'Énée dans le 2me livre de l'Énéide*. On Henze's *Virgils epische Technik* with which the writer agrees in considering that the inadequate part assigned to Aeneas is here due to the fixed element of the story which Vergil was not at liberty to alter.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xi, 10. 1903.

W. Kroll, *Cicero und die Rhetorik*. Cicero's rhetorical works are a mixture of rules for practice

and theoretical investigations lying on the borders between Rhetoric and Philosophy, *e.g.*, the proper place of rhetoric in education. For the rules he mostly follows the Hermagorean system, in the theoretical parts Antiochus of Ascalon. K. Dieterich, *Die heutige griechische Sprache im Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte*. Shows how in modern Greek is displayed the history of many centuries. It contains original words, loan-words, and learned words, and in its history resembles English more than any other European language. M. Altschüller, *Zur Krankheit des Titus*. Quotes a passage from the Talmud which says that in the head of Titus was found a growth of the size of a bird.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1903.

25 Nov. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*. II. 2 (H. Stauding), very favourable. K. Ruck, *Die Geographie und Ethnographie der Naturalis Historia des Plinius im Auszuge des Robert von Cricklade* (J. Müller), favourable. Woehrer, *De A. Cornelii Celsi*

rhetorica and Kappelmacher, *Studia Juvenaliana* (R. Helm). 'Both dissertations show diligence and careful method.' Th. Boegel, *De nomine verbali latino quaestiones grammaticae* (H. Ziemer), favourable. P. Maas, *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber* (G. Wartenberg). *Internationale Bibliographie der Kunstwissenschaft*, herausg. von A. L. Jellinek (Fr. Harder).

2 Dec. F. Vogel, *Analecta*. I. Aus griechischen Schriftstellern (C. Haebelin). Chiefly on Homer and Euripides. T. Frank, *A stichometric scholium to the Medea of Euripides*, and S. Mekler, *Exegetisch-kritische Beiträge zu den Fragmenten der griechischen Tragiker* (K. Busche), favourable. R. Menge, *Ithaka*. 2. Aufl. (A. Höck). 'Welcome to all friends of the Odyssey.' A. H. J. Greenidge, *Roman public life* (W. Liebenam), very favourable. G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Aeneis* VI. 721-751 (H.D.). *J. Juni Juvenalis Saturarum libri I*, ed. H. L. Wilson (R. Helm). 'A useful book.'

9 Dec. F. Boll, *Sphaera*, Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder. Mit einem Beitrag von K. Dyroff (H. Möller) I. L. v. Sybel, *Weltgeschichte der Kunst im Altertum*. 2. Aufl. (P. W.). 'v. Sybel is of those whose opinion deserves consideration.' *Notes and emendations to Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides by a Graduate of Cambridge* (K. Busche), unfavourable. D. Vaglieri, *Gli scavi recenti nel foro Romano* (A. S.), favourable.

Tesserarum urbis Romae et suburbii plumbarum sylloge, ed. M. Rostowzew (K. Regling).

16 Dec. C. Gabler, *Galenus libellus de captionibus quae per dictionem fiunt ad fidem unius qui superest codicis editus* (H. Marquardt), very favourable. F. Boll, *Sphaera* (H. Möller) II. 'A most weighty contribution to the history of the constellations.' *Lucreti De rerum natura libri sex*, ed. J. van der Valk. I (O. Weissenfels), favourable.

23 Dec. *Griechische Lyriker in Auswahl*, herausg. von A. Biese. II. 2. Aufl. (H. G.), favourable. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, 'Ο ἔφηβος τῶν Ἀντικυθέρων (Fr. Spiro). P. J. B. Egger, *Begriff der Gymnastik bei den alten Philosophen und Medicinern* (Küppers), favourable. *Lucreti De rerum natura lib. I*, ed. C. Pascal (O. Weissenfels), very favourable. V. Ussani, *Su le 'Dirae'* (J. Tolkiehn). V. Ussani, *Il testo Lucaneo e gli scolii Bernensi* (M. Manitius), favourable. E. Lindskog, *In tropos scriptorum latinorum studia* (W. Gemoll), favourable. L. Previtiera, *De numero sive clausula sive structura sive cursu* (May), favourable. A. Harnack, *Rede bei der Begräbnisfeier Th. Mommsens* (St.).

30 Dec. W. Helbig, *Les impies athéniens* (Fr. Spiro), very favourable. S. Reiter, I. *Textkritisches zu Ciceros Orator*. II. *Noch einmal Elementum* (O. Weissenfels). V. Ussani, *Per un verso di Orazio* (J. Tolkiehn). On *Epod.* 16. 52. K. Krumbacher, *Das mittelgriechische Fischbuch* (G. Wartenberg).

The Classical Review

MARCH 1904.

HERODOTUS VIII. 2. 1.

ἦσαν μὲν ὃν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἶρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὥς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πᾶρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, δηκόσιαι καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ μία.

In the first chapter of the eighth book Herodotus tells how many ships each of the Greek states sent to Artemision. He has arranged the states according to the number of ships furnished: 'Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ρέας παρέχοντο ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ' Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα ρέας παρέχοντο, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ εἴκοσι κ.τ.λ. In the enumeration of the Greek forces before the battles of Miletus, Salamis, and Plataea (vi. 8, viii. 43, ix. 28) he follows a different plan. At Salamis he mentions first the Lacedaemonians and other Peloponnesian states, then the Athenians, and so on. At Plataea he begins with the Lacedaemonians, and follows the line of battle from right to left, at Miletus from east to west.

The passage cited above is from the beginning of the second chapter. εἶρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὥς τὸ πλῆθος κ.τ.λ. has excited suspicion. Reiske first suggested ὅσον for ὥς, and either ὅσον πλῆθος, or ὅσον τὸ πλῆθος is the reading of Dietsch (1882), Abicht (1892), Sitzler (1898), and Fritsch (1899). ὥς τὸ πλῆθος is retained by the Didot edition (1887), Holder (1888), Herwerden (1888), and Stein (1893). Herwerden is doubtful, and Stein in a note remarks: 'richtiger ὅσας τὸ oder ὅσων. Aber der ganze Satz ist verdächtig.'

What the text, as emended, means is perfectly clear. Two renderings are given of ὥς τὸ πλῆθος. The Didot edition has

'dixique etiam quem navium numerum singuli populi contulerint'; Macaulay (cf. note, p. 294) translates 'I have mentioned them according to the number of the ships which they severally supplied.' On general grounds, apart from the Greek and its interpretation, it is difficult to decide which of these two things Herodotus intended to say. The fact that the order does not follow the line of battle, and is neither geographical nor racial, may have induced him to comment upon it. Stein suggests that he arranged the states according to their strength on account of the dispute about the leadership referred to in chapter three, and on this ground I am slightly inclined to favour the view that he intended to call attention to the order, rather than to the obvious fact that he has told how many ships each state furnished. The other fact, indeed, is also obvious enough, but the passage as a whole is not to be rejected on that account, for, after an enumeration of this kind, Herodotus is certainly not averse to taking up his narrative with a summarizing sentence that can hardly be called necessary.

As to the proper interpretation of ὥς τὸ πλῆθος I am more decided in my opinion: but, before entering upon the discussion of that point, let me suggest an emendation much less violent than that of ὥς τὸ τὸ ὅσον and one which, I believe, will throw light upon the difficulty in the original text. The Ionic poets show us that α is frequently monosyllabic; cf. κεαρέεσσι Hipponax 62. 2 (Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, p. 247; Hoffmann, pp. 459 ff.). Though the inscriptions generally retain the spelling αα, a few cases

of *η* support the evidence in the poets that contraction was practically regular. In one inscription (Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* 18. 17) *εἴρηται* occurs as a plural: *ἡχοὶ ἐκάστοις αἱ δίκαι ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἴρηται* (c. 400 B.C.). Herodotus himself, then, might have written *εἴρηται* in this passage and intended it for the plural. Reading the plural we get 'they have been mentioned as the number of ships was supplied by each.' For *εἰρέεσθαι* 'they have been mentioned' compare vii. 81. 2—*τούτων δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἡρχων μὲν οὗτοι οἱ εἰρέεσθαι*; vii. 82. 1—*ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι οἵπερ εἰρέεσθαι ἄρχοντες*. Now compare the following passages for a parallel use of *ὥς ἐκαστοι*:—viii. 21. 10: *οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπέθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῖντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὥς ἐκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι*; viii. 67. 8: *καὶ ἔζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστω τιμὴν ἐδεδώκει, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεὺς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ὅλλοι*; ix. 49. 12: *τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήσι ἢ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὥς ἐκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ*.

I believe that no difficulty will be found in interpreting the passage as emended, and should not think it necessary to carry the discussion further, did not so many texts of authority retain the original reading. Of this, as I have said, two renderings are given. That of Macaulay is: 'I have mentioned them according to the number of ships which they severally supplied.' Now *εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὥς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρέιχοντο* can be so translated, only if the literal meaning is 'I have told in what order the number of ships was supplied by each.' Are we justified in translating *ὥς* by 'in what order' in this passage? Strictly, *ὥς* means 'in what way.' In the three passages just quoted it can be rendered by 'in what order' because *order* is implied by the context. In *ὥς ἐκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν* and *ὥς ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι* the idea of *order* lies in the word *τάττω*. *εἴρηται δέ μοι ὥς ἐκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν* would mean, 'I have told in what order they were severally stationed.' But in *ἔζοντο ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἐκάστω τιμὴν ἐδεδώκει*, neither clause by itself implies order. *εἴρηται δέ μοι ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς κ.τ.λ.* would mean, 'I have told how the king honoured each,' and *order* is not implied. *οὕτως δὲ ἔζοντο* might mean, 'they sat on chairs'; *order* is certainly not implied. In the sentence as a whole, however, we have a comparison, marked by *ὥς*, between 'they were seated in a certain way,' and 'in this way the king honoured each'; and, lacking a context to tell us that one sat on a chair,

another on a rug, the only natural point of comparison is that of *order*. Similarly, *ὥς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρέιχοντο* does not in itself imply *order*, for it might refer to the manner in which each state got together its quota of ships. But, if we put *εἰρέεσθαι* 'they have been mentioned' before it and institute a comparison, again the only natural point of comparison is that of *order*. This does not hold true of *εἴρηται δέ μοι ὥς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρέιχοντο*, for here *ὥς* does not set up a comparison, but introduces the subject of *εἴρηται*. The sentence means 'I have told how each supplied the number of ships,' and the general context is not such as to suggest the idea of *order* easily and naturally.

It is not necessary to discuss at length the other rendering of *ὥς τὸ πλῆθος*, viz. 'I have told what number of ships each state furnished.' Those who hold this to be possible must support their view by the fact that *ὥς* is sometimes used where the relative *ὅς* or *ὅσος* might stand. Homer, for example, says *ἐλὼν—κρέας, ὥς οἱ χεῖρες ἐχάνανον ἀμφιβαλόντι* (Od. 17, 344), and it is true that *ὥς* here has essentially the same meaning as *ὅσον*. It is also true that the Greeks often put the antecedent in the relative clause. But, unless examples can be brought to prove it, we can not draw the conclusion that *κρέας* could be transferred to the *ὥς*-clause without changing the sense.

By way of further illustration of the ease with which a *local* meaning may be read into *ὥς*, let me call attention to the following passage from the *Persians* of Aeschylus:—

πλέουσι δ' ὥς ἐκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος, 381
καὶ πάννυχον δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασθαι
ναῶν ἄνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεῶν.

The first line is often taken to mean 'they sail to their several destinations.' A careful consideration of the context and comparison with the passage cited above from Herodotus viii. 21 will convince anyone that the real meaning is 'they sail as each had been stationed,' i.e. according to their positions on shore before sailing. Miss Swanwick's 'Forth sailed they as to each had been assigned,' close rendering of the Greek as it seems to be, is open to the objection that the English suggests to us at once an idea of *destination*, and that idea I believe to be quite remote from the Greek. I would not be understood to imply that it is a great step from the modal use of *ὥς* to the local, nor would I venture to assert that

a passage could not be found in classical Greek in which $\delta\varsigma$ had a distinctly local sense, but I should expect the context to indicate it much more clearly than in the passage from the *Persians*. The possibilities of development are illustrated by Theocritus'

use of $\delta\varsigma$ as 'where' in l. 13, 5. 101, 103; for similar uses of the Latin *ad* see Munro's note on Lucretius vi. 550.

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ON PROMETHEUS DESMOTES, LINES 980-1.

P. ὅμοι. Εἰρ. τῶδε Ζεὺς τοῦπος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.
P. ἀλλ' ἐκδιδάσκει πᾶνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος.

On the difficult point of the interpretation of Zeus in *Prom. D.* recent editors¹ seem agreed in maintaining that there is no essential discrepancy between this Zeus and the Zeus, for example, of the Oresteian trilogy. On the strength of Aeschylus' known attitude towards religion the two conceptions are forced into line even at the cost as it would seem sometimes of the plain intention of the text, and Prometheus is held ultimately to feel that the ways of Zeus were justified. I would suggest that the solution of the difficulty may rather be looked for in the theory first published by Dissen² and adopted by Caesar,³ which I venture to re-state and support: that in the *Prom. D.* Aeschylus deliberately presented an undeveloped Zeus, who presumably in the *Prom. Lum.* attained to the higher level of the Zeus of the Oresteia. This entails no deviation from the view that this trilogy, no less than the other, makes in the end for the glory of Zeus, but it recognises two distinct stages in his presentment. The conflict of Prometheus with Zeus is closely analogous to the conflict of the Erinyes and Apollo in the *Eumenides*, and ends like that with ultimate reconciliation and amalgamation of the old order with the new. There is this point of difference between them however, that in the Oresteia the higher type of Zeus is from the first already consummated, whereas in the *Prom. D.* Zeus falls far short of perfected wisdom or power or goodness. The pivot on which the whole play turns is Prometheus' knowledge of the marriage that will unseat Zeus,⁴ whose fall from power is predeter-

mined by the avenging anger of the Erinyes,⁵ invoked by Kronos' curse against an impious son⁶; nor does Aeschylus spare him in his character of Io's tormentor,⁷ and lastly his vindictive cruelty towards Prometheus is not limited to punishing his transgression in the matter of the theft of fire, but from the entrance of Hermes onwards is employed in trying forcibly to extract from him the secret of the marriage. No ultimate justification of these acts redeems them from their intrinsic savagery. The criticisms of Zeus are not confined to his enemies,⁸ and he is described in terms that suggest an irresponsible despot of the type of the Persian King.⁹ But if Zeus is violent and harsh, Prometheus is disobedient and defiant. Neither will give ground, and the *Prom. D.* closes with an impasse. In the *Prom. L.* there is a change of attitude. Zeus has released the Titans (*Frag.* 1.) and is ready to make terms with Prometheus (*Hgg. Fab.* 54). It remains to try to show that this was due to no other cause than to the development of Zeus himself.

Throughout *Prom. D.* Aeschylus insists on the newness and consequent harshness¹⁰ of Zeus' rule, but I would suggest that a still more definite clue lies in the lines 980-1:

P. ὅμοι. Εἰρ. τῶδε Ζεὺς τοῦπος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.
P. ἀλλ' ἐκδιδάσκει πᾶνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος.

¹ 515-520, and cf. Hes. *Th.* 185 for Erinyes first springing where the blood drops of Oureanos, murdered by Kronos, fell upon earth.

² 910.

³ Contrast *Supp.* where Io's descendants look to Zeus for help, and Aes. depicts Z. as the deliverer rather than the persecutor (503-575 Tucker's ed.), and note that Io's transformation is there ascribed to Hera to prevent the union (271 and Tucker's note on 263), whereas here Aes. seems to follow the other version (cf. *Apoll.* 11. 1. 13) and make it the work of Zeus to attain his end (*P. D.* 652-1).

⁴ Cf. *Heph.* 35 and *Okeanos* 326.

⁵ 59, 150, 186, 326, and cf. *Supp.* and *Per.* for Aeschylus' views on constitutional freedom.

¹⁰ 35.

¹ Wecklein, Glazebrook, Haines, Rackham, Sikes and Willson.

² Dissen's letter to Welcker printed in Welcker's *Trilogie*, 1824.

³ J. Caesar's review of Schömann's edition in *Zeitschrift für das Alterthum*, 1845, n. 41.

⁴ 764-768.

the significance of which does not seem to me to have been sufficiently brought out. Taken in conjunction with Prometheus' words 926-7

πταίσας δὲ τῷδε πρὸς κακῷ μαθήσεται
ὅσον τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν δέχα

they seem to indicate that Zeus, no less than Prometheus, both could and would learn wisdom by suffering.¹ This view receives confirmation from Aeschylus' individual manner of treating the relationship of both Zeus and Prometheus to the wisdom of Gaia.

By the help of Themis-Gaia and Prometheus Zeus had won the power² that for the future was to depend on wisdom rather than on force: but though the power was transferred it is clearly indicated that the transference of wisdom was not simultaneously effected. The old wisdom was the prerogative of Gaia,³ who, succeeded by her daughter Themis, occupied the oracular seat at Delphi long before Apollo, the representative of the dynasty of Zeus; and according to one version Themis was the mother of Prometheus. By identifying Themis and Gaia in accordance with a local Attic myth⁴ Aeschylus ascribes to the mother of Prometheus the wisdom of the old order and can, not inappropriately, make him in his reading of Fate more clear sighted than Zeus himself: for Themis-Gaia has revealed to him the future,⁵ and he is content to wait, knowing that fate is irresistible.⁶ His foreknowledge includes knowledge of the marriage that will unseat Zeus⁷: and he looks to the possession of this secret to win him

his release.⁸ Zeus lacks this knowledge; yet will not buy it from Prometheus by releasing him. He is in fact engaged in resisting Fate. But in the *P.L.* he has appeased the Erinyes by the release of Kronos,⁹ so that his fall is no longer inevitable; and his acquisition of Prometheus' secret shows him the way of escape. The reconciliation with Prometheus, which was the necessary step to this end, had been destined from the first¹⁰; so Zeus seems now at last to be acting in harmony with Fate¹¹ and now first to have attained to the wisdom that was Gaia's.

To him Prometheus, like the Erinyes in the Eumenides, can submit without humiliation; and if we may assume the subject of the *Prometheus Purphoros* to have been, as seems not unlikely, the institution of the local Attic cult of Prometheus as a culture god, in conjunction with Hephaistos and Athene, together with the torch race in his honour, (Frazer's *Paus.* 1. 30. 2) he is there to find (again like the Erinyes) a place among the new gods and in the public religion of Athens. In the absence of the *P.L.* and the *P.P.* any interpretation of the *P.D.* can only be tentative, but the theory of the development of Zeus would seem at least to render less perplexing the relations of Zeus to Prometheus and of both to Fate.

JANET CASE.

⁸ P.'s foreknowledge is imperfect, cf. 267, 511 (*οὐπω*), and he can be blinded by passion: for he evidently looks to the time when Zeus *will be willing* to purchase the secret by his release, 170, 770, and 192, 260, 373, 525, are not inconsistent with this: but at 756 he treats Z.'s fall as assured and his own release as resulting from it, cf. 909, though at 990 he reverts to the notion of a bargain. In *P.L.* the bargain is made, but (according to Hyg. *Fab.* 54) the terms are reversed, *i.e.* P. tells the secret and is then released.

⁹ cf. *Eum.* 641-646.

¹⁰ 194.

¹¹ Cf. Keek's review of Weleker's 'Griechische Götterlehre,' *Jahrb. für Phil. und Paed.* 1860.

TWO NOTES ON THE BIRDS OF ARISTOPHANES.

Aves 15-16.

ὅς τώδ' ἔφασκε νῶν φράσειν τὸν Τηρέα,
τὸν ἐποφ', ὅς ὄρνις ἐγένετ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων

It seems possible to find a point in these lines if they are taken in connection with the events at Orneae described in Thuc. vi. 7. Dr. Merry in his note on l. 399 ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνειαῖς sees a reference there to

the one-day's siege of the philo-Spartan fugitives from Argos in 416 B.C., but seems to deny such a reference in this passage on the grounds of the omission of the definite article. That objection, however, does not seem to be borne out by the phraseology of Thucydides, who in the passage referred to uses the phrases τοὺς ἐν Ὀρνειαῖς and οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ὀρνέων indiscriminately.

Possibly the name *Tereus* in this passage suggests a reference to some Argive official technically called *τηρός*, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 244 ἢ τηρόν Ἑρμοῦ ῥάβδον, where whatever the reading, the reference undoubtedly is to some class of Argive official, possibly of the type of *γεναικονόμοι*, *παιδονόμοι*, etc., who, as we know from Aristotle, *Pol.* 4. 15. 13, were characteristic of aristocracies and the word *τηρός* might therefore be an appropriate term for an official of the aristocratic faction at Argos which was implicated in the unceremonious flight from the besieged town, ἐκδιδράσκουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ὀρνέων. If we might assume that an official called *τηρός* was involved in that flight it would give a point to the remark that Tereus the Epops, whose name—both among men and birds—suggests *over-seer*, won his wings at Orneae.

857-861.

XO. ἴτω ἴτω δὲ Ἡντιάς βοὰ θεῶ·
συναλείτω δὲ Χαῖρις πόδᾱ.

HE. παῖσαι σὺ φωνῶν. Ἡράκλειος, τοῦ τί τί ἦν;
τοῦτί μὲν Δ' ἔρ' πολλὰ δὴ καὶ δαί' ἴδον,
αὐτὸν κόραξ ἔδον ἐμπροσθενβωμένον.

Is it not possible that the entrance of the *κόραξ* is heralded by the phrase *Ἡντιάς βοὰ*, the Pythian music naturally introducing the Pythian bird, the messenger of Apollo? Cf. Hesiod *Fr.* p. 443 ed. Lips. ap. Schol. Pindar *P.* iii. 48

τῷ μὲν ἄρ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε κόραξ ἱερῆς ἀπὸ θαύτου
Ἡνθῶ ἐς ἡγαθήν, καὶ ῥ' ἔφημιν ἐργ' ἀΐσσει
Φοῖβον ἀκέρσεκόμην

and Aelian i. 47 : Ἀπόλλωνος θεράπων.

The Chorus is inaugurating the new regime when the birds are gods: they use a phrase belonging to the old mythology, in response to which the god appears in his bird-form.

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THE OFFENSIVE WEAPON IN THE PYRRHIC.

AN investigator of the Pyrrhic dance finds two difficulties in his way. The first is of minor importance and consists in our authorities' apparent contradictions of each other and sometimes of themselves. A second and real difficulty lies in the fact that the word *πυρρίχη* is used both generically and specifically—generically, to include all armed dancing—specifically, to indicate one special form of armed dance. It is in a general sense that Athenaeus uses the word, 629 c : καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κινήσεις ἐγυμνάζοντο (οἱ παλαιοί) μετὰ τῆς ᾠδῆς· ὅθεν ἐκινήθησαν αἱ καλούμεναι πυρρίχαι καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως· πολλαὶ γὰρ αἱ ὀνομασίαι αὐτῶν ὡς παρὰ Κρησὶν ὀρσίτης καὶ ἐπικρήδιος. Plato (*Laws* 815 A) uses the word *πυρρίχη* in this general sense in a passage often quoted to illustrate the Pyrrhic, a use for which it is worthless. Having divided all dancing into τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνόν and τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ φαῖλον, and further the bad into two forms, and the good into two forms, one of which he calls ἡ εἰρηνική, he proceeds : τὴν πολεμικὴν δὴ ταύτων, ἄλλην οὖσαν τῆς εἰρηνικῆς, πυρρίχην ἢ τις ὁρθῶς προσαγορεύει, τὰς τε εἰλαβείας πασῶν πληγῶν καὶ βολῶν ἐκνεύσει καὶ ἐπεῖξει πάσῃ καὶ ἐκπηδήσεν ἐν νύει καὶ ξέν ταπεινώσει μίμον μέλην καὶ τὰς ταύταις ἐναντίας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ δραστικά φερόμενας αὐ σχήματα ἐν τε ταῖς τῶν

τόξων βολαῖς καὶ ἀκοντίων καὶ πασῶν πληγῶν μιμήματα ἐπιχειροῦσας μιμεῖσθαι.

It is a special use of the word that we find in Pollux iv. 99 : ἐνάπλοιο ὀρχήσεως πυρρίχη τε καὶ τελεσίης ἐπώνυμοι δύο Κρητῶν ὀρχηστῶν Πυρρίχων τε καὶ Τελεσίων. So too it is a special Pyrrhic that we find exhibited at the Panathenaea at Athens in the time of Aristophanes, and it is this special form of the dance that is the subject of our enquiry.

It is the general belief of our time that the Pyrrhicist was naked, wore a helm, bore a shield on the left arm, and carried a sword in the right hand. Who first of modern scholars adopted this view, I have been unable to ascertain. J. C. Scaliger (1481-1558) took not a little pride in his knowledge of the dance which, as he says (*Poet.* l. 18) *nos et saepe et diu coram domino Maximiliano iussu Bonifacii patris, non sine stupore totius Germaniae repraesentavimus*. How he danced it, he does not say, but as he quotes, without comment, a passage in which Athenaeus says that the use of the spear had been given up, it is likely that Scaliger used a spear. Meursius writing on dancing in 1618 (*Johannis Meursi Orchestra sive de saltationibus veterum, Lugduni Batavorum*) did not distinguish between a general and a special pyrrhic: nor did

Burette in his essay on dancing (*Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscript. et Belles Lettres*, v. i, p. 93 ff. 1736).

The attribution of a sword to the right hand of the Pyrrhiciist must have come about after the discovery of a certain vase at Ostia in 1796. This vase, now in the Vatican, bears on it in relief the representation of four naked dancers provided with helm, shield, and sword. These dancers are paired, the individuals of a pair facing each other. Between the dancers who form one pair, is a dancing satyr with an ivy wreath in the right hand, a thyrsus in the left. Between the dancers of the second pair, dances a satyr with head thrown back, while with hands raised aloft, he rattles castanets. The frequency of reproduction of this vase relief would lead one to suppose that such monuments are numerous, but a careful investigation leads me to believe that all these reproductions go back to a single source. As an authority this vase relief is worthless. It is late Roman work and its motive is probably solely decorative. If we are to class these dancers, from their company we must call them Corybantes or Curete-Corybantes. The object of the Curete dance, as appears from the account of its origin, was *noise*; so that the Curete naturally became identified with the Corybante, the purpose of whose orgiastic dance was similar. That these dancers are Corybantes is the opinion of Friedrich-Wolters (*Gipsabgüsse Antik. Bild.* 2122), although, as we shall see below, these authorities believe in the use of the sword in the Pyrrhic.

A weightier, and the principal, reason for the belief in the use of the sword in the Pyrrhic, is found in the derivation of the Pyrrhic from the Curete dance. This opinion was so general in antiquity, that we are forced to conclude that the Pyrrhic at least had its origin in Crete, and that it probably derived its impulse from the Curete dance. As the equipment of a Curete consisted in helm, shield, and sword, it is but natural to suppose that the equipment of the Pyrrhiciist was the same. It was said in explanation of the origin of the Curete dance, that as Kronos was in the habit of devouring his children when they were severally produced, a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes was given him at the time of the birth of Zeus, and that the Curetes by clanging sword on shield, concealed the cries of the infant. This is the story prevailing in antiquity, although the sword is sometimes accompanied by tympana (Strabo x. 468), sometimes

omitted (Ovid *Fasti*, iv. 209 where most MSS. read *manibus*), or even replaced by a spear (Apollod. 1. 1. 7).

To completely identify the Curete and Pyrrhic dances is a thing which few would do openly but which most scholars do tacitly. Such identification leads to absurdity. There was an early identification of Curete and Corybante and all efforts to distinguish them have proved fruitless. It is loosely asserted that the Corybantes bore tympana, etc., while the Curetes bore arms, but at least as early as the time of Aristophanes the Corybantes were armed. So we find *Lys.* 558: *περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ξὺν ὀπλοῖς ὥσπερ Κορύβαντες*. If we go further and identify Curete and Pyrrhic dances, we arrive at a conclusion that as Curete = Corybante and Curete = Pyrrhiciist, then Pyrrhiciist = Corybante, which is exactly what Theon on Arati *phænomena* 30, comes to: *τὴν πυρρίχην ἥ ἐστὶν ἐνοπλος ὄρχησις ὀρχοῦμενοι οἱ Κορύβαντες ἐπὶ ὄλον ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν Δία ἀνέθρεψαν λανθάνοντες τὸν Κρόνον*.

That there was a difference, if only in the way of development, is certain. This is deducible from Strabo x. 480: (*Κρήτας*) *ἀσκέειν ἐνοπλίῳ ὀρχήσει ἢν καταδείξαι Κουρήτα πρῶτον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ συντάξαντα τὴν κληθείσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πυρρίχην*. Similarly Pliny *hist. nat.* vii. 56: 'saltationem armatam Curetes docuere, pyrrhichen Pyrrhus, utramque in Creta.' Compare also Libanius *πρὸς Ἀριστείδην* p. 358 Reiske: (*Ἀριστείδης*) *κατηγορεῖ καὶ Πυρρίχου δείξαντος ὀρχησιν ἔχουσάν τι τῆς πρεσβυτέρας πλέον*. From this testimony it is evident that the Pyrrhic was a development of the Curete dance, but different from it in some respects.

The Curete dance had two characteristics, it was noisy and it was armed. As it was noisy it became identified with the Corybantic dance. We find no weighty evidence that the Curete dance in itself ever became a very formal affair, indeed its constant identification with the Corybantic dance is against such a supposition. On the other hand as the Curete dance was an armed dance, it seemingly developed into the Pyrrhic, and in the latter form passing through Sparta to Athens found its acme there on the stage at the Panathenaea.

The difference of Curete and Pyrrhic dance must have included at least a difference of motion, possibly also a difference of equipment. We know from

Aristophanes that the Pyrrhicist was naked and bore a shield, monuments show a helm, but the weapon of the right hand is not shown. As the sword is the favoured weapon, it is necessary first to examine closely the testimony for it.

In the *Iliad* (II 617) Merion is called a dancer. Eustathius *ad locum* says: τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν Κορητικὴν ἢ Περρικήακην ὄρχησιν, and further: ὅτι δὲ περρική ἢ ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις καὶ ὅτι Κρητικὴ μάλιστα καὶ ὅτι σεμνὴ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κορήτων γέγραπται. At first sight this seems a complete identification of Curete and Pyrrhic dances, but from the second quotation it seems barely doubtful that to Eustathius the word Pyrrhic was a general word for all armed dancing. Nonnus *dionysiaca* 28. 292, describes the Curete dance with sword and shield, Pyrrhichus leading the chorus. But this is no proof of identity of the two dances. It can be explained, if necessary, by Strabo above who says that Pyrrhichus first invented the Curete dance, afterwards arranged the Pyrrhic. Callimachus, *hymnus ad Iovem* 52, describes the Curetes dancing the πρέλις, and the scholiast on Pindar *pyth.* 2. 127, on the authority of Aristotle says that πρέλις was the name of the Pyrrhic among the Cyprians. So Hesychius, πρέλις: περρικήν. This seems good proof of identity, but unfortunately Callimachus, *hymnus ad Dianam* 240 ff., causes the Amazons to dance a πρέλις. In the latter case the only arms mentioned are shields, in the former case the weapons of the Curetes are called τεύχεα. While we may supply the Curetes with swords, we have no right to give these weapons to the Amazons, and we are forced to conclude that Callimachus uses πρέλις as a synonym for armed dancing. Such are the weightiest literary proofs of the use of the sword. They rest solely on the theory that the Pyrrhicist as a developed Curete bore the same weapons as his original. But such reasoning is not valid unless applied also to other myths of the origin of the Pyrrhic. Of such myths Plato (*Laws* 796 B,C) gives us a number. Writing of the Pyrrhic, he says: κατὰ μὲν τὸν τόπον τόνδε (i.e. Crete) Κορήτων ἐνόπλια πάτρια, κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνια Διουσκόρων ἢ δὲ αὖ πον παρ' ἡμῖν Κόρη καὶ δέσποινα, εὐφρανθεῖσα τῇ τῆς χορείας παιδιᾷ, κεναῖς χερσὶν οὐκ ὥσθι δεινὰ θυρεῖν, πανοπλία δὲ παντελεῖ κοσμηθεῖσα οὕτω τὴν ὄρχησιν διαπεραίνειν. If now we argue that the origin of a dance proves its equipment we must conclude that the Athenian Pyrrhicist bore a spear, for such

was Athene's weapon. And this is in accordance with Lucian (*Iliad. deor.* 8. 225) who represents Athene as springing fully armed from the head of Zeus and dancing a Pyrrhic. Lucian moreover is consistent, for in his essay *de saltatione* he represents the Curetes with swords, but attributes the origin of the Pyrrhic to Neoptolemus whose primary weapon would have been a spear.

Two writers distinctly mention the use of the spear in the Pyrrhic. Dionysius Halicarnassus (vii. 72) describing the Ludi Magni at Rome, writes of the Pyrrhic dancers: σκευὰ δὲ τῶν ὄρχηστῶν ἦσαν χιτῶνες φονίκεοι ζωστήησιν χαλκείας ἐπιφιγμέναι, καὶ ξίφη παρηρημένα καὶ λόγχοι βραχύτεροι τῶν μετρίων. Athenaeus describing the deterioration of the Pyrrhic says that the dancers had given up the use of the spear (631 A): ἢ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς περρική Διονυσιακὴ τις ὀκκεῖ, ἐπεικεστέρα οἷσα τῆς ἀρχαίας. ἔχουσι γὰρ οἱ ὀρχούμενοι θύρσους ἀντὶ δοράτων. If we are to take these references to the Pyrrhic in the narrow sense of the word we are forced to conclude that the weapon of the Pyrrhicist was a spear, for Plato, Lucian, Dionysius, and Athenaeus are far weightier authorities than Eustathius, Nonnus, and Callimachus. But it is evident, I think, that all the authors above were using the word Pyrrhic in its broadest sense of armed dance. How little importance should be attached to the argument from origin is curiously exemplified by Dionysius Halicarnassus who in writing of the Salii (2. 70) says that in his opinion the Salii translated into Greek are the Curetes. Yet he has just described the Salii as wielding wooden spears. To suppose that such an antiquarian as Dionysius did not know that the Curetes bore swords is absurd. Apparently to his mind an armed dance was an armed dance, and in the general the particular was overwhelmed.

Athenaeus tells us 631 c (and Eustathius on *Iliad* N 731, copies him) that the Pyrrhic was also called *chironomia*: καλεῖται δὲ ἢ περρική καὶ χειρονομία. This remark at best is puzzling. In the time of Xenophon *χειρονομία* was distinguished from dancing and seems to have meant a mere arm movement. So *Symp.* ii. 19, where Charmides is speaking: καὶ αὐτὸς ἄλλων οἰκασθε ὀρχούμεν μὲν οὐ, οὐ γὰρ πόποτε τοῦτ' ἔμαλλον, χειρονομούν δὲ τοῦτο γὰρ ἡπιστάμεν. The word is further made clear in Herodotus' account of the dancing of Hippocleides (vi. 129): τὸ τρίτον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐρείσας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τοῖσι σκέλει χειρονόησε. This meaning of the word remained until the latest times,

although as all dancing gradually became chironomia, the latter word must have approximated in sense to *orchesis*. Yet it would be unnecessary and absurd for Athenaeus to write that the Pyrrhic was also called *dancing*. Burette believed that *chironomia* imitated in the palaestra the motions of the Pyrrhic. This may be so, but it did not imitate in that case sword-play merely, for this would be called *ξίφισμός*. Suidas s.v. *ξίφισμα*: τὸ χειροτονεῖν, παραπλήσιον ξίφει τὸ τῆς χειρὸς σχήματα ποιεῖν. See also Hesychius and *Etymologicum Magnum*. Nor can we suppose a Pyrrhic without a weapon, since we know that a shield was used. We leave the matter for the present with Burette's as the only explanation.

Our results so far are negative. It is only by a vicious process of reasoning that we can prove a sword in the Pyrrhic, and the same process applied to other myths will prove a spear. This much is sure, that some armed dancing was done with a spear, some with a sword. A case of the latter is the *τελεσίας* under which word Hesychius says: ἡ μετὰ ξίφους ὄρχησις ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐρόντος Τελεσίον. If the evidence above were applied to the special Pyrrhic, it would prove conclusively the use of a spear. But all these writers are probably speaking generally.

We must go to the strictly classical writers to get any sure information in regard to the Athenian Pyrrhic. Here our sources are meagre. Aristophanes (*Clouds* 987) writes:

σὺν δὲ τοὺς νῦν εὐθύς ἐν ἱματίοις προδιδάσκεις
ἐντετυλίχθαι
ᾧστε μ' ἀπάγχουσθ' ὅταν ὀρχεῖσθαι Παναθηναίους
δεῶν αὐτοὺς
τῇν ἀσπίδα τῆς κωλῆς προέχων ἀμελῇ τις
Τριτογενεὺς.

This quotation merely testifies to nakedness and the shield. Xenophon (*Anabasis* vi. 1. 12) describes a series of dances, among them the Pyrrhic; and as the other dances, although war dances, bear special names, it is likely that we have here the special Pyrrhic, although danced by an Arcadian dansense: ὁ Μισὸς . . . πείσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰ πεπαμένον ὀρχηστρίδα, εἰσάγει σκενέας ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἀσπίδα δοὺς κούφην αὐτῷ. Here again we find only a shield mentioned, and this insistence on the shield is worthy of remark. It shows that the Pyrrhic was primarily a defensive dance, secondarily offensive. We notice also in the remarks of Plato (*Laws* 815 A, above)

that protective measures have the first place. Some later writers confirm this. Philostratus, *γυμναστικός* 19, says: Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ὀρχοῦμενοι τρόπον, ὃν φυλάζεται τις βέλος ἢ ἀφήσει ἢ ἀρθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι εὐμεταχειρίστως χρήσεται. Diomedes the grammarian lib. iii., writing of the pyrrhic foot and incidentally of the dance, says: ideo autem pyrrhichius dictus est . . . vel a Pyrrho Achilles filio qui crebris et citis exultationibus bis breviter prominentem clipeum genibus incumbens et per hunc hostibus terrorem immittens, inferebatur. Finally Euripides (*Andromache* 1135) emphasizes the defensive side, in describing the death of Neoptolemus:

δαινὰς δ' ἂν εἶδες πυρρίχας φρουρουμένους
βέλεμα παιδός.

Aristophanes, Xenophon, and Euripides are the only classical witnesses that bear upon our discussion.

We have two reliefs of which one surely, the other probably, represents a Pyrrhic. In 1852 M. Beulé found at Athens in the Turkish bastion at the foot of the Acropolis a relief depicting Pyrrhic dancers. Eight dancers side by side in two groups of four each, with a choregus on the extreme right, are in slight motion. These dancers are naked, and wear a helm, bear a shield on the left arm, but carry nothing in the right hand which hangs by the side and is seemingly clenched. That this is a representation of Pyrrhic dancers, is proved beyond a doubt by the inscription [Πυρρίχ]ίσταις νικήσας Ἀταρβος Λυ[. . . Κη]φισό[δ]ωρος [ἤρχεν]. Another relief found at Praeneste and now in the Vatican represents six dancers. In the right and left centre are four dancers in pairs, the individuals of which face each other, while at either end of the relief a single dancer faces out. As the dancers to complete the pairs are lacking, the relief is probably a fragment. The dancers wear a helm and bear a shield on the left arm. They are in rather violent motion, and the right arm is bent with the hand clenched as if to deliver a blow. As all the participants are in the same relative position the scene resembles a drill rather than an actual combat. This fact and the similarity to the Athenian relief make us believe that this relief represents a Pyrrhic, although we find no inscription.

Both of these reliefs are remarkable because they omit a weapon of offence. This omission is explained in various ways on the theory that the Pyrrhicist bore a sword. Visconti (*Musée Pie-Clémentin*, Milan, 1820,

v. 4, p. 71) in commenting on the Praeneste relief (which he believes to represent Curetes, although his remarks apply equally well to Pyrrhicists) says: 'Cependant le sculpteur a omis de faire ces épées, ou pour éviter de les faire en raccourci comme l'exige la position des mains, ou bien parce qu'elles manquaient, ayant été dégradées par le temps à quelques figures d'un travail antique qui aura peut-être servi de modèle à l'auteur du bas-relief.' Beulé commenting on the Athenian relief (*L'Acropole d'Athènes*, 1884, v. 2, p. 320) says: 'Le bras droit pend le long du corps avec une certaine contraction qui annonce qu'ils tenaient une épée. Mais comme une épée, soit sculptée dans le marbre, soit apportée en métal, eût coupé le corps par la moitié et interrompu le développement des lignes, l'artiste l'a supprimée, le geste seul suffisant pour en éveiller l'idée. L'épée a été de même sous-entendue sur le bas-relief du Vatican, où sa présence n'avait pourtant pas le même inconvénient.' Friedrich-Wolters in their *Gipsabgüsse Antiker Bildwerke*, (1831), comment as follows on the Athenian relief: 'Das Schwert das die Waffentänzer auf andern Darstellungen in der Rechten tragen, wird auch hier nach der Bewegung des Arms und der Hand vorausgesetzt, ist aber wie so oft, als etwas Selbstverständliches oder leicht zu Ergänzendes weggelassen.' It is noticeable that the several explanations of Visconti and Beulé, as the latter admitted, do not explain the absence of the sword in the relief described by the other. That a good sculptor would not attempt to portray a foreshortened sword is unlikely in the case of the Praeneste relief, and the lines of the Athenian relief are already broken by the shields which cut the figures at something close to a right angle. The explanation of Friedrich-Wolters is specious. The German word Waffentänzer is too general, and arguing the usual presence of a thing from its absence is dangerous. All these explanations are forced by the belief in the use of a sword, while an unprejudiced mind might see nothing to explain. The two reliefs extant show no offensive weapon. If we find a third similar monument shall we still go on to explain it in accordance with our beliefs; or exactly how many will be necessary to prove our preconceptions wrong?

Only one hypothesis, I believe, can explain all seeming contradictions, while agreeing with the known facts. The Pyrrhic dancer on the Athenian stage and in the most highly developed Pyrrhic bore no weapon of offence. Such an hypothesis explains in

the first place the reliefs, and must have been at least adumbrated at the time of the discovery of the Praeneste relief, for Visconti writes rather emphatically against a real omission of an offensive weapon, apparently with some now unknown adversary in mind. Yet the reliefs are much more important testimony against the sword than any we have for it. The objection may be made that in the reliefs the right hand of the dancer is in a position to bear a sword and is but half closed, and it must be admitted that this is the case, especially in the Praeneste relief although not to such a degree in the Athenian monument. Yet if we remember the difficulty of modelling, and compare other instances of, an unoccupied hand, the cases before us need nothing supplementary, if we once admit that there might have been no offensive weapon. For a naked hand in delivering a blow would assume the same position as a hand with a sword. Further, this hypothesis explains the omission of the sword in the case of Xenophon's danseuse; it shows us why Plato did not mention a sword blow in his enumeration of motions of attack. The latter mentions in order bow and javelin, and includes other weapons in 'all sorts of blows.' Had the sword been the important weapon that it has hitherto been thought, Plato surely would have mentioned it first in his list. Again, this hypothesis explains the emphasis placed on the shield by the writers quoted; as the only weapon, it was necessarily important. Let us suppose the crude Pyrrhic as it came to Athens introduced into the palaestra, as it certainly was. From our knowledge of Athenian ingenuity, it would not long remain in an undeveloped condition. The mimicry of sword motion alone (if the weapon was originally such) would not suffice for the *chironomia* of the palaestra. Other motions would be introduced and this exercise of the palaestra, working back upon the dance itself, would cause the omission of a weapon of offence, so that there might be combined on the stage in one special Pyrrhic 'the shooting of bows, the hurling of javelins, and mimicry of every sort of blow' as in all the Pyrrhics which Plato sums up in his description. Such a dance would explain the name *chironomia* applied to the Pyrrhic by Athenaeus, at least, in part. That the shield, too, was not omitted, was probably because it was a distinctive part of every war dance, while the offensive weapon varied. Finally, that such a dance is not an absurdity or without example among the Greeks is proved by

Xenophon (*Anab.* vi. 1. 9), where the dancer with a shield in either hand was prevented from bearing a weapon of offence: μετὰ τοῦτο Μισὸς εἰσηλθε ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων πέλτην, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὥς δύο ἀντιπαττομένων μιμούμενος

ὥρχεῖτο, τοτὲ δὲ ὥς πρὸς ἑνα ἐχρήτο ταῖς πέλταις. τοτὲ δ' ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ἔχων τὰς πέλτας· ὥστε ὅψιν καλὴν φαίνεσθαι.

W. E. D. DOWNES.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.

(Continued from Vol. XV., p. 442.)

IN the two years which have passed since my second paper, the accumulation of additional matter has been so abundant that I must fill one paper with addenda before I can go on to the verb syntax. To the texts brought under contribution are added the last five parts of vol. iii. of the Berlin Papyri; vol. iii. of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri; the Tebtunis Papyri; the Chicago Papyri; the Geneva Papyri; the Magdola Papyri; Botti's Ptolemaic Papyri; the *Mithrasliturgie*; and sundry documents from the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, now in its third volume. On a large number of points here dealt with additional evidence may be found in Crönert's laborious study of the orthography and accidence of the Herculean Rolls, which came into my hands after correcting the proofs. The abbreviations are collected afresh for convenience.

(a) Papyrus Collections.

- BM = British Museum Papyri.
- BU = Berliner Urkunde, 3 vols.
- CPR = Corpus Papyrorum Raineri.
- PP = Petrie Papyri.
- TP = Turin Papyri.
- RL = Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus.
- G = An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment, etc.
- GH = Grenfell-Hunt, 2nd series.
- OP = Oxyrhynchus Pap., 3 vols.
- FP = Fayûm Pap.
- TbP = Tebtunis Pap. (Ptolemaic), (Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly).
- Eud. = Eudoxus Pap.
- Dresd. = Die gr. Pap. Sachsens.
- NP = Geneva Pap., ed. Nicole.
- ChP = Chicago Pap., ed. Goodspeed.
- MP = Magdola Pap. (in *B.C.H.*, 1902).
- BP = Ptolemaic Pap., ed. Botti (in *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. d'Alexandrie*, 1899).
- Mithraslit. = Eine Mithrasliturgie, by A. Dieterich. (Papyrus dated about 300 A.D., composed from 100 A.D.)
- Archiv = *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, ed. Wilcken.
- Linœi = a literary pap. in the *Rendiconti d. Reale Acad. dei Lincei*, 1897, p. 91 ff.; also a pap. letter (ed. Grenfell), p. 77.
- VP = a 2/ pap. in *Atene e Roma*, March 1901, ed. Vitelli.
- Pap. Catt. = Pap. *Cattani*, the supplement of BU 114 (in *Archiv* iii. 55 ff.).
- Pap. Lips. = Leipzig Papyri in *Archiv*.

(b) Inscriptions.

- Lctr. = Letronne's Egyptian Inscriptions.
- IMA = *Inscriptiones Maris Aegaci*, 3 vols.
- BCH = *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*.
- JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- Michel = *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*.

(c) Miscellaneous.

- WM = Winer-Moulton, *Grammar of N. T. Greek*.
- WS = Winer-Schmiedel's *Grammatik*.
- WH = Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament.
- LS = Liddell and Scott.
- ZNTW = Preuschen's *Zeitsch. f. ntliche Wissenschaft*.
- Deissmann = *Bible Studies* (E. T.).
- MGr = Modern Greek.
- Centuries B.C. are denoted by i/, iii/ii, etc.; A.D. by 1/, 2/, 3/4, etc.
- References to the previous articles are given as 'Notes 31a, 442b,' etc., by the page and column of *C.R.* vol. xv.
- Papyrus references are given in roman, inscriptions being cited with italic type.

I.—Orthography.

There are of course innumerable points from the papyri for the student of Greek pronunciation in its development through the millennium over which they extend, but the subject is too wide to enter upon here. I might however call attention to a remarkable form which shows a characteristic MGr pronunciation established in Galatia in 6/: the word ANAΨIC on a tombstone, BCH 1903, p. 335, is presumably a mistake for ἀνάψις, i.e. ἀνάπανσις.

Irrational adscript ι is common earlier than I indicated: it abounds in the Ptolemaic TbP.

Many additions may naturally be made to my lists for ὅς ἔαν and the like, (Notes 32, 434a), but they would not alter the results. In adding TbP 110 (i/) to the list for ἄν = i/, I may remark again how characteristic it is of illiterate documents. This fits well what is said of it in Meisterhans³ 256.

It may be worth while to give further exx. of the καθ' ἑτος type, as the usage is conflicting. I find ἐφ' ἑτη TbP 5 (ii/), Michel 1002 (ii/); καθ' ἑτος BU 915 (2/), 920 bis (2/) against κατ' ἑτος once, TbP 105 (ii/) once in second

hand against κατ' undecies in first hand. For κατ' ἑτος add BU 918 *bis* (2/), TbP 106 *ter* (ii/), BU 993 *bis* (ii/), and several in AP and OP II. The theory, supported by Thumb, that such forms arise by analogy within the Κοινή itself, accounts for the uncertain tradition. If the analogy of καθ' ἡμέραν produced καθ' ἑτος, we can the better understand ἐφ' ἐνιαυτῶν BU 981 (1/), OP 502 (2/). Ἐφιδείν BU 928 (3) *al* is a natural aorist of ἐφορώ. In ἀφίσταλκα JHS. xix. 333 (iv/) *al* we have the original form. Ἐφιορκούτω, for which add TbP 78, 210 (ii/), is a separate case. See on the whole matter especially Schweizer *Gramm. d. pergamen. Inschr.* § 38; and for the converse phenomenon Dieterich's note on ἐπιστώσης and ὑπείε, Mithraslit. p. 5.

For εἰ μὴ add further TbP 22 (ii/) and 78 (ii/), which are nearly a century older than Deissmann's earliest ex. Also BU 543 (i/). It is undoubtedly nothing but a matter of pronunciation. I have now some eight exx. between ii/ and 1/, with none of ἦ μὴ later than iii/.

Αἰεί (*Notes* 33a) occurs also in TbP 27 (ii/) and OP 503 (2/), 506 (2/), *al. saep.*

Ἐχθές (*ib.*) *bis* in Pap. Catt. (2/).

For the change of av to ā (*ib.*, and 434) add ἐατοῦ -ῶν JHS 1902, p. 344, and BUI 1903, p. 356 (i/), where Laurent remarks on its commonness in the second half of i/. Further exx. of Ἐγοῖστος are BU 940 (4/), ChP 12, 14 (*ib.*), NP 47 (3/), JHS xix. 284, 301.

I have not counted the additional exx. of τέσσαρες and τεσσαράκοιτα (*Notes* 33a), but may give those of the aberrant -ερ-. For 'four' I have only Archiv i. 209 (Ptolemaic) [δεκατέρ]σερα—far the oldest of them all, if to be relied on—; VP εἰκοσινέσσερας *bis* (2/); and the Byzantine NP 15 τεσσέρον, which violates the principle of dissimilation suggested by WH *app.* 150 b. It is indeed far more probably an Ionic form which failed to establish itself in the Κοινή to more than a very limited extent. Τεσσεράκοιτα was a little more successful: add from 1/ NP 24, BU 916; from 2/ OP 489, BU 985, VP *quater*; from 3/ NP 38 *bis*, 41 *bis*, 43 (but -αρ- *bis*); from 4/ Pap. Lips. 5 (Archiv ii. 260); from 4/5 Pap. Lips. 13 (Archiv iii. 106 ff.).

To the Ionic forms with metathesis of aspiration (*Notes* 33 b, 434 b) add κέθρας TbP 112 *bis* (ii/), ἐνθαῦτα TbP 66 (ii/).

That σφυρίς, σφυρίδιον, are the true Hellenistic forms was sufficiently shown in *Notes* 33 b. I may add TbP 117, 120 (i/), OP 529 (2/), also a Lincei pap. (Grenfell),

where the not uncommon Doric form μικκός also occurs.

The spelling λεγάω comes twice in a Pisidian inser., JHS 1902, p. 356 (no date), and in inser. 33 (1) of the collection in Archiv ii. 431 ff. (Ezerzai) no. 147 has λεγῶνος, and so NP 62 (3). It is difficult to decide between the ε and the ι (α).

For the contraction of two ι sound (παριῶν, πῶν) no further exx. need be given. Wilcken writes παριῶν (for παριῶν) in BU 934 (3 l). The forms of ἐγής and ἐγεία are worth noting: -ἐγῆ BU 912 (1/), OP 530 (2/), ἰάς BU 385 (2/3), ἐγεία OP 497 (2/), ἐγῆν Mithraslit. p. 14. In Mc 15 (and elsewhere) we find dissimilation resorted to instead of contraction, in the reading ἰλαῖς (SAB* CLΔ).

Against the form φαιλόριον, cited in *Notes* 33 b to illustrate 2 Tim. 4¹⁴, we have φανόριον in OP 531 (2/). (For further exx. see LS s.v.) Can the word have been a foreign importation, twisted into accord with a supposed connexion with φανόριος? Considering how early and how common its Latin derivative *paenula* is, it is curious to find the word in such late and limited use in Greek; but for the quotation from Rhinthe in Pollux, there would be none but phonetic grounds for vetoing the originality of the Latin.

Προῶκα *saep.*, as Pap. Catt. *ter* (2), BU 970 (2/), see Herwerden *Lex. Suppl. s.v.*—Ζμύρης *bis* TbP 35 (ii/), ζμύρη Mithraslit. p. 18.—Ἀλλοδαποί NP 49 (3/), ChP 15 (4/), παντοδαπῶς AP 78 (2/): there was not the analogy of πότε to change the δ as in the NT ποταπός. The latter occurs in the mime fragment, OP 413. The weakness of the spirant γ is shown by omission in ὁλίας TbP 17 (ii/), ἰάς BU 385 (2/3), and by commission in 'the common practice at this [Ptolemaic] period of inserting γ between a short vowel and a long vowel or diphthong' (Grenfell-Hunt on TbP 63). To their exx., and those of G. Meyer § 218, add an inser. in BUI 1903 p. 445 (Amorgos, imperial age), and OP 504 (2), where Φλαίγιος (and cases) *quater* appears with Φλαινίω and Φλανίω.—Reversions to classical spelling are found in ἔραται TbP 38 (ii/), ἐρενῶν *ib.* 5 (ii/), ἐκπέσιον OP 465 (2/).—For λήμφομαι, etc. there is considerable variety in Ptolemaic papyri. Thus in TbP I count 18 exx. with μ, 10 without it. It came to stay: the rare reversions need not be catalogued.—Two cases arise of δ for τ, which may or may not be orthographical variants:—δηλαργῶς Mithraslit. p. 18 (so S*CLΔ in Mc 8²⁶—

popular etymology thought of δῆλος), and ἐμβαδένειν εἰς αὐτόν (sc. οἶκον) VP (2/). So OP 653 (2/) σὺ ἐνεβίδενσας, and 485 (2/) ἐμβαδείας. The latter verb means 'to enter into possession,' as in Demosth. 894. 8: was popular etymology thinking of ἐμβάδες or ἐμβαδόν (OP 505) !—Finally I should put here further evidence bearing on ἦν for ἧ (Notes 38, 436a). In TbP we find 104 (i/) Ἀπολλωνίαν for α (misuse of acc. after παρεχέσθω is a less likely explanation); 84 (ii/) ἀλώνωι gen. pl.; 88 (ii/) γραφῆν for nom., also ἡμερῶ gen. pl. *bis*; 89 (ii/) τῷ δ' ἐγδιωκημέν[ων]; 120 (i/) several cases of dropped final *v*. In vol. iii. of OP we have cases of added *v* in 487 (2/, illiterate) τῇ . . ἐπιτροπῆν, 496 (2/) ἀποδότω ὁ γαμῶν τῷ ἐκδότῃ ἐν περιῆν—a very clear case¹—and probably also εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ γαμῶν πρότερος τετελευτηκῶς ἐχέτω κτλ, 505 (2/) ἀπηλιώτουν, 528 (2/, illiterate) αὐτῆν, as well as the converse ὑγιαίνει inf. and πενθῶ ptc. In OP 73 (1/) τετελειωμένην is dat.; in OP 99 (1/) λεγομένη λαύρα agrees with τῇν. When therefore we find in G 53 (4/) ἐὰν ἦν δὲ ὀνομάζειν, περιγένοι, (and ἐαυτῇ acc.) or in Mithraslit. p. 16 κὰν ἦν, we are not obliged to recognise ἐὰν with indic. That this is possible needs no proof, and Dieterich takes it so in the latter ex.: see his note. But the subj. is equally possible, and the evidence seems to show that we must always be free to parse ἦν according to the context.

Nouns in -μα are constantly showing short penult. Thus θέμα TbP 123 (1/), 120 (1/), BU 995 (1/), OP 298 (1/), 501 (2/), 517 (2/), πρόσθεμα OP 504 (2/), Archiv i. 286 *bis* (Ptol.), ἐπίθεμα OP 500 (2/), AP 85 (1/), ἐκθεματισθῆνι TbP 27 (ii/); πρόδομα TbP 42 (ii/), etc., etc. Ἀνάθεμα (which has recently been found by Deissmann in the sense 'curse' in a heathen imprecation from Megara (1/2)—see ZNTW ii. 342) is of course established in form fairly early in the Hellenistic period: I think πρόσθεμα is the only one of these forms which is found in classical times (Hippocrates). For χρίσμα we have χρίματος (gen.) in OP 529 (2/): χρίσμα is proved the Hellenistic form by Romance evidence (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 30). All this supports the MS spellings adopted by Moulton in WM 57 n., and by WH.

The spelling γινώσκοντος occurs in BM 253 (4/): elsewhere of course always

γινώσκω and γινομαι, even as early as G 9 γινομένην (iii/).

II.—Inflections.

NOUNS.

First and Second Declensions.

The registration of -αρχος and -άρχης (Notes 34a, 434 b) is endless, but I must dump down a few more. For -ος add φρούραρχος TbP 6 (ii/), κώμαρχος TbP 43 (ii/), μερίδαρχος in a Petrie papyrus (iii/—unpublished), ap. GH 54. For -ης, even in early papyri, cases are numerous:—τοπάρχης TbP 48, 64 (ii/), ἱππάρχης TbP 54 (i/), κωμάρχης BP 2, TbP 50 (ii/), μεριδάρχης TbP 66 (ii/), 183 (ii/), ἐπιλάρχης MP 1 (iii/). From later papyri there are ἑκατοντάρχης NP 3 (2/), ἀμφιδάρχης NP 4 (3/), δεκαδάρχης NP 46 (3/), (πολεμάρχης JHS xxi. 281, (i/)). Schmiedel's example shows that no self-respecting NT grammarian can leave this momentous matter uninvestigated: see the preface to his *Winer*, p. ix, for a tale of conscientious labour wasted thereon. Perhaps his pageful of exx., with my additions—to say nothing of other literature—may successfully prove that -ης need not surprise us in the NT. For which epoch-making result let us be duly thankful!

That nouns in -ρᾶ and -νῖα make gen. and dat. sing. in -ης -ῃ predominantly from the early Hellenistic period down, may be taken as proved conclusively. In Notes 34 I could only give one ex. B.C., but the Ptolemaic TbP show the formation sufficiently. Thus μαχαίρης 112, μαχαίρη 16: contr. ἀρούρας 100 *bis*, etc. There are however no Ptolemaic exx. of -νῖης: contr. -ας, -α, in AP 33, 35, TbP 24, 68, 72 *al*. Even in later papyri it is the -νῖα declension which provides most of the exceptions to the rule. The peculiar formula ἐν ἀγνῖᾳ remains unchanged, as legal formulae will, to the end. On the other hand σπείρα, μάχαιρα, and ἀρουρα hardly show any exceptions from i/ onwards. I cannot help connecting this difference between -ρᾶ and -νῖα words with the fact that in Attic the change of ρη to ρᾶ was extinct even before *F* fell out of κόρη, while ηη to αῖ lived on (witness ὑγιᾶ). In that case I may cling to my view (Notes 34b) that the analogy of δόξα δόξης has been operative (so Kretschmer *Entst. d. Koinῆ* 30 n) rather than Ionism (Thumb and G. Meyer). Definite Ionisms like δλῆρης (once out of several times in TbP

¹ The same formula in 497 has ἐὰν περιῆι, and the sense demands a future.

61), and *χλοῖς* *bis* TbP 112 (a document which shows also the Ionic *κίθρας*) are too sporadic to count for this argument.

The two names *Τιμακρίτα* and *Πατροφίλα* in *Archiv* i. 204 (Ptolemaic) reinforce, I think, my argument that *Νύμφαι* in Col. 415 is no Doric form but an example of analogy working in the opposite direction to that just described: they would make, on my theory, gen. in *-ης* all round. (See *Notes* 34b.)

Θέε voc. is reinforced by *θέ* *JHS* 1902, p. 355 (Pisidian inser., unfortunately undated).

Ἄλως generally remains in the 'Attic declension': acc. ἄλως BU 920 (2/) or ἄλω TbP 48 (ii/), gen. ἄλω AP 35 (ii/), dat. ἄλῳ TbP 105 (ii/). But the NT form ἄλως (3rd decl.) also appears, nom. BU 651 (2/), gen. pl. TbP 84 (ii/).

Early exx. of the perplexing *-is -ar*, from *-ιος -ιον*, are *κῆρυ* (ii/—inser. from Palestine in *Revue Biblique* 1902, p. 604), *ἐκφόρυ* TbP 61, 67 *bis*, 115 *bis*, *ἐπιστόλυ* TbP 34, *Πτολεμαῖς* (also *-αῖος*) TbP 24—all from Ptolemaic times. In *Ἀθηνᾶ* 1900, p. 285, Hatzidakis tries another theory. He refers to Mäyser's program p. 44, for Ptolemaic exx., and starts from hypocoristika in *-is*—*γάστρις* = *γαστρίμαργος*, *γύνυς* = *γυνάνδρος*, etc.,—extending thence to common nouns. He thinks this especially likely to happen in Egypt. I am afraid I am still agnostic.

Among the contracted nouns, *ροῖς* retains its uncontracted dat. *νόῳ* in BU 385 (2/3), and *ὀστέον* its nom. acc. in a 2/ inser. from Naplouse (*Pal. Exp. Friend*, July, 1902).

The NT form *γλωσσόκομον* is well established as Hellenistic: G 14 (ii/), OP 521 (2/), *Mithras* 1901 ad *ἄν. αἰῶν. i* 104. But *-ιον* BU 824 (1/).

Third Declension.

The acc. sing. in *ῶν* (on which cf. Kretschmer *Entst.* 28 f.) is only occasional. Add *πατέρα* ChP 15 (4/), *μητέρα* and *γυναικαν* Pap. Catt. (2/).

Acc. pl. in *-ες* (*Notes* 34b, 435a) appears early: *τοὺς ἐπιχαίρωντας* (app. an aor. from *ἐπιχαίρω*) in a Ptolemaic inser. (*Archiv* iii. 128), *φλομυήτορες Σωτήρας* TbP 78 (ii/), *τέσσαρες* *ib.* 110 (i/), *μήνες* *IMA* ii. 391, 392, where Paton asks if it is a trace of old dialect in late inser.; also *βόες* *Archiv* i. 57 ff. (Ptol.) and NP 48 (3/) *bis*, with *βόας*. In OP 465 (2/) *γυναικες*. Add OP 502 (2/) to my citations for *κλείς*.

Against *φρητός* from *φρέα* (*Notes* 435a) note the regular form in OP 502 (2/).

For *χάριτα* add NP 47 (2/3).

On *ἐλαίων olivetum* see further my lexical article in *Expositor* for Dec. 1903, p. 429.

There is a curious recurrence of *ἱερείας -αῖον* in a series of Ptolemaic papyri, BU 994-8 (113-109 B.C.), also *ἱππείων*.

In dat. pl. we find *ἐσθλήτων* OP 466 (2/) against BU 16 (2/) *ἐσθλήτων*, (so NT), but the composition is rather literary; and *συγγενέων*, as in NT, *JHS* 1902, p. 358 (Pisidian inser.)—see WH App. 158a: *συγγενέων* TbP 61 (ii-) *al.*

For the open form *γενέων* add NP 20 (ii-) : on the other hand *πηχέων* *bis* OP 505 (2/).

Mixed Declension (Kühner-Blass § 136).

Exx. of this are naturally very common in foreign names, as *Νέκρουα* and *Γέτα* gen. NP 38 f., etc., *Ἀκίλλα* NP 16 (3/), *Ἀπρή* gen. ChP 30 (2/). Also in shortened name-forms, as *Ἡρᾶ* BU 982 (2/), *Ζηνᾶ* *ib.* 970 (2/), *Ἀχιλλᾶ* OP 525 (2/), etc. In NP 28 (2/) *Κεφαλᾶ* and *Κεφαλᾶτος* occur together.

ADJECTIVES.

ἡμισυς shows the gen. *ἡμύρου* and neut. pl. *ἡμύση* *passim*. Note the indeclinable *ἡμισυ*, as BU 920 (2/) *τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἄνθρωπων τριῶν ἡμισυ τετάρτον καθάρων*. So TbP 110 (i/) *al. saep.*

Ἠλήρης indeclinable (*Notes* 35, 435b) further appears in OP 513 (2/) acc. pl., NP 41 (3/) ditto, NP 13 acc. See Radermacher in *Rhein. Mus.* lvii. 151.

Ἡμυθανός AP 141 (4/), as in NT, for class. *ἡμυθνής*.

Τάχ(ε)ιον add OP 531 (2/), *Lincei* (1/2).

NUMERALS.

An early ex. of *δέκα δέο* is ChP 8 (ii/). Ptolemaic exx. of *δωδέ* are TbP 105 and *IMA* i. 155.

PRONOUNS.

Abnormal forms of the personal pronouns begin to appear early. So acc. *ἐμῶν* OP 219 (1/—literary), NP 51 (3/), G 53 (4/), σέ BM ii. 299 (Grünert in *C.R.* xvii. 197b), NP 13 (4/); gen. *ἐσοῦ* (as MGr) BM 284, OP 528 (2/), 531 (2/). See Blass on OP 119 in *Hermes* xxiv. 312.

VERBS.

Augment and Reduplication. (*Notes* 35, 36a, 435b.)

Augment with *η*: *ἡμελλον* ChP 3 (iii/), *ἡβουλόμην* *ib.* 4 (ii/). Double Augment

(redupl.): *ἠνώχλησαι* AP 37 (ii/), *ἀπεκατέ-σθην* inser. no. 31 (1/) in *Archiv* ii. 431 ff. Dropped Augment (redupl.): *ῥομαλισμένην* TbP 105 (ii/), *ἀπάντηκα* NP 49 (3/), *ἀνάλωσεν* ChP 30 (2/), *ὁμολογήσαμεν* NP 51 (3/), *ἀνάγκασεν* Pap. Catt. (2/), *οἰκοδόμησα* inser. nos. 19, 35 (1/) in *Archiv* l.c., al. Pluperfect without augment: *διαίρηκμεν* NP 11 (4/), *γεγράφειν* OP 113 (2/), *ἐπιδεδώκειμεν* AP 33 (ii/), *γεγόνει* IMA i. 1032 (ii/), *διατετελέκει* ib. *παραβεβλήκησαν* TbP 24 (ii/). Early papyri generally show augment: *ἐπεποιήκει* TbP 15, *ἐγεγράφεις* ib. 18, *ἐπεποιήτο* ib. 27, *ἐξεπεπτόκεσαν* ib. 28, *ἐδεδόκεσαν* FP 12 (all ii/), *προσεμεμαρτυρήκει* BU 1004 (iii/). Misc.: *ἡργ(ασμένος)* OP 520 bis (2/), but *ἔργ(ασται)* ChP 25 (2/); *ἑώνημαι* still BU 993 (ii/), TP 1 (ii/), AP 68 (1/), BU 937 (3/), and even ChP 15 (4/); *ἑωνήσατο* NP 20 (ii/), *-ατο* NP 75 (4/5),—contr. Ac 7¹⁶ *ῥήσατο* all MSS.

For the curious intrusion of the augment into the noun *κατέαγμα* (*Notes* 36a, 435b) cf. *ἀνήλωμα* G 18 (ii/), LP s (ii/), OP 522 (2/) *ter*, TbP *saep.*, etc. In fact, exx. of *ἀνάλωμα*—AP 67 (3/), 70 (2/) *bis*, 136 (3/), 158 (7/) will serve—are decidedly in the minority. In the case of this word I should call in the great frequency of aor. and perf. in accounts, where unaugmented tenses would be rare. I cannot agree with G. Meyer's previously cited explanation of *κατέαζω*, *ἔαγμα*, etc. The analogy of *ἐθέλω* seems to me more hopeful, but it does not take us far.

Person-Inflections.

It is hardly necessary to add to the evidence for intrusion of first aorist endings into second aorists: the forms are everywhere. I have not collected the material, as the probable results did not seem adequate for so great a labour, but I might record a few impressions. The infection naturally concerns the active more than the middle, a tense which was on the down grade in Hellenistic. I do not remember an ex. of optative or infinitive in either voice, nor a case of 2 sg. indic. mid.: *ἐδέξου* BU 984 (4/) is an additional ex. of the converse. The imper. mid. is little, if at all, affected. The careful account in WS p. 111 tallies with the papyri. I might quote one form, *συνέειπαντος* TbP 42 (ii/).

The 3 pl. perf. act. in *-αν* continues to gain further attestation (*Notes* 35a, 435b). So *ῥέδωκαν* (*ἀποδ.*) TbP 29, 58 (ii/), *πέπεικαν* ib. 36 (ii/), *ἐγλέλυνκαν* ib. 54 (i/), *κατέσχηκαν* ib. 61, 72 (ii/), *παρατέθεικαν* ib. 72, *πέπωκαν* OP 465 (2/), *κακίνηκαν* ib. 528 (2/), *ἀπήνηκαν* ib. 530 (2/), *παραδέδωκαν* AP 142

(4/). Whether a man of St. Paul's education would have used it even colloquially is doubtful—the scribes, or even Tertius himself, may have been responsible for *γέγοναν* Rom 16⁷. See WS p. 113 for NT evidence. The 3rd pl. in *-σαν* appears for the first time in *(κατ)ήλθοσαν* TbP 24, 179 and *ἔχουσιν* ib. 39 (all ii/),: on this form the remark just made may be repeated as to St. Paul. Indeed this flexion was evidently much less firmly established than the perfect *-αν*, as the two *-εσαν* forms (*Notes* 36b) suggest. The *-σαν* suffix of course won an early victory in the imperative *-ωσαν* act. and mid. Meisterhans³ 168 cites only one *-ων* form later than 300 B.C. In Doric (Thera) it survived a little longer, if we may judge from the Testament of Epikteta (IMA iii. 330, *Michel* 1001), whence *ἀφαιρούντων* and *πορευέσθων* (also *πορευέσθωσαν*) can be quoted from cir. 200 B.C.

The Attic 1 sg. pluperf. *ἔξειλήφην* is found as late as MP 10 (iii/). Note 3 pl. *παραβεβλήκησαν* (above), *ἐπεποιήκησαν* (Ptol.) *Archiv* i. 57 ff, 1 sg. *ἐγεγράφη* TbP 27 (ii/).

Note further *οἶδες* BU 923 (1/2), an earlier witness than I previously cited.

Contracted Verbs. (*Notes* 36b, 435b).

The confusion of *-άω* and *-έω*, found in NT and complete in MGr, may be further illustrated by *ἀγωνιῶμεν* BU 449 (2/3), *διαιτουμένω*¹ OP 496 (2/), *ἀγαποῦντες* BU 984 (4/), *ἀπαντούντων* NP 55 (3/), *φρονῶντες*, *JHS* 1902 p. 342 (Pisidian inser. Roman age), following *ζῶντες*, which presumably affects it. In AP 33 (ii/) we have *συνηγορήσαντες* and *συνηγοράσαι* bis side by side. NP 53 (3/), *καλεγῶσαν* (l) = *καλλιεργῶσαν*.

The uncontracted *δέεται*—a natural analogy product from *δέομαι*—appears in BU 926 (2/), Mithraslit. p. 12. Cf. Blass *NTG*² §22. 2.

Note the irregular contraction *βεβαιώτω* TbP 105 (ii/), *βεβαιώσθαι* OP 265 (1/).

For *χράσθαι* add VP (2/), OP 489, 494, 502 *χράσθω* (all 2/), Mithraslit. p. 19 bis. Exx. of the infin. in *-οῦν* accumulate:—*ἐξαλλοτριῶν* TbP 104 (i/), *μεταμισθοῦν* ib. 105 (i/), BU 916 (1/), *ἐκπληροῦν* TbP 50, 61 (ii/), *ἀλλοτριῶν* NP 21 (ii/), *διαμισθοῦν* VP (2/), *ἀκυροῦν* OP 491, 494, 495 (2/). Some late evidence for *-οῦν* is given by Hatzidakis

¹ I have observed a similar tendency, isolated it is true, in the very best (19/) Attic prose: see *Cambridge Compositions*, p. 369. It must be the printer who, with a perversity natural to his kind, has further perpetrated the active form *διαιτοῦντες*. The English version, by one Raleigh, has 'Their diet was simple.'

(*Eintl.* 193). The -οὖν of the great uncials in four places out of five in NT cannot possibly come from the autographs: I doubt if it is older than the scribe of B (once only in 88).

Here belongs the formation of 2 sg. fut. mid. contracted, as the early form *χαριῶσαι* (*Notes* 36b) illustrates so well the NT *δοῦνᾶσαι* and *καυχᾶσαι*. I have found no further exx., but *contra* *χαριῶ* TbP 55, 20, 19 *χαριῶ*, ChP 4 (all ii/). On the other hand I have no exx. of the type *καυχῶ*: the form does not seem to occur.

Tense forms.

For the confusion of fut. and aor. infin. mid. add *παρέξ|ασθαι* OP 504 (2/), *ἐπελεύ-σασθαι* ChP 13 (4/), BU 998 (ii/)—‘I. -εσθαι,’ says the editor—, *ἀπεργάσεσθαι* aor. BU 969 (2/), *ἐργάσεσθαι* do. TbP 5 (ii/), *ἀσπᾶσεσθαι* aor. BU 451 (1/2), 811 (1/2).

For the active, MP2 (iii/) *μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν* τῷ Πυθώρει κωλύειν ἡμᾶς οἰκοδομεῖν, BU 948 (4/5, very illiterate) *γράψει, πέμψει* *bis*. The evidence given by Hatzidakis *Eintl.* 190 f. makes it a question whether we can press an apparent future infin. anywhere in Hellenistic, even in literary documents.

ἄγω continues to show a charming uncertainty as to its perfect. Add *ἀγοχόσ[]*. . . TbP 124, *παραγωγότας* *ib.* 5, *προσαγωγότας* *ib.* 19 (all ii/). In NP 60 (3/) *ἀγέγησαι* is 1 aor. imper. mid.

αἰσθάνομαι has the future *αἰσθηθήσεται* Mithraslit. p. 10: cf. LXX. in Isai. 33¹¹ (B).

βαστάζω adds to its guttural forms:—BU 923 (2/), NP 3 (2/), 47 (3/), OP 507 (2/), 522 (2/), Mithraslit. p. 18. So Rev 2² in P, 1, 38,—not an impossible reading in the Apocalypse, though the evidence for the guttural forms is not older than 2/. *Ἐβᾶσταξα* is MGr: see Thumb *Gramm.* 90, 203.

γράφω has a double perfect, even within the same document: TbP 12 (ii/) *γεγραφέως* ... *γεγράφηκεν*. For the latter add TbP 34 (ii/i), ChP 13 (4/).

δύναμαι. The aor. pass. has *δυνασθῶσιν* NP 62 (3/), elsewhere always (I think) *ἐδενή-μεν*.

ἐπιχαίρω. The aor. *ἐπιχάραντες* (acc. pl.) was noted above.

θέλω shows the remarkable perf. *τεθελή-κουσι* AP 130 (1/). WS 99 n 3 gives *τεθέ-ληκα* for Ps 41¹², citing Phryn. 332 (Rutherford, p. 415). The present *ἐθέλω* occurs once, BU 948, (4/5).

κατεργάζομαι has fut. contract. *κατεργᾶται* TbP 10 (ii/), *κατεργώμεθα* MP 5, 10 (iii/), according to Crönert's reading (*Rev. d. Ét. Gr.* xvi., 192 ff.).

λαγχάνω still shows perf. *ἀέλω* *χεν* early in 2 (OP 503).

οἶδα. The Hellenistic 3 pl. *οἶδαν* occurs as early as ChP 3 (iii/). On the other hand *ἴστε* NP 14 (Byz.), *ἴσμεν* Pap. Lips. 13 (4/5).

ἴμεναι makes its perf. variously *ἴμμεναι* *χα, etc.*

ἴρώ. Fut. pass. *παροπαλιτωμέναι* TbP 27 (ii/).

πίνω. Fresh exx. of aor. inf. *πῖν* need not be cited: *πῖν* is quite rare. (But TbP 120 (1/) *ὡς πῖν* *bis*. See above under orthography). I must mention however, for its syntax, the too frequently recurring formula from accounts, *τῷ δαίτι ὡς πῖν*: *eg.* ChP 30 (2/) *ἐμὸν ἰς πῖν* *τέρ*. The student of comparative dipsology may investigate the prices paid.

τελέω. Add for future *τελέσω* TbP 105, (ii/).

τάνω. Add further NP 71 (3/).

φέρω. In ChP 14 (4/) an aor. *ἐποίηται* *τες* is formed from future stem. In BU 1016 (iii/) we have *ἀνεργκόσι*, a very natural perfect. NP 74 (3/1) add for *ἦμεκα*, also OP 119 (2/3) *ἀπενέκκω*.

Verbs in -μι. (Notes 37, 38, 436a).

Tense formation.

The perf. *ἔπακα* gathers more evidence: it was certainly a well-established form in colloquial Hellenistic. Thus TbP 5 (ii/), OP 505, 528 (2/). In TbP 120 (i/) we have the Attic *τέθη(κα)*, to add to our BU 388 (2/): I fancy it was arrived at by an easy analogy from *θήσω*, as the modern schoolboy gets it, rather than from Atticist tradition.

For the 1 aor. subj. *δόσω* add ChP 14 (4/).

Infinitives.

To the various analogical types in the aorist add *διαγοῦναι* Archiv i. 285 (Ptol.), and *δῶναι* NP 28 (2/), Mithraslit. p. 48, BU 970 *bis* (*ἀποδ., μεταδ.*) (2/).

Subjunctives in -οῖς -αι.

Add VP (2/) *ἀποδοῖ*, OP 485 (2) *ἀποδοῖ* and *-δῶ*, *ἐπιγνώ* OP 413 (the mime fragment, v. 160, after *πρᾶν* in present sequence), *δο<τ>* after *ἦτα* Archiv i. 340 (12 papyrus), and perhaps NP 53 (3) *οῖς*, which would at that date be homophonous with *οἷς*: cf. 54 (same date) where *συνθέλῃ ὁ θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ εἶναι* may be opt., *συνθέλοι*. In NP 51 (3/) *καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀποδοῖ σοι... καὶ ἀναψῇ σε* seems to require two optatives, but the late use of the jussive subjunctive (like that in Elean and in Latin) would account for it. *δοῖ* is opt. in *CIG.* 6562, *δοῖ σοι ὁ Ὀσίρις* τῷ

ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ. Against their being opt. in the NT see WM 95 n., 360.

Other -ω forms.

διδοῦντος BU 86 (2/), ἀναδιδόντι OP 532 (2/). There are many additional exx. of δύνομαι: Pap. Catt. (2/), BU 923 (1/2), 614 (3/), 948 (4/5), 625 (2/3) ἡδυνόμην *al.*

Forms of εἰμί.

Add ἡμῶν MP 6 (iii/), OP 526 (2/), Pap. Lips. 13 *bis* (4/5); ἦς OP 413 (the mime); ἦτω OP 533 *bis* (2/3).

εἰμί is printed in OP 529 (2/), but may there not have been a participle in the next line? It is the last word of a letter and seems to be followed by a gap (ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς Κόπτον μετὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος εἰμι...). One is loth to accept this good Attic future so late. μετεῖναι in BU 114 (2/) is another matter.

Finally note ἔφησαν TbP 15 (ii/), with which cf. ἔφημεν in Justin M. *apol.* i. 8, and Gildersleeve's note.

Verbals.

The -τέος verbal occurs in TbP 61 (ii/) θεῖναι ἐν συγκρίσει εἰ αὐτὴ [ἀνταναι]ρεῖα, [ἄλλη δὲ] ἀπὸ ὑπολόγον ἀνταναιρεθεῖσα ἀποκατασταῖα. I do not remember another ex. It only occurs once in NT. The -τος participle is common in negative forms: several are cited in the Syntax below (under Genitive). The meaning -bilis appears in ὁρατός G 47 (2/), ἀμεμπτος and ἀκατηγόρητος CPR 27 (2/), 24 (*do.*), etc.

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(*To be continued.*)

MAVORTIUS' COPY OF PRUDENTIUS.

ANYONE but the editors of Prudentius would have thought that the early 6th century MS., and that too a MS. written within about a century of the author's death, was worthy of an editor's most minute attention. Yet those worthies, with the single exception of Heinsius, have agreed either politely to ignore the existence of the Putean MS. or less politely like Dressel to pooh-pooch its age and authority. I am far from suggesting that they should have pinned their faith to Put. to the exclusion of the other MSS.: for, unless I am greatly mistaken, those MSS. can be referred to an archetype of equal antiquity with Put. Still even if a thorough collation were only to prove what the recent discoveries of papyri have proved abundantly, that the oldest text is not always the best, one would have supposed that the attempt was worth making, and that, if any foregone conclusion were to be drawn, it should have been the opposite one. Undoubtedly Heinsius has taken all the nuggets and only the dust remains for after-comers; but they can at least confirm with Put.'s authority readings which Heinsius has omitted to notice or where he has hidden Put.'s testimony under some such convenient but misleading term as 'codd. antiquiss.'

For the general classical student too an element of interest is supplied by the connection of the MS. with Mavortius, the so-called editor of Horace. His name, or rather part of it, ///tius Agorius Basilius

occurs on page 45 at the end of the Cathemerinon, and the same hand has added the names of the metres (of the various poems) in the margin of the MS. Most probably then the MS. was written for Mavortius, and the corrections were made by himself, though the change to capital letters prevents us from identifying the hands. So, although there is no subscriptio, we have every ground for believing that this MS. is an example, perhaps the only surviving example, autograph example, of what the work of the emendatores referred to in all subscriptiones actually was. Whether it lends any support to the theory that they practised emendation in the modern sense of the word, it would be premature to discuss before giving some account of the MS. and its readings.

The MS. (Paris Lat. 8084), which contains the Cathemerinon (without Praefatio), Apotheosis, Hamartigenia, Psychomachia, and Peristephanon i-v. 142, has been sufficiently often described¹ to render it unnecessary for me to do more than mention a few salient features. Put. is written in rustic capitals, and the numberings of the quires show that it was written in three parts. At the end of the first of these parts is Mavortius' name. Mavortius has written in the margin the names of the metres of the various poems; and across the top margin of the Apoth. Hamart. and Psych. is

¹ *E.g.* by U. Robert in *Mélanges Graux*: E. Faguet, *de Prud. carm. lyricis*; and the Palaeographical Society's facsimile.

written 'Prudentii lib. i. Apotheosis,' 'Prudentii lib. ii. Amartigenia,' 'Prudentii lib. iii. Psychomachia' respectively. The only other marginal notes are Ap. 353 *esse* comequer. (11) Ps. Pr. 43 *quia sine patre et sine matre legitur*. 57 *cecxii*. Per. ii. 164 *id est a saeculo*. Another hand has added at the end of the Apotheosis '*superna regna monstrando nos illic cupit adire*:' and at the end of what remains of Per. v.

*claudatur antris claustribus
ab omne sit remotior.*

On page 9, where some lines have become almost illegible, a minuscule hand has added the readings in the margin: and at the end again a later hand has often wrongly attempted to ink over the traces of

illegible words *e.g.* Per. iv. 157 *euouoti tu bella*. 158 *quantus eoa primitiuae*. 159

reclat. 177 *quidnam . . . truentur*. 178 *speciem tuque uincenti tui*. Per. v. 3 *mercis*. 23 *rex uere sanxit*. 25 *nazoreni*. 63 *quaeque*. 66 *strutum*. 103 *ne inipune ne*. 109

brachs. Some of the corrections too are in a minuscule hand, *e.g.* the *que* in *tenuique* (Cath. iii. 74. The *e* is written over *i*), and

the word *tripingua* (Cath. iii. 128), *ipse*

(xii. 112), *coninente ./ cohibente* (Ps. 453). Dressel, or rather Heinsius, has sometimes mentioned these readings without stating that they are not by the original hand: and, as the variants I shall proceed to quote are strictly supplementary to his collation, it may be as well first to mention several misstatements among his readings. Cath. vi. 76 *tuenda* is written in the margin rather, I think, as a correction than 'pro

div. script.' vii. 119. *dissep^earent*. x. 12 *arida* corrected by another hand from *area* (i). 154 *illa lazari* is in much blacker ink over an erasure of *est eleazar*; xii. 142

quordam. Ap. 35 *elligier^u*. 423 *non^ups*;

482 *ablitura*; 531 *q^uium*; 551 *p^uiores* corrected to *fideles*; 628 *uelandum*; 844

p^raeus; 863 *incircum^rscribitus*; Ham. 422 *euuacorum*; 908 *densetur*; 916 *Iohannes*. Ps. 879 *recisof*. Per. iv. 19 *aclicum*.

I proceed to give a selection of readings omitted in Heinsius' collation, excluding almost all orthographical mistakes, which have been dealt with in another paper.

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Unimportant slips, too, I have generally omitted, but have retained a few chiefly to illustrate the work of the corrector.

Cath. ii. 12 *palescet*. This reading, which is supported by Ia. P.² Harl.², agrees better with the preceding '*sic mor*' and the following '*tunc non heebit*' than Dressel's *palescit*. 72 *tergens*. Though unexceptionable in itself and well supported by MSS. (B. a. a. Ein.¹² Lo.² Harl.². Burn. D. P.²²³³ Troy. Z. In O -ns is erased; in H it is added and in Lo.³ it is a variant), still *terge* is more in the style of the poet, as he seldom carries on the sentence from one verse to another. 88 *rebelles* as most MSS.

iii. 2 *omniparens* is corrected from *omnipotens*; O too has *omps*. and P.¹⁶ *omnipotens* (in ras.): but *omnipotens* is decidedly inferior. 24 *apⁱusque*. 34

praeⁱcinax. 79 *umbra fluit*: afterwards corrected. 138 *prius*. I have found this reading in 34 MSS. besides those mentioned by Dressel; but it seems inferior to prior.

iv. 26 *construunt*. 34 *ffuens*. 56 *parato*.

73 *refecti*. 78 *fera^m rebelles*.

v. 24 *ignum*. 31 *spinifero*. 85 *rabidis*. 88 *ut uoret*. Though well attested there is little doubt that *deuoret* is right. 103 *difflata*. Supported by 20 MSS. besides Dressel's. 123 *canft*.

vii. 7 *uiuidi*. as many MSS. 20 *animumque*. 84 *benignum*. 151 *pullati*; as almost all MSS.: but it is more likely to be an emendation than *bullati*. 169 *hauriat*. Another possible and well supported reading,

but not, I think, right. 176 *loquar*. 205 *pectorum rubiginem*. This reading is supported by B. W. Ein.¹ Gall.¹²³ Z. Rat. Rat.²³ Eb.¹ Ma. P.⁵⁹ Boul. Lo. Harl. In O. H. Harl.⁵ Ein.¹ it is given as a variant: *P. corporis libidinem*.

Duss. and P.⁷ read *pectorum rubiginem*. But *pectoris* is a better parallel to the '*cordis*' of the preceding line.

viii. 63 *dominatur*. 69 *enervans*: as almost all MSS. That it is the correct spelling there is no doubt; but whether Prudentius wrote it is quite another thing. Probably not: for if he did there is no excuse for the short quantity. If however he adopted a late and unclassical spelling, he may have held himself excused. (comp. Dressel on Sym. ii. 143). ix. 40 *exitium* altered to *extremum*. 42 The first u of *rimus*

seems to be altered to p. 44 *funerat*. 56 *spurgamina*. 59 *referta*: as most MSS. possibly rightly, (cmp. however iv. 73). 60 *ferre qualis ter quaternis*. 66 et. 72 *dis-solubilis*, as many MSS. 82 *egenis* (-us corrected to -is). 158 *atraemorte*. Of my MSS. K. M. Rat. Rat.^{2,3} Eb.¹ Gall.^{1,2,3} Z. Ein.² P.^{6,7,8,9} Maz. Lo.^{2,3} Harl.⁵ have the e, in Duss. H. Stutt. B. it is added above the line and in Ma. it is erased. As *triumpho* e or de is the regular construction, there is little doubt that it is right. It was probably omitted because it got joined to *atra*, as indeed it is in many MSS. e.g., in Rat. with a gloss 'pro ex.'

xi. 103 *inritis*. This is much the best supported reading; and *inritus* in spite of Obbar's and Dressel's support is probably nothing but a copyist's blunder due to the neighbouring nominatives, (cmp. *egenus* x. 82).

xii. 67 *puer. o. cui*. 126 *lumine*. 130 *inmaculatorum*. 184 *pinxerint*, as many MSS. possibly rightly. 204 *rex omnis* (changed to -es) *unus*. Ap.¹ Praef. 51 *uitiosa*. 56 *zezaniaum*. Ap. 27 *ni*. 35 *uelit* changed to *malit*. 130 *exspantiantem* (ex in ras.). 145 *assyrios metuit*: *metuit* is supported also by Dorv. Duss. Rat.^{2,3} Ein.¹ P.⁹ Maz. D. (and P.⁵ with variant *uetitus*), and is a gloss in B.² Gall.³ Stutt. Lo.³ P.¹⁰ Does not the reading *ueritus*, which is found in Rh., make it probable that *metuit* is the true reading and *uetitus* only a misreading of a gloss *ueritus*? 218 *corpore coram*.

248 and 249 are transposed. 253 *tuph*, 260 *sensus*, as many other MSS. 312 *uiris*

corrected to *libris* (?). 378 *laude* . . . *armaria* corrected to *miracula*. (397 *tibi*: 439 *regit*: as most MSS. 464 *reserarat*.

483 *mirat*. 511 *proterit*. 523 *arte*. 574 *narp*. 618 *altrologus*. 655 *pannis*. 683 *lacus* (c ex t). 682 *purgamen*: as most MSS. Probably it is right: misunderstanding of the old form *aquai* would be very likely to cause the a to be separated and joined to *purgamen* and then the change of e to i would follow naturally. 704 *ex*. 755

ne. 791 *ipsa*. 829 *ipse*. 923 *inluto* changed

to -loto. 959 *am*. 1005 *do* *fectores*. 1077 *reddet*: as many MSS.

Ham. Pr. 12 *recta*: as many MSS. probably rightly. 33 *fratricida*. So too Duss. Eb.¹ P.^{6,7,9,10} and D. Dorv. with the *patricida* as a gloss. 41 *quieta*. 63 *halitus*. 28 et *unus*. So too O. Trin. Dorv. Duss. Stutt. M.M.² and probably others. 65 *qui*. 95 *non sint*. I noticed this reading also in O. and. Duss. (where however it is altered): and it may

well be correct. 132 *snf* *fundit*. 149 *corpora*. 278 *facilis fragili* was at first written but corrected. 327 *adactum*. 339 *hominum* corrected into *bonum*. 372 *lebens* corrected to *leges*. 459 *e*: as most MSS. 498

redemit. 538 *prencersi* altered to *pene-trans*. 546 *agitabile*, which I have found in 30 MSS. besides Dressel's. It is probably right: *uegetabile* being merely a mistake due to the preceding *uelox*. 581 *ethenicis*.

633 *mallit*. 664 *uelle* et. 678 *uincl*. 732 *utque* with a few MSS. 738 *monit*. 775

uterque. 781 *tori sacrisque u/cantes*. The variant *sacrisque* I observed in O. Trin. Stutt. M.M.², from which I infer that, though it is not mentioned by Dressel, it is a fairly common reading, and worth consideration.

Ps. Pr. 31 *oues equarum...bucula*. Ps. 38 *nunc*. 100 *rubenti*. 190 *stabili*. 210 *nudos*. 216 *nempe o*. 216 *o*: as most MSS. Dressel's reading *hoc* may very well have arisen from *ho* which is found in Erf. 228 *hostis nunc*: with other MSS. 258 *interfuso*: obviously due to a misunderstanding of *aequore*. 264 *possit*. 280 *cruentatum*. 298 *possit*. 312 *delicata*. 331 *torosublis*: *sublis* is found in Ein.¹ Cle. Harl. 336 *aut*. 401 *no sors*. 421 *odoris*: corrected by a later hand. 431 *asperat*: changed to -et by a later hand. 485 *neconpositum*. 520 *rapuit*. 545 *ueneris*. 546 *uenus*. 553 *ueste*: with most MSS. and editors. 633 *exfibulata*. 794 *occulat*. 822 *distincta*. 846 *pueros supremus*. 856

uariabat. 879 *uird quod*. 885 *germina*. with most MSS. 886 *decorem*. 910 *omnes*.

Per. i. 87 *intrans*. Per. ii. *Hymnus* in honorem passionis laurentii beatissimi martyris. 95 *agnosceat*. 134 *spem*: as most MSS. 159 *penu*: corrected from *specu*.

167 *auare*. 189 *audenter*. 193 *turbidis*: with other MSS. 233 *principum*. This reading is supported by Or. Boul. Harl. and by

¹ The following headings occur in the Apotheosis: I. 1 *contra heresim quae patrem passum dicunt*. 178 *contra unionitas*. 321 *adversum indoctos*. 552 *contra homuncionitas*. 781 *de natura animae*. 952 *adversum fantasmaticos qui christum negant verum corpus habuisse*.

O.P.⁵ with the variant diuitum (-is O), and is given as a variant in P.²⁷: militum is the reading of Rat.² and a variant in P.¹⁹. 313 furens: with Or. Boul. W. M. Rh. D.¹ P.⁵ (uel fremens) P.⁷: it is also given as a variant in P.¹⁰ Lo.² Z. 314 et: I noted this also from O. Or. H. Trin. P.⁸ 328 retudit; so too O. and Or. (uel retundit). 348 semustulati. 359 amictum. 439 mansuescit with O. Or. M. 472 pactum: corrected. 565 supplet. 567 iocantur: with many MSS. 579 martyras.

Per. iii. Hymnus in honorem passionis eulaliae beatissimae martyris. 21 flere: with most MSS. 40 ruit. 96 furiis. 102 es. 105 forte: corrected.

Per. iv. Hymnus in honorem sanctorum decem, etc. 134 negarit. 145 aera: corrected to sacra. 151 iuliam. 153 pungat. 167 utiosa.

Per. v. 59 et: so too O. Or. Duss. K. 79 aucipes.

If we look for new and startling variants among these readings we shall be disappointed, for they add little or nothing of any value to those already known, and most of the new variants are demonstrably wrong.

There remains to be considered what light the MS. throws upon the vexed question of Mavortius' editorship. To dispose first of a minor point: here as in the Horatian MSS., the name does not occur at the end of the complete book, but at the end of one section—oddly enough in both cases it is a lyric section—; yet the metrical notes in Mavortius' hand, and the corrections of misspellings and slips, if they too are to be attributed to him, are continued throughout the whole MS. So there would seem no support for the essentially improbable view that Mavortius' work, whatever it was, extended only over a part of the poems of Horace. The more important point is, what was his work? Was Mavortius a textual critic in the modern sense of the word, or merely a kind of proof-corrector? Years ago it has been ably argued that the

word 'emendare' which is used invariably in the subscriptiones, is to be construed in its most literal sense; and that view is, I think, fully borne out by this MS. The changes of the original text amount to nothing more than insertions of omitted lines or words, and corrections of slips of the pen. Perhaps in the case of spelling a little more has been done; but after all spelling is not a matter of vital importance, and Sam Weller's jokes are none the worse because he spelled his name 'with a we.' Mavortius makes no display of that hypersensitive critical faculty, which has nowadays been so over-cultivated and practised on the text of the classical authors, that, if some candid man from among them could but read his own works in a modern edition, he would probably admit with shame and humility that there were many neat phrases and graceful touches of which he was perfectly innocent. Indeed, so far was Mavortius from practising this kind of criticism that he allowed many metrical impossibilities and obviously false repetitions to escape his notice; and not a single one of the important variants—and there are variants fully as important as those of the Mavortian recension of Horace—can be attributed to his pen. So that it can hardly be doubted that the variants of that group of Horatian MSS., must, like the variants of the other MSS., where we have no subscriptio to conjure with, be laid on the head of the universal scapegoat, the copyist. Mavortius was no Bentley; and, though it may be no compliment to him to say so, for us, at any rate, it is a comforting assurance. For, even if Bentley's assertion that Horace is preserved only in Mavortius' recension were true, which recent research tends to prove it is not, still we may rest assured that that would not be so great a calamity as it would be if Milton were preserved only in Bentley's recension.

E. O. WINSTEDT.

REVIEWS.

THALHEIM'S *ISAEUS*.

Isaei orationes cum deperditorum fragmentis post Carolum Scheibe iterum edidit TH. THALHEIM. Leipzig: Teubner. Mk. 2. 40.

THE upshot of the critical studies in the text of the minor Attic orators inaugurated

in 1872 by Hug has been to prove that BLMPZ are all derived from A, the codex Crippsianus in the British Museum, so that our authorities for Isaeus are now reduced to two, viz. A and the codex Ambrosianus (Q), which contains only the first two

speeches. But the disappearance of BLMPZ did not end controversy. The place of disputed *stemmata* has been amply filled by discussions about the state of the archetype, and the number and significance of the different hands in A. Bekker, who was in London in 1820, made no attempt to subdivide the numerous corrections found in the codex Crippsianus. In general he was content with the terms '*pr. A.*' and '*correctus A.*' but occasionally gave something more definite such as '*a recentiore manu.*' '*a recenti manu.*' '*rec. A.*' Dobson, whose *Oratores Attici* began to appear in 1828, was not more precise than Bekker. Sigg, who opens the new era, and whose collation was used by Hug, discovered the hands of three correctors. Jernstedt, Blass, Thalheim, and other scholars find only two correctors, (1) the scribe himself (A¹), who introduced many changes, some while writing, others, it would seem, on revising his work, (2) a later critic (A²), whose alterations can be easily distinguished by the yellowish colour of the ink. This view appears to me right, but, not being a trained observer of palaeographical minutiae, I recognise that my opinion on such points is of little value. The corrections commonly lumped together under the designation A¹ have been subjected to an elaborate analysis by H. Schenkl, who attributes very few to the copyist, the majority to a second hand (the first corrector), others to a third hand, some even to a fourth; he also considers that the scribe was not the rubricator. Buermann, who edited Isaeus in 1883, so far agreed with Schenkl as to think it probable that the MS., when completed, was revised by a second person, but he did not allow this qualified assent to complicate the critical problem, since he supposed that the reviser had before him, if not the same original as the scribe, at any rate a MS. which was its twin-brother (*exemplar archetypi simillimum*), and moreover rejected as impracticable any systematic separation between corrections made *inter scribendum* and corrections afterwards introduced by the reviser.

The personality of the rubricator may be disregarded without injury to the text, but an editor has to make up his mind about the relation of Apr., A¹, and A². Thalheim has escaped the pitfall into which Buermann fell, and holds the right view, for the right reasons. 'Scientific criticism' has done its best to darken counsel by speculations about 'the double recension in the archetype.' The pyramid has been set upon its apex. In the last two speeches of Andocides and the

first two speeches of Isaeus A may be compared with Q. In Antiphon, Dinarchus, and part of Lysurgus A may be compared with the Oxoniensis (N). The comparison shows (1) that AQN come from the same source, (2) that A¹ agrees regularly with Q and N, nearly all the exceptions, which are relatively rare, being explicable by the hypothesis that the writers of Q and N, like the writer of A, sometimes made mistakes. Buermann's canon was that, wherever internal grounds are not decisive, Apr. must be preferred to A¹. The true principle, which Thalheim follows, is to prefer A¹ to Apr., unless there are strong reasons for the contrary course. But what reason has he for printing $\delta\pi\eta$ in iv. 27. 5, v. 35. 11, vi. 41. 7, ix. 28. 3, when in each place A¹ took the trouble to change $\delta\pi\eta$ to $\delta\pi\omega$? In his edition of Dinarchus (i. 43. 10) he reads $\delta\pi\omega$ with N, although $\delta\pi\eta$ is in A. Again, in vii. 33. 5 is not $\epsilon\iota\ \nu\eta\ \Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (Apr.) distinctly superior to $\eta\ \nu\eta\ \Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ (A¹)? The corrections of A² stand on a different footing. As long ago as 1886 Thalheim maintained (*De Dinarchi codicibus commentatio* p. 2) that these alterations are from the pen of an ancient scholar, who emended the text *proprio Marte*. The attempts to prove that A² must have used a MS. are a complete failure. Emendations of the thirteenth or fourteenth century have not more title to respect than emendations of the nineteenth century. Neither have they necessarily less, if the emender is a Greek handling his native language and familiar from childhood with the ways of MSS. To make a dead set against A² is unreasonable, and smacks of self-conceit. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*. There are places where he is at least as happy as his modern censors. There are also places in which the advantage rests with professors of our own age. I am surprised that Thalheim does not notice the proposal of Blass (*Antiph.*² praef. p. xiv) on xi. 42. The MS. has $\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\phi'\ \acute{\omega}\nu\ \eta\ \mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\omega\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\ \mu\upsilon\alpha\iota,$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \delta\epsilon\ \omicron\iota\kappa\iota\omega\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma,$ $\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\ \mu\upsilon\alpha\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\nu\alpha\iota.$ Reiske boggled at $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\mu\phi\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ after $\alpha\iota$, but did not know that $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma,\ \alpha\iota$ was a correction of $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\alpha\iota$ made by A.² Blass suggested $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\alpha\iota$, < $\acute{\alpha}$ >, a construction supported by lapidary testimony (Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. att. Inschr.*³, § 82. 5, p. 197). Another questionable conjecture of A² will be noticed below.

As a whole this edition will probably be applauded by one school of critics as 'conservative.' I avow myself a Radical, with

no reverence for 'the tradition' as exemplified in the codex Crippsianus; a MS. is not good because it is unique. Going through my own text, which was printed off in the course of last summer before the appearance of Thalheim's article in *Hermes* 38, p. 453 sqq., I find that I desert the MS. in about 130 places where Thalheim sticks to it. It is incredible that in all these passages Thalheim supposes the codex Crippsianus to be right, but in the absence of *obelis* in the text and of precise statements in the critical notes no one can settle in a particular case whether he thinks the MS. sound or the emendations wrong. This ambiguity, which is common in conservative editions unelucidated by commentaries, removes from the field of discussion many of the burning questions in Isaëus. But after deducting this dubious element, which is considerable, a residuum is left sufficient to make clear that we hold different views concerning the trustworthiness of a thirteenth century MS. Shrewd observers of certain tendencies at home and abroad will not be astonished to hear that Thalheim keeps the future infinitive with *ἄν* (v. 23. 1) and the aorist infinitive after μέλλειν (iii. 26. 3, v. 5. 2, ix. 13. 4, xi. 25. 8). He shrinks from transposing μὲν (iv. 4. 3) and τε (ii. 1. 9, vi. 2. 4), he is unwilling to insert *ἄν* after γάρ (ix. 13. 1), he backs ὁμολόγει (v. 35. 11) against ὁμολογεῖ (Bekker), εἰσήγγελλε (iii. 51. 8) against εἰσήγγειλε (Schoemann), πιθόμενος (ii. 1. 4) against πιθόμενος (Cobet). The last instance is significant, because in the very same phrase πιθόμενος appears in the *Constitution of Athens* (35. 2), i.e. in a papyrus assigned to the end of the first century of our era or, at latest, to the beginning of the second. In vi. 53 we read in the MS. Ἀνδρόκλεις, πῶς οἶσθα Φιλοκλήμων ὅτι οὔτε διέθετο οὔτε νῦν ἐποιήσατο; The old Teubner has Φιλοκλήμῳν (Dobree and Baiter), an easy correction which restores a familiar idiom, the new Teubner goes back to Φιλοκλήμων. If this is not retrogression, what is? But consistency is not one of the virtues of conservatism. The future infinitive with *ἄν* is retained, but the future indicative with *ἄν* (i. 32. 3) is emended. After accepting Dobree's supplement in i. 4. 5 (τοῦ πατρός <τοῦ> Κλεωνόμου) why recoil from the temerity of printing τῶν οἰκείων <τῶν> Εὐκλήμωνος (vi. 65. 3), οἱ φίλοι <οἱ> Ἀστυφίλου (ix. 4. 3), οἱ ἀναγκαῖοι <οἱ> ἐκείνου (ix. 10. 6), ὁ πατήρ <ὁ> Ἀστυφίλου (ix. 19. 4)? If we are anxious to restore Attic forms, the argument against ἀποδείξαι τῶσαν (v. 4. 3), which is left, is stronger

than the argument against ἀπεδύκαμεν (v. 28. 4), which is removed.

On the other side of the account I note that the MS. is altered in 11 places where I retain it. Most of these cases involve contentious matter, and need long discussion. In one passage, however, the soundness of the MS. reading can be briefly demonstrated. In v. 36 Thalheim's text is οὗτος γὰρ τῇ μὲν φελῇ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγήσας τέταρτος ἐγένετο τραγωδοῦς, [δὲ] καὶ περριχισταῖς ὑστάτος. Bentley 'corrected the fault' (*Diss. upon Phalaris*, p. 361) by ejecting δὲ, and the correction was approved by G. Hermann, who explained δὲ as a mistake for δ' (τέταρτος). Bentley was wrong; we now know that the number of competitors in tragedy never exceeded three. The fact is that a dithyrambic contest, in which the tribes contended against each other, is opposed to a tragic contest, with which the tribes were not concerned. If, as is probable, there were two dithyrambic competitions at the City Dionysia, one between five choruses of boys, another between five choruses of men, the orator's point is that Diacægenes, when tragic choregus, was *last*, and when choregus to his tribe Pandionis, *last but one*. The right explanation was, I believe, first propounded by Mr. Haigh in the *Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society*, 1886-7, p. 20.

As might be guessed from his general attitude, Thalheim is not lavish of emendations. He has admitted into the text 17 corrections of his own, most of which are plausible and have been explained in his recent article in *Hermes*. He does not seem to know that Blass has proposed μήτε μοι for μήτε μὴ in xi. 34. 5 (μήτ' ἐμοὶ Thalheim), and τὰ ὄνθ' αὐτοῦ for τὸν θ' αὐτοῦ in xi. 41. 5 (τῶν ἑαυτοῦ Thalheim). I should like some evidence that καὶ ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ (iii. 80. 1) is good Attic; it is irrelevant to quote καὶ ἐχρῆν δὲ (ix. 11). No one will contest the legitimacy of καὶ . . . δὲ in the oratorical style. What is questionable is the place of the preposition. One change is simply not fair play. In i. 48. 2, 3 A Q have ὥσπερ γὰρ ἂν ταῦτα λέγοντες ἀποφαίνωσι, an ancient *crux criticorum*. Thalheim's solution is to print πλεῶν in place of ταῦτα. Some other proposals, happily not promoted to the text, betray a heavy hand (ὥστ' ἀπαρτεῖν (i. 14. 7) for ὡς ἀσθενῶν, δῆπον (iii. 56. 3) for πῶς, πληρωσάμενος (vii. 38. 4) for παυσάμενος, ἄς ἀποφαίνει (ix. 7. 5) for ἄς ἐποιήσατο). But the editor is not often guilty of such crude violence; a milder spirit breathes in the following suggestions: <ἀφ' > ὦν vii. 40. 4, καὶ τῶνδε <δὲ> vii. 24. 4, τί γὰρ <καὶ>

ἔδει vi. 25. 1, κατασκευάσαντες for κατεσκευάσαν ix. 2. 7, ἔχων for εἶχον xi. 35. 6, ἔσται τις ὁ καὶ ἐναγίων for ἔσται τις καὶ ὁ ἐναγίων vii. 30. 4.

In the orators the attribution of conjectures is ticklish work. If my record is accurate, Thalheim is wrong in 26 places. On the other hand I have overlooked the contributions of Kayser and Katabaines. An editor's labours would be sensibly lightened if no person were permitted to publish emendations before satisfying a competent authority that he had exercised reasonable diligence in investigating the work of his predecessors. Some of the Dutchmen, *quos honoris causa nomino*, are great sinners in this respect. One is tempted to imagine that they sit down with a plain text and sheets of foolscap, let loose all their gifts of ingenuity and learning, and incontinently, before the glow of inspiration has had time to cool, post their MS. to the editor of *Mnemosyne*. This wild fancy will at any rate explain the reappearance in the 19th century of ideas put out in the 16th, and recorded in Reiske's notes in the 18th. So far as our present knowledge goes, Isaeus, first printed in 1513, attracted little attention from the great scholars of the next generation. In 1874 (*Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* 109. p. 333 sqq.) Rosenberg published some notes on Isaeus and other orators from the margin of an Aldine in the Town Library of Hamburg. It has since been shown by Thalheim and others that they were copied from an Aldine in the Leyden Library and can be traced back to Muretus. Perhaps they were the fruits of his sojourn at Venice, where he had access to L, the MS. from which Aldus printed the *editio princeps*. Marginalia by Scaliger exist in two Aldines, one at Utrecht which once belonged to Peter Wesseling, another in the Bodleian Library (*Auct. R.* 4. 2), which once belonged to Edward Bernard. Reiske had at his disposal collations of both, but I conjecture that in Isaeus he used the Utrecht Aldine, because he does not mention some certain corrections (e.g. πατήρ in x. 24. 3) that are found in the Oxford book. Thalheim does not state from what source he draws Scaliger's emendations. It is not from Reiske, for he rightly attributes to Scaliger ἐπεόλησαν in xi. 43. 3, where Reiske is silent. The unpublished notes of Muretus and Scaliger filtered down by unknown channels to a later generation. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* contains a copy of Stephanus' edition of the Greek Orators

(*Inventaire* x. 738, old number x. 1756), which once belonged to Fabio Brulart de Sillery (1655–1714), member of the French Academy and bishop first of Avranches, afterwards of Soissons. This book has marginalia on Isae. i. and iii., which Brunck copied and sent to Reiske. They include emendations made by Muretus and Scaliger, and others which may be provisionally assigned to Brulart, who was counted a good scholar in his day. Muretus' notes on Isaeus are preserved in another Aldine in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Res.* x. 297, old number 1754), which was in the library of Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721) and was presented by him with the rest of his books to the Paris Jesuits in 1692.

It is time that *Tophanes Tylori* disappeared from critical commentaries. This quaint title has its origin in Reiske's inability to read the handwriting of John Taylor. Richard Topham (1671–1730), of Trinity College, Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn, M.P. for New Windsor 1698–1713, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, was a *virtuoso*, who made a large collection of books, partly classical, partly antiquarian, and had executed for himself in Rome by Bartoli and other artists of repute coloured drawings from marbles, mosaics, frescoes, etc., existing at that time. He left his collections to Sir Thos. Reeves († 1737) and Dr. Richard Mead (1673–1754), who presented them to Eton College. Among the books was a copy of Stephanus' Greek Orators, in which were two loose sheets of paper recording conjectures on Andocides, Antiphon, Isaeus, Dinarchus, Lysias, Demades, and Lesbonax. The book and the paper are still in the library of Eton College (*B. c.* 9), and the Vice-Provost, Mr. F. W. Cornish, has kindly sent me a transcript of the notes on Andocides, Antiphon, and Isaeus. John Taylor copied out the comments on Isaeus as far as the end of or. vii., and this MS. was sent to Reiske by Dr. Antony Askew of Emmanuel College. But Reiske misread the title. 'Tophanis cuius fuerit, nemo ex me requirat, prorsus enim ignoro. Taylor ex eo codice non pauca ad Isaeum suis in schedis retulit, hoc solo contentus indicio: *Tophanis Book at Eaton*. Videtur ille liber Etonensis non codex antiquus calamo exaratus, sed Aldina esse, a nescio quo notulis in marginem coniectis insignita. Ego postmodum Tophanis librum laudabo, quoties usu veniet' (*Or. Graec.* vii. p. 3). Sir W. Jones (*Works* ix. p. 290) pointed out Reiske's mistake, and Jones' correction was noticed by Schoemann (praef.

p. ix). Would it not be better to replace *Tophanes Taylōri* by *schedae Etouenses*? The notes agree sometimes with Muretus, Scaliger, and Brulart, but contain much that is good and independent. Whether they are in Topham's handwriting is not known.

Thalheim's cautious treatment of plain readings of the MS. is in curious contrast to the boldness with which he restores in his notes the effaced readings of the first hand. When, as in duty bound, I spent many tedious hours with the codex Crippsianus, I marvelled greatly at Buermann's gift of deciphering erasures, and attributed my own hebetude to inexperience and ignorance. Thalheim can see in an erasure far more than Buermann, though he does not always see the same things. Speaking broadly I may say that, where Schenkl and Buermann print asterisks and dots, Thalheim prints letters. The first objection against these newly recovered readings is that they are of no help to an editor. There is not a single passage in which they affect Thalheim's text. He will reply that his object is to prove that Δ^1 ought to be preferred to Apr. But, as we have seen, the value of Δ^1 can be determined by a surer method, approved and employed by Thalheim himself. A good cause is not strengthened by bad arguments. The man who is not convinced by the evidence derived from a comparison of A with Q and N will be obdurate against evidence founded on erasures. The second objection is that the new readings are precarious as well as useless. The writer of the codex Crippsianus took a workman's pride in the neatness of his page. His design was to conceal the mistakes he had made, and the mending was managed with care and ingenuity. It often happens that abrasions in the polished surface of the vellum can only be discovered by letting the light fall upon the book at a particular angle. From Thalheim's critical commentary no reader can gather the faintest conception of the tenuity of the data with which he has to work. Many of the supplements are ingenious and probable, but they ought to have been presented as conjectures. Up to a certain point all is plain sailing. If in the word *παρακατέβαλεν* (iv. 4. 8) the letters β and λ are in an erasure, anybody who knows anything of Greek MSS., will grant that the word first written was *παρακατέλαβεν*, because this confusion is a common error. The next case is not so obvious. In *καθισταμένην* (iii. 41. 4) there is an erasure before μ . Dobson thought that he saw another μ , and I believe that μ

was the letter scratched out, (1) because this mistake seems to occur elsewhere in the codex Crippsianus (*καταλειπόμενης* And. 1. 98, *κεκρίσμένων* Din. 2. 21), (2) because the form *καθισταμένης* is found in papyri. Thalheim's note is this: *καθιστα . . . μένην pr.* (*aut θε aut ιο erasum*). Remember that μ is a letter that sometimes takes up a good deal of space. Our difficulties are increased in iii. 74. 4. Here Δ^1 wrote *γένους ἐπιδικασμένου* in an erasure of about thirteen letters. Buermann's idea was that the scribe first omitted *γένους* and then preferred scratching out *ἐπιδικασμένου* to inserting the omitted word between the lines. Thalheim's version is '*γένους ἐπιδικασμένου in ras. corr.* 1, *ἐβούλετο λαμβάνειν pr.*' The situation is still more perplexing, when in *θυγάτηρ* (iii. 65. 4) we find *θυγάτ* written by Δ^2 in an erasure and another erasure over η . What did Δ^2 find in the MS? Buermann is discreetly silent and merely observes '*. . . η pr., corr.* 2.' Thalheim, as usual, knows his own mind: '*θυγάτηρ corr.* 2, *τοῦ πῆρ pr.*' Is it not strange that this senseless phrase was passed over by Δ^1 , who was an industrious corrector, and whom some critics charge with the sin of interpolation? Only look at the clause in question, *εἰ ἦν γνησία τοῦ πατὴρ ἐκείνῳ καταλειπομένη*. These three instances may perhaps be considered disputable, but convincing proof can be brought of the uncertainty which besets Thalheim's novelties. In vii. 19. 3 the MS. has *ἀδελφῆν pr.*. There can be no doubt that the letters erased were *ιδ*. The critical note is '*ἀδελφίδην pr., corr.* 1', which implies that Δ^1 perceived the blunder and erased *ιδ* before adding the accent. But this argument rests on the assumption that, if Δ^1 had accented *ἀδελφίδην*, he would have used a circumflex. As a matter of fact his habit was to write *ἀδελφιδῆ* and *ἀδελφιδῆν*, which Δ^2 diligently changed to *ἀδελφιδῆ* and *ἀδελφιδῆν*. In x. 5. 8 the MS. has *κυρονίδη ἐξέδωκεν*, but after η there is an erasure, and the accent on *κυρονίδη* was added by Δ^2 , as the colour of the ink shows. Thalheim has '*κυρονίδης pr., corr.* 2.' There must be a misprint here; how can it be settled whether an erasure was made by Δ^1 or Δ^2 or some other person? Let us assume then that the note ought to be '*κυρονίδης pr., corr.* 2', and, further, allow the conclusion that the man who added the accent also scratched out the letter. But was it really a letter? I thought that it was a big comma. An absurd place for a stop, some one may think. The more reason for its removal; and from our point of view what can

exceed in absurdity the commas in ix. 15. 1 τῷ, οὐδ' ἂν ὑμῶν φανεύ, and xi. 19. 1 τὰς μὲν, ρεῖκῃκα? One more example, which, unlike the rest, has a bearing on the text, and I have done with these trivialities. In χρῶμαι (vi. 1. 1) the last two letters were written in an erasure by A², who also changed the accent. Buermann's record is 'χρῶμ . . . pr., corr. 2.' Blass (*Antiph.*² praef. p. xv) saw χρῶμ . . . ο., concluded that the original reading was χρώμενος and that the emendation of A² lacked plausibility, and consequently proposed <τγ-χάνω> χρώμενος, which I think right. Thalheim has in the text χρῶμαι, in the note 'χρώμενοι pr., corr. 2.' Two comments may be made. (1) In plain passages of the codex Crippsianus, where there has been no botching at all, the letters ι and ς(c) are sometimes identical in shape, so that the reader is kept straight only by his knowledge of the language and the context. (2) If in this passage A² had not interfered, and χρώμενοι were perfectly legible, considering the sentence as a whole I should have argued that the scribe had made here the same blunder as in vii. 21. 8, where he put νόμοι for νόμος (*Aldus*), and that all criticism must start from the reading χρώμενος. The melancholy truth is that the structure on which the editor has lavished so much labour (*non mediocrem operam*, praef. p. vii) collapses at a touch. The line between hypotheses and facts of observation has been entirely obliterated. In this critical

apparatus readings of Apr. put forward without any qualification may be as insecure as readings followed by a mark of interrogation or preceded by *ft.* What proportion of the new supplements would be upheld by a professional palaeographer armed with a powerful microscope and a portable electric lamp, I cannot conjecture. My own experience warns me that it is easy to find in erasures and mended letters what you expect to find. Collating the MS. with Buermann's edition and dominated by his suggestions I sometimes put down a letter where the scientific record was an asterisk. The area of uncertainty is even wider than I imagined. Νᾶφε, καὶ μέννασ' ἀπιστεῖν, ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

With regard to the extract from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which forms or. xii, it may be noted that Thalheim has missed Mr. Poynton's paper in the *Journal of Philology* xxviii. p. 161 sqq., which shows that the Oxford MS., *Misc. Gr.* 36, is a transcript of an 'exemplar *Duditianum*' made by Sir Henry Savile in the early part of 1581 while visiting Andreas Dudith at Breslau, and that the marginalia, which contain some good emendations, are also in Savile's hand. With regard to the fragments I should like to express concurrence with Mr. Smyly's acute conjecture that Oxy. Pap. iii. n. 415 is a bit of Isaëus' speech against Elpagoras and Demophanes.

W. WYSE.

SHOREY'S UNITY OF PLATO'S THOUGHT.

The Unity of Plato's Thought. By PAUL SHOREY. University of Chicago Decennial Publications, 1st Series, Vol. VI. 75 pp. 4to, paper. Net \$ 1.25. 1903.

THE tendency of most of the recent contributions to Platonic literature has been in the direction of disintegration. In place of a self-consistent body of thought, recent interpreters have been in the fashion of presenting us with a Platonism that is a 'many-headed multitude' of conflicting dogmas. It is true that the champions of a 'later Platonism' are by no means agreed as to the precise form which that doctrine takes—whether an emasculated 'idealism' or a thorough-going 'conceptualism.' But none the less, there seems to be a growing

'consensus' in favour of attributing to Plato a philosophical evolution with very marked stages, and of arranging and dating the dialogues in corresponding groups. Prof. Shorey's dissertation is a protest against this tendency. As I myself protested some years ago (*J. of Philol.* xxiii. p. 201) against 'the creed of a double Plato, a self-criticising "Dipsychus" whose old age is at war with his youth,' so Prof. Shorey protests now against both the methods and the conclusions of 'the increasing number of investigators who, in emulation of the triumphs of the statistical method, are endeavouring to confirm, refute, or correct its results by a study of alleged inconsistencies, contradictions, or developments in Platonic doctrine' (p. 3). In oppo-

sition to all forms of the 'evolutionary' hypothesis, in pointed antagonism to all the would-be *διαθραύοντες* of Platonism, Prof. Shorey maintains both generally and in detail 'the unity of Plato's thought.' To him, every guise of 'later Platonism' is alike 'anathema.' The sacrilegious hand that would rend the tissue of Plato's thought he denounces with his wonted vigour; for to his eyes it is a vesture 'without seam, woven from the top through-out.'

To attempt to summarise the arguments here put forward would be to do an injustice to their author. But one may venture thus roughly to state some of his main positions. (1) The earlier ('Socratic') dialogues are intended to lead up to the 'Republic' and imply, if they do not actually express, an ideal theory. (2) The Ideal theory, under whatever varieties of expression, remains the same throughout, from the 'Lysis' to the 'Laws,' and is never altered in substance, much less surrendered, by Plato. (3) The criticisms of the theory in the 'Parmenides,' and the supposed modifications in the 'Parmenides' and 'Sophist,' are either mere dialectical gymnastics or candid acknowledgments of the necessary paradox of thought—the inherent contradiction of the 'One and Many.' (4) It is absurd to suppose, as Lutoslawski does, that in his later writings Plato means to substitute a system of souls for the ideas, or to reduce the idea to the level of a mere psychic fact. And equally erroneous is the view which would distinguish between *αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά* and other *εἶδη* and make of the 'later' idealism a theory of specific 'types.'

With regard to the first of these points, it may be doubted whether Prof. Shorey does not overstate his case. The most natural conclusion from the silence about ideas in such dialogues as the 'Laches,' 'Lysis,' and 'Charmides' is, surely, that they represent a period antecedent to the formation of the ideal theory. The case of the 'Laws' adduced by Shorey, is scarcely parallel; nor is it enough to assert that 'Plato is not bound to say all he knows in every dialogue.' This, however, is a minor point. The kernel of the nut we have to crack really lies in the 'Parmenides.' There we find Plato himself stating all, or almost all, of the conceivable objections which can be brought against the theory of ideas as expounded in the 'Republic' and 'Phaedo.' What does he mean by it? Are we to infer that he fancied himself able, by a

revision of the theory or by a change of terminology, to dispose of these objections and to fashion an inexpugnable doctrine? Or may we rather suppose that he simply looks these *aporiae* in the face and, with a contemptuous shrug, passes on? Prof. Shorey adopts the latter explanation. The substance of these objections, he argues, 'is in the *Republic*, not to speak of the *Phaedo*, the *Enthydemus*, the *Timaeus*, and *Platibus*. Their presentation in the *Parmenides*, then, does not mark a crisis in Plato's thought calling for a review of his chief article of philosophic faith. Plato does not and cannot answer them, but he evidently does not take them very seriously, ... they arise from the limitations of our finite minds.' Those, on the other hand, who hold that Plato did take these objections 'seriously' are forced to explain away the ascription of *ἄλλῳ κοινῶν* to the *εἶδη* in *Rep.* 476 A, which seems an anticipation of the 'later' theory, and the ascription of transcendental being to the *εἶδη* in *Tim.* 51-2, which is an evident reversion to the doctrine of the 'middle' period. And we might reasonably expect them to show us further what Plato's metaphysics gained in value by the change. Is the 'later' conceptualism really an advance on the 'earlier' idealism? Is it better philosophising to disbelieve in independent objective realities than to believe in them? Is it a mark of more consistent thinking to decimate the ranks of the ideas until they stand only for 'natural kinds' (or *ζῆα*) and not for all possible concepts?

Finally, is it not true that all philosophies of the Absolute are open to just the same order of objections as Plato produces in the *Parmenides*; and is it not true that these objections are 'unanswerable by anybody who separates the phenomenal from the real'?

Some of the special difficulties in the way of the exponents of a 'later' Platonism have already been alluded to. One more may be briefly mentioned. As Shorey points out (and as I had already pointed out, *l.c.* pp. 196-7) the passage in *Rep.* 477 A ff., of which so much was made by Jackson, Lutoslawski, and others as proving on the part of the 'earlier' Plato ignorance of the *μή-ὄν* doctrine as expounded in the 'Sophist,' proves in truth precisely the contrary. For he who talks of a *πάντας μή-ὄν* implies thereby his apprehension of a *μή-ὄν* to be otherwise qualified. Further arguments in abundance to explode the proofs of the supposed 'later' developments

of Plato's thought the curious reader will find in Shorey's pages. He is specially happy when dealing with the portentous 'discoveries' of M. Lutoslawski. *E.g.*, (à propos of *Euthyd.* 301 A) 'Lutoslawski (p. 212) affirms that Plato "would have said later *πάρεστι τὸ κάλλος (αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό).*" He never did say nor could he have said anything of the kind' (p. 31 n.).

In the last section Prof. Shorey discusses the reputed Pythagoreanism of Plato's old age, and the 'ideal numbers.' 'Ideal numbers,' he contends, are simply the ideas of numbers, or in other words, the abstract, 'mathematical' numbers, as *λογικά* and contrasted with the 'concrete numbered things' which are 'the numbers of the vulgar.' The apparent multiplicity of the idea of 'One' is due to the inevitable *ἀλλήλων κοινωνία* of the ideas—that inherent paradox of the theory, which is specially glaring in the case of numbers. In spite of the doubts of Dr. Adam (on *Rep.* 525 D), Prof. Shorey assures us that 'that is all there is of it,' and that we must not hold Plato responsible for all the 'pitiful scholasticism' of the Academic quibblers concerning the numerical 'before and after,' and the 'indefinite Dyad,' and so forth. And herein, surely,

all loyal *τῶν εἰδῶν φίλοι* will hope, at least, that he is wholly right.

I have dealt more particularly with Prof. Shorey's views on Plato's metaphysics, but he has much that is equally valuable to say on vexed questions of Platonic Ethics and psychology. In all he aims at the same goal—to minimise discrepancies, to explain away apparent variations and inconsistencies, to trace the lines of connexion and unfold the 'unity' underlying the multiplicity 'of Plato's thought.' In all he endeavours to substitute a 'simple, sane, and natural interpretation of Plato's writings' in place of the erroneous and distorted constructions forced upon them by the misguided industry of perversely ingenious scholars. It is a timely protest against the prevailing fashion in Platonic criticism, a protest which deserves to be well weighed by all serious students; and if it effects nothing more, it will at least serve, I trust, most effectually to explode the pseudo-Platonism of M. Lutoslawski *et hoc genus omne*. I, for one, most cordially welcome 'The Unity of Plato's Thought' as an admirable study in what Maguire himself (*ὁ μακάριος*) would recognise as genuine Platonism.

R. G. BURY.

ANDERSON'S *ASIA MINOR*.

Asia Minor. By J. G. C. ANDERSON. (Murray's Handy Classical Maps, General Editor, G. B. GRUNDY.) Murray, 1903. 2s. cloth, 1s. net, paper.

THERE is no part of the Ancient World where so much has been done for Geography within the last decade as Asia Minor. A new map was urgently needed, and no fitter man could have been found to execute it than Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, one of the group of scholars who have followed in Professor Ramsay's steps, and made this branch of exploration predominantly a British one. As might be expected, this map is in advance of any hitherto accessible. There is in the first place a great increase in the number of places identified. The Index records about 2000 names, and the far smaller number that we find in our Kiepert's is, in the main, due, not to rejection consciously made for purposes of simplification, but to limitation of knowledge. A feature only less important than the record

of new identifications is the exact contouring of altitudes. The system of shading mountain chains, which it replaces, has been, in the case of Asia Minor, even more rough and ready than in that of most countries. Indeed the evidence on which such contouring could be based has only now been gathered together from a mass of scattered monographs, for the purposes of the present map. Several interesting points also suggest themselves in regard to the exact boundaries of the Roman Provinces. Antiocheia Pisidia, for instance, placed in the Province of Asia both in Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* and in his special maps attached to Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*. It is not so here. During the period chosen by Mr. Anderson, A.D. 63 to 72, it was contained in what will probably strike everyone who has been accustomed to other maps, as the surprisingly large Province of Galatia. The comparative smallness of the Province of Bithynia and Pontus is equally interesting. The difficulty

of choosing a single period at which to give the boundaries of all the Asiatic Provinces must have been considerable. Throughout the first century those of the North Eastern Provinces in particular were constantly changing. We must trust Mr. Anderson for having wisely balanced the alternatives, and can only regret that he found it undesirable to choose a time when Trapezus belonged to Cappadocia, and the supreme importance of that great frontier province could be made especially obvious.¹

It is needless further to labour the proof that Mr. Anderson's Map is essential for every classroom and every scholar's study. None the less, one or two criticisms are necessary. In the first place it is unfortunate that red lines have been used to denote the boundaries of Roman Provinces. The usual plan was to use for this purpose different coloured shadings. It may be presumed that the reason this has been abandoned is that it was thought likely to interfere with the colours used for contouring. The objection need not have been fatal, if the shadings had been judiciously chosen. But granting that lines were inevitable, need the lines all have been of the same colour? The importance of the point is this, that the uniform red lines, passing through the map in all directions, look exactly like roads. The correct explanation is of course given at the foot of the map, but none the less the first and natural impression is a serious consideration. Further, the roads themselves should have been marked by some uniform bright colour line. The road system of Asia Minor, as Mr. Anderson and his fellow-workers in the East have been themselves the foremost to point out, is of vital importance for the understanding of its political and military history. In the maps attached to Mr. Anderson's article on the Road System of Eastern Asia Minor, (*J.H.S.* xvii, p. 22) and to Mr. J. A. R. Munro's on Roads in Pontus Royal and Roman, (*J.H.S.* xxi, p. 52) a red line is in fact thus used. The practice is also found in contour maps. Dr. Alfred Philippson has, for instance, used different red lines for railways and roads in his excellent contour map of the Peloponnesus. Now the mischief is this, that in the present map the roads are positively more obscure than in its predecessors.

Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* and the maps attached to Mommsen's *Roman Provinces* marked them by thin black lines. This might have been improved on. But we must allow that on the white ground they attract a certain amount of attention. On the brown ground colour formed by Mr. Anderson's contouring (in this hilly country often a very dark brown), the black roads are a negligible quantity, even those of them that as 'Romanae (nota regione)' are marked with two parallel lines.

Indeed a distinction, useful enough in itself, that marks 'Romanae (incerta regione)' with merely two parallel dotted lines, renders the obscurity of some of the more important roads even more profound. Let us take two instances. In his paper on Roads in Pontus mentioned above, Mr. Munro lays stress on the primary importance of 'the grand trunk road' through the heart of Pontus, from the head waters of the Lycus to those of the Amnias. Along it and the road from Amisus to Zela 'moves,' to use his words, 'the main history of the country and most other roads may be regarded as mere loops to them' (p. 54). In the map attached to his paper Mr. Munro marks the road throughout its length. So do Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* and the map in Mommsen's *Roman Provinces*. Yet in Mr. Anderson's present map a considerable portion of it, almost the whole way along the valley of the Lycus from Nicopolis to Neo-Caesarea (Niksar), has merely these insignificant dotted lines. Why is this distinction made? Mr. Munro, who explored this portion of it with Mr. Hogarth in 1891, and the remainder, from Neo-Caesarea to the west, with Mr. Anderson himself in 1899, states of the *whole* road that, 'apart from the milestones there are few material traces' of it. He proceeds 'Only in the most desolate part of the Lycus valley, between Enderes and Niksar, is its dyke once or twice visible near a solitary fragment of a Roman bridge.' (p. 65) Now this point, which in Mr. Munro's original account of his journey², we can identify more closely as near Kundu, about 20 miles west of Koilu-Hissar, is precisely where the map before us subsides into a dotted line. Why is it, for the purposes of this map, on a different footing from the rest of the road, all trace of which is, as Mr. Anderson elsewhere tells us, lost at one point, west of Magnopolis, for thirty miles?³

¹ Mommsen indeed (*Rom. Prov. Eng. Tr.* i. pp. 332 and 324) says that this was the case in A.D. 63, but Mr. Anderson has elsewhere (*Studia Pontica*, vol. i. 1903, p. 87, note 1) expressed his doubts on the point.

² *Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. iii. (1893), pp. 72s, etc.

³ *Studia Pontica*, vol. i. (1903), pp. 78, 79; cp. p. 53.

Granting that, at various points in the Lycus valley, there is some doubt as to the exact course of the road, none the less the valley is narrow, and there is no doubt that the road ran through it or along its slopes.¹ Is it worth while to obscure an important and certain historical fact when the possibility of topographical error is so slight? Take again the road from Caesarea by Herpa and Gurun to Melitene and the East. 'It was,' says Mr. Anderson, in his paper mentioned above (p. 22) 'at all times the great route to the East. It was the Persian Royal road: it existed in Roman times: and it is the road to the East throughout the Byzantine period.' Such a great road should be marked clearly. Yet when we look for it on the present map we can hardly find it, and when we have found it, we can scarcely believe that it was an important direct route to Melitene. In a course of not 200 miles it has four different markings. For its first section, from Caesarea to Arasaxa, where it coincides with the Roman military road by Cocusus and Arabissos, it has a continuous double line. From Arasaxa to Tzamandos, in virtue of its being 'Romana (incertaregione),' it has the double dots: from Tzamandos to within about 15 miles from Melitene, it has a single line as not being Roman at all. Then it again becomes 'Romana (nota regione),' and has the double lines. These distinctions are doubtless important in themselves, and would be valuable here if the colour which was to be treated in subtle ways were in itself conspicuous. As it is, the result is scarcely intelligible.

In the new edition which the advance of exploration will doubtless before long make necessary, it is to be hoped that Mr. Anderson and his General Editor will make one or two further alterations. The principle of contouring colours is that the transitions should be gradual, but distinct. The two greens that mark sea level to 600 ft., and 600 ft. to 1000, are not distinct enough from each other: in some places indeed, especially in the table of reference, one would almost imagine that the colour printing is faulty. On the other hand, both of them are too bright for the transition to the light brown of the next contour. Dr. Philippson in his contour map of the Peloponnesus secured a paler and yellower green to lead up to his lightest brown. In regard to the browns themselves Mr. Anderson has been bold in

giving us nine different shades from 1000 to 10000 ft. It cannot be said, that in every case the difference is distinct. But it is ungracious to criticise. The general effect is admirable. One has never realised so fully before the massive mountain chains and tablelands of Asia Minor.

Lastly, a few explanatory notes are needed as to the practice observed in printing place-names of different epochs. Kiepert in his *Atlas Antiquus* uses letters sloping back for oriental names not found in Greek and Roman writers, and thin type for names first given in Roman or, in some of his maps, Macedonian, times. In his maps attached to Mommsen's *Roman Provinces* he uses square brackets for 'ancient oriental names' and letters sloping backwards for modern names. In each case the practice followed is clearly stated. Mr. Anderson, however, gives no explanation at all of the round brackets, square brackets, thin type, and queries plentifully scattered over his map. Alternative names occurring in Classical Authors of any period are apparently printed one above the other without distinction of type or brackets, modern names in round brackets and thin sloping type, oriental names in square brackets: thus we find

Cabeira	Europus
Diospolis	[Carchemish]
Neo-caesareia (<i>Niksar</i>)	(<i>Jerabis</i>)

But is not Lacotena? Sozopetra obscure (*Viransheher*)

without explanation?

And do the two entries Cholle? and [Cholle?] (*Suchne*), occurring north and south of Oriza on the Palmyra-Resapha road, carry their own meaning on them? There are indeed two Cholles in the Index, which might help the inquirer out, but there is only one Herpa, and yet we find Herpa? between Arasaxa and Tzamandos, Ariarathia? (*Yeregetchen*)

and [Herpa??] a little east of Ara-

Lycandros—Lapara.

Ablastha (*Albistan*).

bissos.

If our interpretation, too, of Mr. Anderson's use of square brackets is the correct one, why do we find [Praetorium?]? (*Hakinkhan*)

If ever the Latinity of a name is self-evident it is surely here.

These criticisms, however, it must be repeated, do not detract from the solid value of Mr. Anderson's Map as a contribution to knowledge. As is stated in

¹ *Supp. Pap. R. G. S.* vol. iii. pp. 723 and 730. The valley is for most of the way only half a mile broad.

a prefatory note, the preparation of the map must have been a work of great labour and expense, and much of the matter contained in it is altogether new. In the case of new maps of well explored countries adverse criticism of the precise method of presentation would be damaging, for it could only be on the grounds of excellence of that kind that the maker of the map

could justify its existence. In this case Mr. Anderson has laid scholars under such a debt of gratitude by the new ground he has broken, that we can afford to wait for perfection till he gives it us in the second edition.

RONALD M. BERRIOWS.

CARDIFF.

OWEN'S *PERSIUS AND JUVENAL*.—A REJOINDER.

PRESSURE of various business has prevented me from noticing earlier Mr. Housman's strictures on my text of Persius and Juvenal, the injustice and flippancy of which seem to call for some remark, if for no other reason, at any rate by way of protest against the style of writing (now fortunately obsolete) which Mr. Housman has thought fit to adopt. It is possible to speak with fairness and courtesy in literary questions of those with whose conclusions one does not agree. But Mr. Housman seems to be of Dr. Johnson's opinion that 'treating your adversary with respect is giving him an advantage to which he is not entitled'; and he has condescended to employ abusive jargon, adorned by rhetorical embellishments such as 'lazy' and 'limpet,' which recall the period when the Battle of the Books was waged, or when Gilbert Wakefield railed against Lambinus. I will say no more on this head except that Mr. Housman, whose bludgeon has recently gone forth against all lands, cannot be surprised if I deprecate language which insults without convincing.

Mr. Housman's review is so lengthy that to reply in detail to all that he alleges would require more space than I can claim or care to give. In some matters, such as the insertion or omission of conjectures, his judgement differs from mine. It is easy to differ with regard to such minutiae. My guiding principle was to insert only such conjectures as seemed to be either inherently possible, or, if not true themselves, to raise critical doubts, which might bear important fruit. The latter consideration caused me to mention several recent conjectures. Few will agree with Mr. Housman that I should have done right to suppress Heinrich's *uetulum* (Pers. iii. 29); as is proved by the coincidence of its rediscovery by no less than four scholars, none of whom knew that

Heinrich had already hit upon it (*C.R.* ii. 85, xvi. 283). I am taken to task for ignoring 'the only certain emendation ever made in the text of Persius, Madvig's *articulis* for *auriculis* at i. 23.' This conjecture of Madvig (*Adu.* ii. 128), based on a false reading printed in the text of Priscian (iii. p. 107 Keil) by Putsche (1605), but unknown to Keil, is not a certain conjecture, and has consequently not been generally admitted, though the curious may find it in Némethy's recent edition. I consider the conjecture wrong firstly because the traditional text yields a satisfactory meaning, as explained by Nettlehip in his edition of Conington, from Sen. *Ep.* 122. 4; and secondly because the repetition of *auriculis* (tun, uetule, *auriculis* alienis colligis escaes, *auriculis* quibus etc), is a repetition characteristic of Persius, a consideration which ought to weigh with an editor. As this has not, I think, been noticed, I adduce instances: i. 45, 46, *si forte quid aptius erit*, | . . . *si quid tamen aptius erit*; i. 53 *calidum seīs ponere sumen*, | *seīs comitem* etc.; ii. 22, 23 *Iuppiter ..Iuppiter...Iuppiter*; ii. 49 *iam crescit ager, iam crescit ouile*, | *iam dabitur, iam, iam*; ii. 68 *peccat...peccat*; iii. 12, 14 *querimur...querimur*; iii. 15 *miser...miser*; iii. 41, 42 *inuis...inuis*; iii. 85 *hoc est...hoc est*; iii. 88, 89 *inspice...inspice*; iv. 23 *nemo...nemo*; v. 8 *si quibus...si quibus*; v. 79–81 *Marcus...Marco...Marco...Marcus...Marce*; v. 143 *quo...quo*; v. 172, 174 *nec nunc...nec nunc*; v. hic *hic...hic*; vi. 12, 13 *securus...securus*; vi. 22 *utar...utar*; vi. 58, 59 *unum...unum*; vi. 68 *reliquum...reliquum*.

As regards the change in the punctuation which I have introduced in Pers. i. 92 ff. Mr. Housman approves of my assigning 92–97 to Persius' antagonist; but he does not agree with me in giving 99–102 to the same disputant. Let me

explain, and perhaps he will agree. Lines 92-97 belong to Persius' interlocutor. 'Is not (he says) our old friend the Aeneid frothy and puffy stuff compared with the newer poetry?' (*hoc* refers to *arma uirum*). Then Persius replies (98 *quidnam igitur* etc.). 'Then give me a specimen of this newer poetry.' The interlocutor obliges with the precious rubbish 99-102; of which Persius gives his opinion at 103 ff. This seems to me more forcible than, with Mr. Housman, to take 98-106 as Persius' derisive retort.

Mr. Housman's well-known eclectic idiosyncrasy as to editing, and his avowed disinclination to allow preponderating authority to one MS. or group of MSS. receive their usual prominence. Thus he talks about the 'strange notion that adherence to one MS. or family of MSS. is scientific,' and 'the lazy habit of preferring P to other MSS.,' and, as to Persius, 'in some places where the choice is doubtful it matters next to nothing how we choose, because both alternatives are good or even equally good.' Perhaps. But if it does not matter, what does matter? What finality is there in textual criticism? None, save the judgement of editor or critic. But surely the choice of editor or critic does not matter one tittle, and is of no importance to anyone except themselves, unless their choice be based upon scientific reason, unless in other words they can show the authority of a MS. or group of MSS. which is preferable as being less contaminated. For some MSS. are better than others, that is to say they have been less subjected to corruption. And, I hold, it is the duty of a sane editor to discover and follow such. Mr. Housman on the other hand seems to think that a critic can declare by intuitive insight that this or that reading is right, taking now from a pure and now from a vitiated source. So that the ultimate court of appeal is not the MSS. but the critic, not the MSS. but Mr. Housman. In this connexion it is relevant to notice that whereas Mr. Housman (*Journal of Philology*, xxi. 101 ff., xxii. 84 ff.) depreciated the Neapolitanus of Propertius and appreciated four late MSS. of the fifteenth century or thereabouts, and denied the supremacy of the Neapolitanus, which he wished to assign to the fifteenth century, this house of cards has been lately overthrown, since Mr. Montagu James has proved (*C.R.* xvii. 462) that the Neapolitanus was written in the twelfth century, as Keil long ago 'main-

tained, and is consequently by far our earliest manuscript of Propertius. I now make bold to ask which of the rival principles is really 'lazy,' and which is really 'scientific.' Granted Mr. Housman's principle, what will happen if another Mr. Housman arrives? What perplexities will follow on his advent? If the new gospel be accepted, we go back to the old happy-go-lucky system of selection of readings, which one would have thought had been permanently dethroned by Lachmann.

Working on the lines of Bieger I claim to have produced a text of Persius which is superior to previous texts because it is based on the admirable Montpellier manuscript P. The more I have studied that manuscript, and I have studied it patiently side by side with the other Montpellier manuscript A, the more have I become convinced of its paramount importance. Thus in v. 83 I have printed from P an *quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere uitam | cui licet ut uoluit ? licet ut uolo uiuere: non sum | liberior Bruto?* Here Mr. Housman takes me to task, remarking 'Mr. Owen easily perceives that *uoluit* is the reading of P; and he adopts it, though the next words are "*licet ut uolo uiuere*" not "*ut uolui*": as if there were never a change of tense in Latin, as if the change in question had not a definite meaning, the perfect being used because the will precedes the action, as Conington long ago explained, and as if I did not know that the reading *libuit* (A B) is to be explained by the etymology of *libertas* from *libet* (Justin. *Instit.* i. 3. 1), an etymology possibly suggested by the jurists. Persius wrote as a Stoic, and therefore wrote *uoluit*, alluding to the Stoic definition of freedom *ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν ὁ ζῶν ὡς βούλεται* (Epictet. iv. 1. 1), which Cicero renders '*libertas est potestas uiuendi, ut uelis*' (*Parad.* v. 1. 34). Again in iii. 15 ff. following P I print: '*o miser inque dies ultra miser, hucine rerum | uenimus? aut cur non potius teneroque columbo | et similis regum pueris pappare minutum | poscis et iratus mammae lallare recusas?*' Here AB have a *cur* adopted by Bücheler and others. Mr. Housman announces that *aut* has no meaning. It has a very definite meaning. The poet begins his reproof in language of serious remonstrance (*o miser—uenimus*). Then he changes his vein, and adopts by preference a tone of ironical banter. 'Or rather (*aut potius* i.e. in a less serious style) like some pet pigeon or little royal highness why don't you ask to have your food chewed for you?' Again iii. 44-46 following P I

print saepe oculos, memini, tangebam parvus oliuo, | grandia si nollem morituro uerba Catoni | dicere non sano multum laudanda magistro, | quae pater adductis sudans audiret amicis. Here AB, followed by most editors, have *morituri-Catonis discere*, approved by Mr. Housman. Either reading is possible, but that of P seems preferable. The boy wants to play truant from the school of rhetoric. He therefore oils his eyes, to create the impression that he is using a remedy against eye-inflammation, and therefore is suffering from that disorder. So he will be excused from school, and consequently will not be compelled before a parental audience which assembles on a regular day to declaim a *suasoria* counselling suicide to Cato about to die, as Juvenal counselled Sulla (i. 16). It is the recitation before the parent which the boy seeks to avoid: therefore *dicere* is a more appropriate word than *discere*. Whether, it is true that, as Mr. Housman says, 'what boys hate is not so much saying their lessons as learning them,' I am not certain. With persons of assurance that may be the case; not being a person of assurance, I distinctly remember that what I chiefly dreaded was the act of repetition before the master: and I am still haunted by the despairing words of a candidate uttered recently to the examiner at a *viva voce* examination at which I was assisting though not performing the sacrifice 'Sir, I can't think of any words in this awful room.'

The attested spelling *Progne* (v. 8) is not, as Mr. Housman imagines, disproved by the fact that in certain passages for metrical reasons (see Hilberg, *Serta Marteliana*, 1896, p. 172) *Progne* is written. Nothing is more certain than that Latin spelling was not uniform: I appeal to Dr. Georges, an undoubted authority, *Lexicon der lateinischen Wortformen*, p. 558 'die Schreibungen *Progne* u. *Progne* sind gleich gut beglaubigt.' Also at v. 134 *rogās?* en *saperdas* my note '*cor-repto* *rogas more Plautino*' is not 'an attack upon the MSS.' as Mr. Housman perversely states. My brief note was intended to suggest that the law of Breves Breviantes, which obtains occasionally in the dactylic poets, is a survival of the earlier scansion, a scansion which continued, it is true, in colloquial pronunciation and so is found in these poets, but which had not its origin in the later colloquial pronunciation, but dates from a far earlier period (See Lindsay's *Captivi*, p. 32).

I pass to Juvenal, whose text being more

difficult than Persius', affords greater opportunities for criticism, which my reviewer has not neglected, enlivening his remarks with characteristic amenities, and among them he actually makes me responsible for the motto of the University of Oxford, of which he is himself a distinguished ornament, a motto which stands at the head of all its publications, in order that he may secure a cheap gibe. Dominus illuminatio mea! It would rather seem that he himself requires some such legend to justify his own self-confidence.

The Venice MSS., mentioned viii. 5 and 7, are mentioned not 'for no apparent reason' but for an obvious one. As I long ago pointed out, it is necessary to expel the false reading *Coruinum* from the text in line 7, and to substitute *Fabricium* for it. The Venice MSS. quoted confirm this contention.

I turn to the alterations which I have made in the text, and Mr. Housman's comments. In vi. 73 I have restored the reading of P soluitur his magno *comoedis* fibula, not 'because the scribe has failed in his attempt to scratch out the s' as Mr. Housman erroneously supposes, but because the s has been scratched out by the corrector (such scratching is frequent in P),—a very different thing, for here, as in countless places, P is ranged against the corrector of P in agreement with *ω*. Moreover *comoedis* not only makes sense, 'the fibula of such players (Accius and Urbicus etc.) is loosed at large outlay,' but is confirmed by Martial xiv. 215 'dic mihi simpliciter, *comoedis et citharoedis | fibula quid praestas?* carius ut futuant.' In vi. 120, Mr. Housman objects to my restoration of *sed* from P in place of *et*, his reason being that *sed* 'makes nonsense.' This is false. Mr. Housman has forgotten Beer's brilliant pamphlet *Spicilegium Iuvenalianum*. There p. 68. Beer proposed to restore *sed*: 'iam iam mulier (he says) augusta ad domum famosam appropinquat, extremo fortasse tempore ~~seae~~ recipiet, respect locum foedissimum—*sed* intravit (sic hat ihren Fuss gesetzt) meretrix lupanar.' The meaning I take to be 'But not content with leaving the palace she has actually entered a brothel.'

In ix. 14, I regard Brutia praestabat calidi lita fascia uisci, as a certain restoration deduced from *brustia* praestabat calidi circum fascia uisci P and praestabat calidi circum lita fascia uisci P²*ω*. *Circum* was assuredly a gloss which stood over *lita*. P incorporated it into the text, omitting *lita*: the other MSS., incorporating both words, reduced the line to metre by omitting *brustia*

Mr. Housman who at x. 254 wishes to introduce the reading of *o*, here inconsistently rejects *lita*, the reading of those MSS.

In xiv. 229 *qui per fraudes patrimonialia conduplicavit* (my emendation for *conduplicari*) is necessary for the construction, which otherwise is non-existent, as Mr. Housman admits. But when he goes on to object that 'Juvenal's point is that avarice is taught not merely by example but by precept' he begs the question. Juvenal knew well enough that evil example is as potent a teacher as evil precept: being a poet we must allow him the right of all poets to vary his forms of expression, and not insist that he should write with that rigid attention to logic which is demanded by paedagogic critics.

In x. 54 *ergo superuacua aut <prope> perniciose petuntur* the supplement *prope* was suggested to me by the similarity of the letter *p* to the contraction of *prope* (ϕ̄̄), which by haplography would render probable the absorption of *prope* into the succeeding *p*. *Ergo*, as Friedländer has shown, is resumptive, introducing a conclusion based on what preceded, and therefore is inappropriately used here to introduce a question, as in Bücheler's reading approved by Mr. Housman: and Sejanus Crassus etc., who have not yet been mentioned, whom Mr. Housman arrays against me, are not in point for this reason. And when Mr. Housman denies that 'it is our *lot* to pray to the gods for anything whatsoever,' he has forgotten that Juvenal in the Tenth Satire is writing from the Stoic standpoint; the Stoics were fatalists. My translation may have been awkward, but the meaning is obvious: therefore since the things for which we pray in accordance with the law of destiny are superfluous or very likely to prove our ruin, for what things should we pray? Ancient ideas of fate were curious: it was possible to some extent to alter fate by an act of will. The Freedom of the Will and Necessity are still a provoking problem.

As to vii. 222 *mediae quod noctis ad horam sedisti*, Mr. Housman's ill-timed pleasantries should be read side by side with my remarks *C.R.* vii. 401, in defence of the reading *ad horam*. I still decline to believe that Roman schoolmasters started lessons at midnight. They rather continued to work till late at night. They worked no doubt early in the morning and late at night, at which time the boys were not necessarily 'fast asleep in bed' as Mr. Housman assumes, begging the question. In the land

of midday siesta night is turned into day and day into night. Mr. Housman writes as a teacher of English youth. Moreover if mid-night may stand as an exaggeration for early morning with the traditional reading, why on earth should it not stand as an exaggeration for late at night? In viii. 241 objecting to my emendation *ui* (for *in*), which has met with considerable favour, Mr. Housman remarks ungenerously that 'if *ui* gave any tolerable sense, it would have been conjectured long ago,' seeking to rob me of credit. If Mr. Housman will refer to *C.R.* ix. 347 he will discover that it not only gives a tolerable sense, but it gives the exact sense required, and it is the only conjecture hitherto proposed which does so without violating the rhythm. *Vis* is used of warlike violence, which is much the same as war, as I showed there: add Attius *Astyanax* I qui nostra per *uim* patria populavit bona. Val. Flacc. v. 359 'non tibi ab hoste minae nec *uis*' ait 'ulla propinquat nec metus.' viii. 370 nunc quid agat, qua *ui* portus et prima capessat | ostia, qua possit Minyas inuadere? Liv. xxi. 2 plura consilio quam *ui* gerens. In vi. 473 my conjecture accipit, haec facies madida est, dicetur an *ulcus*?, extracted from P accipite (*i.e.* accipit haec) facies madidae (*i.e.* madida ē), does not 'ruin' the sense, but, in my opinion, improves it: the position of the adjective *madidae* at the end of the clause in the vulgate is feeble, and as far as I know, without parallel in Juvenal. The only cases at all like it are iv. 105, xv. 70 (with *atque*), vi. 197 (nominatives), and viii. 122 where the adjectives are substantival. The meaning is 'but a face that is coated and bathed with so many cosmetics and which receives poultices of boiled flour, is it a poulticed face, or shall it be called a poulticed sore?' Of course *madida* is to be taken ἀπό κομποῦ with *facies* and *ulcus*. *Madida* has a medicinal connotation (Apulei *Met.* viii. 18 p. 704 Hildebrand, ille spongiis madidatis tumores comprimere) it means wet with poultices, as the word is often used of hair wet with unguents (Ov. *II.* xiv. 13, Mart. iv. 3, 6 etc.).

In vi. 197 the punctuation which I have introduced gives, I believe, an improved sense. 'Your soft lascivious tones have power to allure, but with the result that all ardour subsides, however wanton your accents: your face betrays your age.'

Mr. Housman will, I imagine, find few to agree with him in his censure of me for following Bücheler in removing the brackets which, for various silly reasons, have from

time to time been placed around certain lines, and for excluding from my brief apparatus the names of scholars, mainly defunct, who have been victims of this mania for obelizing. The weighty words of Bücheler (*præf.* p. xiv), in which he justifies the banishing of the brackets, are well known: I may here quote the words in which the ablest exponent of Juvenal expresses his approval of Bücheler's action. 'I may be pardoned for citing (though my name occurs in it) an important protest against the modern rage for obelising works or portions of works, bearing every external and internal mark of authenticity. Remember that the speeches of Cicero condemned so confidently by Tunstall and Markland and F. A. Wolf and proscribed for a century, are now universally accepted; the balance of present opinion is also decidedly in favour of the letters to and from Brutus... My text was printed last year; if I have occasion to print it again, I shall follow Bücheler's example and remove all the brackets. By an improved punctuation he has given a new force to more than one of the condemned passages' (Mayor, *Juvenal*, i.⁴ p. xlvii). Since there is no reason to suppose that there are reasonable grounds for any of these 'suspicions of connoisseurs,' why should I encumber an apparatus, in which brevity is of primary importance, with futilities that have been already amply chronicled and exploded? I will give a single instance of the character of these 'suspicions': viii. 122 tollas licet omne quod usquam est | auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques [et iaculum et galeam; spoliatis arma supersunt]. The brackets are due to Lachmann, offended by the redundancy which did not however offend Juvenal: ii. 169 mittentur braciae cultelli frena flagellum. vii. 14 faciant equites Asiani | quamquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni. xv. 124 qua nec terribiles Cimbri nec Brittones umquam | Sauromataeque truces aut inmanes Agathyrsi. And how effective is the redundancy! You may rob the provincials of their effects, you cannot rob them of their arms; arms of every sort they will discover. The thought is that of Tacitus *A.* iv. 46 sin ut uictis seruitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuuentutem et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum. And all is clinched in the noble epigram, which few but Juvenal could have penned, *spoliatis arma supersunt*. Conceive any one with an ounce of literary feeling consenting to part with that. This is a specimen of the

reasons which are answerable for those precious brackets. And so I have expelled them; and I don't care one jot for the big names of their authors. And in place of the gibes of Mr. Housman, I set up in all modesty a counter-assessment: *εἰ οὐν δὲ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀξίας τιμᾶσθαι, τοῦτον τιμῶμαι, ἐν πρῶτῳ αὖ στήθεσσι*.

Finally I will deal with the problem of the preservation by the Oxford manuscript of the newly discovered lines which follow vi. 365: and I must join issue with Mr. Housman when he asserts that this question is not important. It does not require much insight to perceive that if the preservation of the lines in the Oxford MS. and their absence in the others can be satisfactorily accounted for, a great deal has been done towards demonstrating their genuineness: since otherwise, as they are found in one MS. only, they are liable to the suspicion of being a forgery, which in Bücheler's view they are. In my own opinion the lines are from Juvenal's pen, but were expunged by Nicaeus; and the Oxford manuscript preserves them, because it is a manuscript at any rate to a great extent representing the state of the text anterior to Nicaeus. This is common sense, and on this Mr. Housman concentrates his main attack with peculiar acidity. I was gradually led to form this theory by observing the singular way in which, though agreeing largely with the ω MSS., the Oxford manuscript agrees also frequently with P against that group: and the remarkable circumstance that in several instances (*C.R.* xvi. 407) it preserves unique and certainly genuine readings, indicates that it belongs neither to the ω nor the P group. When Mr. Housman says, for the purpose of prejudicing my contention, that 'O, except in those verses which it alone contains, is nothing but a MS of the ω family,' he has forgotten its unique readings, to which elsewhere in his article he calls attention; he is inconsistent in his statements, and says what is contrary to fact. By the 'trivialis textus' current before the labours of Nicaeus, I mean such a text as many recently discovered papyri present of ancient writers, a text frequently for some reason or other (reasons may be found in Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, ed. 2, p. 268, and my *Prolegomena* to Ovid's *Tristia*, p. lxxix ff.) not as good as texts preserved in our MSS., but which at the same time may and often does preserve a genuine reading. I consider that this 'trivialis textus,' represented by the Oxford manuscript, was a text which,

being in ordinary circulation, had become in many ways corrupted. Nicaeus set himself to work to amend this corrupted vulgar text by the use of sources lost to us. The text of P represents best the recension of Nicaeus. The text of ω represents also that recension; but it has been contaminated by the admixture of readings drawn amongst other sources from the original vulgar text. Thus the fact that O agrees largely with ω and not with P is what might be expected; for the ω manuscripts are clearly a family inferior to P, and more akin to the vulgar text. But as Nicaeus, like all human beings, was not infallible, it is natural to suppose that he altered some things for the worse; and in these cases, I mean the unique readings of O and its preservation of the otherwise lost lines, O comes to our assistance. This is my answer to Mr. Housman's taunt levelled at me for not making O the basis of my text. I could not make the basis of my text a manuscript which is on the whole inferior to P: neither could I neglect a manuscript which at times is superior to P. The circumstance that the lines 346-348, an abridged form of lines 30-34 in the Bodleian fragment, besides being preserved in the fuller form in the fragment, occur in the Oxford MS. also after 345, as they do in the other manuscripts, I suppose to be due to the fact that the scribe of O, or of some manuscript from which it was copied, had access to an ordinary manuscript of the ω group, whence the lines were incorporated here. In other words the basis of the Oxford manuscript is a pre-Nicaean recension, whence its unique readings: but the manuscript is conflate.

I now turn to Winterfeld's theory as to the loss of the Bodleian lines from the other manuscripts, of which Mr. Housman says falsely that I 'deny that it has ever been propounded.' I do not deny this: I refer at the end of my preface to a paper, *C.R.* xvi., 406 ff., in which I touched on this theory, giving the references to Winterfeld's two papers (*Berl. phil. Woch.*, xix. 793; *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1899, p. 895). What I did say is that it had not been explained satisfactorily how it is that the addition is preserved in O alone. I held and still hold that this theory does not explain the crux. It was not my business in the short preface to the Oxford text to examine and argue at length against any theory that might have been started. Anyone interested in such things can pursue them in periodicals. I therefore endeavoured to compress in my

preface what appeared to me to be material: brevity above all things was necessary. A statement of a theory which I judged unsound was not, in my opinion, a necessary addition to my preface.

Winterfeld's theory attempts to account for the disappearance of the 34 lines of the Oxford manuscript from the other manuscripts thus. Having remarked that P and the Aarau fragments have 29 lines on a page, Winterfeld conjectured the loss of a page of 29 lines from the archetype of our MSS. other than O, that is to say '34 minus 5,' says Mr. Housman, 'un. 30-34 being the remnant out of which 346-348 were fabricated.' Now in order to square with the hypothetical loss of a page of 29 lines this theory involves the following assumptions:

(1) The assumption that 30-34 must be subtracted, in order to yield the desired page of 29 lines.

(2) The further assumption that 30-34 were cut down so as to produce 346-348 of the vulgate text, which Mr. Housman explains 'by supposing that the scribe glanced from 'custo-des' in 32 to 'pru-dens' in 34, thus omitting 'qui nunc...prudens' and leaving the defective verse custodes et ab illis incipit uxor, which was then completed by inserting "cauta est"' (*C.R.* xv. 265).

(3) The further assumption that these five lines succeeding the lost page having been preserved and reduced by the roving eye of the scribe to the required three, were then not suffered to remain where they presumably ought to have followed after 365, but were conveniently whisked off by the obsequious scribe of the wandering eye and dumped down after line 345 in order to oblige Messrs. Winterfeld and Housman, and to enable the latter to confront me with this remarkable theory.

Last, but by no means least, this theory fails to explain how the two lines found in the Oxford manuscript after vi. 373 (373a b in my text, mangonum—relict) vanished from the other manuscripts; the explanation is obvious if my view be accepted. I allow that it is supposed that the lines were inserted in the margin of the lost original of the Oxford manuscript; and were copied by the scribe of O into the text. But this is mere supposition.

The nature and quantity of the assumptions and difficulties involved in Winterfeld's theory seem to me sufficient to refute it.

The question I insist upon is this, if Winterfeld's theory be accepted. By what

extraordinary process, if O is a mere manuscript of the ω class, comes it about that it preserves several unique and valuable readings, and that it alone preserves the unique additions? Why should those unique additions have passed out of all the other ω manuscripts? Why in the hundreds of such manuscripts that have been examined is there no trace of them?

It is rather because O comes from a source different from that of ω , than that it alone has been augmented accidentally by these inserted additions. If O were a mere manuscript of the ω class, as Mr. Housman contends, it would agree with ω throughout, which it does not.

S. G. OWEN.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—MICHAELMAS TERM, 1903.

Papers were read this Term as follows:—

October 30th: On recent literary discoveries at Oxyrhynchus, with especial reference to a new epitome of Livy xlvii–lv, by Dr. GRENFELL.

November 6th: (a) On Aristotle's notion of $\tau\delta$ διαφανές, by Mr. JOSEPH. It is tolerably plain that in defining colour as the limit of the diaphanous, Aristotle did not mean that it bounded the transparent medium between the eye and the coloured body, but that the coloured body itself was in some sense diaphanous, and became coloured through its own definite limitation. For (i) it could not be a *definition* of colour, to say that it terminated a transparent medium: (ii) his words are $\tau\delta$ τοῦ διαφανοῦς ἐν σώματι ὁρισμένῳ πέρασ (de Sens. 439 b 11): (iii) light is contrasted with colour as being ἐν ὁρίσῳ τῷ διαφανεί (ib. 439 a 27). (So far as such indeterminate bodies—air and water are the obvious instances—are coloured, it seems to be due to their limitation by that in which they are contained; and the fact that their contour changes to suit the receptacle accounts for the shifting nature of the colours seen in them. Alexander however gives a somewhat different explanation; holding that the colours of bodies are diffused through these transparent media, in the same way as they pass through the transparent humour in the eye to the πρώτου αἰσθητικόν behind it: in this case however the eye ought to receive or apprehend not the colour of the object but the diffused colour produced in the κόρη. On the other hand, Aristotle's explanation fails if applied to glass, or the crystalline heavens.

It is tempting to think that the diaphanous was to Aristotle not the body, but something filling the same space with the body, like the luminiferous ether. It was taken so by Stobaeus (Ecl. Phys. i. 17, p. 366), yet the view is untenable. For in speaking of light (de An. II. vii. 418 b 14), Aristotle tells us that it can be neither body nor an efflux of any body, on the express ground that two bodies cannot be in the same place. It is true that the body with which illuminated space is already occupied is there $\tau\delta$ διαφανές: for light is called πυρὸς ἢ τοιοῦτου τινὸς παρουσία ἐν τῷ διαφανεί; but $\tau\delta$ διαφανές cannot mean a body which is diaphanous οὐκ ἄλλο τι ὢν, or there could be no διαφανές ἐν σώματι ὁρισμένῳ; since the hypothesis that the diaphanous is distributed through the interstices of another body like water in earth, is excluded by the statement (de Sens. 439 b 8, cf. 438 b 24) that all bodies are diaphanous more or less. We might suppose then that $\tau\delta$ δια-

φανές is that which is diaphanous ἄλλο τι ὢν—not as glass is glass, but as glass is transparent. This however will not suit with the definition of colour above quoted, nor with the passage de Sens. 439 a 21 b 12, where colour is explained to be not πέρασ but ἐν πέρατι, and ἐν πέρατι not of bodies but of a κοινὴ φύσις καὶ δύναμις, ἣ χωριστῇ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐν τούτοις δ' ἔστι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σώμασιν ἐνυπάρχει, τοῖς μὲν μᾶλλον τοῖς δ' ἥττον; although in 439 b 12 (καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν διαφανῶν, οἷον ὕδατος καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον) τὰ διαφανῆ are clearly diaphanous ἄλλο τι ὢντα. It remains then to take $\tau\delta$ διαφανές (where it does not mean the diaphanous body) as meaning the attribute of diaphaneity; and Alexander accordingly uses διαφάνεια sometimes as its equivalent (e.g. vol. ii. p. 147, 27 of the Berlin ed.). But this involves us in another difficulty; for no quality can be extended; square can be only a συμβεβηκός of blue; and colour (or rather the coloured) should be the limit or surface not of the diaphanous in a body, but of the body itself. Much then as we may be disposed to commend Aristotle for holding that it was the same nature which is illuminated in air or other transparent media, and coloured in earth or flower, we cannot credit him with a consistent view of his own statement.

Aristotle's account of the genesis of different colours is also involved in grave difficulties. As the indeterminate diaphanous is actually light through the presence of fire, so the determinate diaphanous is actually coloured through the presence of the same element; and white is in the latter what light is in the former; while black in the latter corresponds to darkness in the former (439 b 16). Now darkness is the privation of light in the diaphanous; and black the privation of whiteness in the same (442 a 25): but this privation arises through the absence of an illuminant: so that the difference of black and white takes place through the absence or presence of fire in a body of constant diaphaneity. On the other hand in de Gen. An. 780 a 33, black is said to be that which is not naturally diaphanous; and the difference of black and white would depend on the degree of diaphanous matter in a body; in which case what becomes of the statement that all bodies are more or less diaphanous? (cf. de Sens. 439 b 8).

Since the remaining colours arise through the various admixture of black and white, the solution of the last problem is crucial for them also. There are three ways in which such admixture may be conceived to occur: (i) by juxtaposition of minima that are severally white and black; but though this

might produce an appearance of gray at a distance, it will not explain the colours that really belong to the body and do not depend on our relation to it: (ii) by superposition of black and white, or vice-versa; the reasons for rejecting this view are not set out: (iii) by chemical mixture of the black and white bodies; whereby their colours are also mixed in any the least parts of them (439 b 18 sq.).

About Aristotle's whole theory it may be fairly said (except perhaps the part quoted in the last paragraph), that it is singularly incapable of proof or disproof. He was acute in criticizing the theories of others; but his own escape criticism because they suggest no precise physical process. To say that light arises by the presence of an illuminant (τὸ φωτίζειν πεφωκός) in the diaphanous, is to explain nothing: but it offers no handle to refutation. Nor does it help us to be told that we see because the colour of a body moves the diaphanous to affect our sight. The sensible form again is *transmitted* to the organ of sense: but how, we are not told. The doctrine of effluxes at any rate aliquid ex philosophia naturali, et rerum naturam, et experientiam, et corpora, sapit; Aristotle gave some good reasons however for thinking it false. But to his own theory Bacon's praise is justly denied; and so far as his special physical doctrines were concerned (not his biology, nor his investigation of the first principles of physics) the attacks made on him at the dawn of modern science seem to be justified.

(b) On the interpretation of Plato Republic 437-488, and on the text and interpretation of 376 D, 405 B, 592 B, 619 D, by Mr. H. RICHARDS.

November 13th: On the pronunciation of the letter Z and other consonants in Classical Attic, by Mr. ELLIOTT. The writer examined some points in connexion with θ, φ, and χ, and suggested that their pronunciation as spirants first arose before a second aspirated consonant or another consonant where the pronunciation of a preceding aspirate was most difficult; so that for φθ the value *f + t + h* preceded *f + Eng. th*. The pronunciation of ζ he considered the most difficult problem connected with Attic pronunciation. He showed that the statements of Blass, Meisterhans, and others on this question could not be implicitly trusted, and brought forward later evidence which must also be taken into account, e.g. μέλλετε as a dactyl before εὐγγυτε in Timotheus 203. In Greek, ζ arose from (1) zd, e.g. ὄζος, Arm. *ost*., Goth. *ast-s*; (2) dz, e.g. Ζεύς, φροντίζω, cf. φροντίδ-ος; (3) yz, e.g. μέζων, cf. μέγας, στάζω, cf. σταγών; (4) j, e.g. ζυγόν, perhaps from sandhi, * τδδ ζυγόν; (5) post-classical ζ sometimes from σ, e.g. Ζυμυραῖος. He examined recent attempts to show that ζ never arose from zd, and considered them unsuccessful; Ἀθήναζε = *Ἀθήνα(ν)ς + δε, Διδόχοτος = Διδόχ-δοτος, etc. Cf. also Ἀζώτος (Herodotus) = *Ashlod*, and Ἰστρομάζης = *Istrumazda*. The pronunciation of ζ varied in different dialects. With variation between zd and dz may be compared εὐσχάμενος = εὐζάμενος and σφυχή = ψυχή in Attic inscriptions. He examined the evidence of Plato, Aristotle, the grammarians, Comparative Philology, Greek phonetic laws, mis-spellings and confusions, parallels in other languages, transliterations from and into Greek, etc., and suggested a solution which seemed to him on the whole to harmonize best with all the evidence and to offer fewest difficulties. The writer hopes to publish his investigations about the pronunciation of ζ more fully later.

November 20th. On the date and place of the Homeric Hymns (a summary of a work in press), by Mr. ALLEN.

November 27th: On the ambiguity in the use of the term *φύσις* in the later Greek Philosophy, by Dr. BUSSELL.

The paper dealt with the subject under the following heads:

A.

(1) Nature always an ambiguous term. (2) Greek thought began with a full-fledged theory of Evolution. (3) The Primitive substance gradually identified with God, or rather styled by divine names; and set over against the illusive world of phenomena. (4) This becomes humanized and transcendental in Anaxagoras. (5) For every system (even of avowed Monism) tends to separate *active* and *passive* elements. (6) Individual life and personality is a lapse from perfection of original Unity.

B.

(1) The whole outlook changes at Athens in the epoch of Humanism. Creation and the visible world not a Fall, but a divine work (reaction against the radical pessimism of Pre-Socratics). (2) Humanistic Teleology: its value and its mischievous influence. (3) In the fourth century (B.C.) the trend of thought is *sceptical* and *pessimistic*. (4) Providence, in the strict sense, excluded from the nether sphere. (5) Euripides is typical of this spirit: man a plaything of inscrutable powers. (6) Life is uncertain and unmoral. (7) Conception of Deity confusedly defined in terms of *force*, *wisdom*, and *moral recompense*. (8) Early zest in physical science expires in detachment and doubt. (9) Pessimism in Plato's 'Laws.'

C.

(1) Momentary arrest of this tendency by Aristotelian optimism and interest in details. (2) Yet even here, Dualism in conception of Nature; division of the *natural* and *supernatural* Domains. (3) Highest duty of man to escape to realms of pure thought.

D.

(1) Individual aim of all post-Aristotelian Schools. (2) Revolt of the INDIVIDUAL and against the unaccountable latent in Aristotle, explicit in his successors. (3) Actively sensitive personality,—powerless and ill at ease. (4) Jettison of all that is not our own. (5) The insignificant residuum is God. (6) Complete submission to chance and necessity; though in devout natures this surrender is palliated by piety. (7) The single power—a congeries of qualities (natural, intellectual, moral).

E.

(1) The Dilemma as to 'Nature.' (2) Began with a prudential counsel 'Be simple' (an appeal for consistency; for *self-realization*). (3) According to Nature—according to Reason—according to 'Virtue' (excellence). (4) In spite of its apparent objectivity, this standard perilously subjective. (5) Though reacting against this Idealism the Stoics retain conception of *purpose* and *end*. (6) Let there be harmony of inward and outer principle. (7) Cleanthes first emphasized surrender to the outer Nature. (8) This nature, defined as a self-moving and moral power has yet no intelligible purpose. (9) The Sage's duty to enter Nirvana. (10) A strictly mechanical view of Nature led Epicurus to brighter conception of life. (11) He secured what Stoics never could attain: a modified certainty and free-will. (12) Expulsion of the notion of Providence (from a purely physical and automatic realm). (13) Essentially modern view of life. (14) Sceptics, still more practical, return to active and civic duties made possible by the elimination of superstition and sentiment.

December 4th: On some recent views on the authenticity of the Twelve Tables, by Mr. GREENIDGE. The views considered were those of Pais and Lambert. The problem of the character of the *Annales Maximi* was examined and the view was taken that the sources of the *Fasti* for the middle of the fifth century B.C. are undiscoverable. It was maintained that the history of the *Leges Regiæ* furnishes no warrant for the view that Granius Flaccus first formed them into a code and thus played a part analogous to that assigned by Lambert to Aelius Paetus in the making of the Twelve Tables. The publication, of the Tables, their language, style, and the work of their commentators were then ex-

amined: and the conclusion was reached that, in spite of the defects of the traditions connected with them, no argument fatal to their antiquity had been adduced by recent critics. The internal arguments against their genuineness were held to be of an *a priori* and arbitrary character and to be based on general assumptions of the insecurity of early Roman traditions. An attempt was made to exhibit the extreme difficulty of reconstructing an intelligible account of the history of Roman procedure, if the existence of an early code is denied. The paper will be published.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.
Hon. Sec.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

SOME NOTES ON THE ANCIENT GREEK SCULPTURE EXHIBITED AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB.¹

Nothing has appeared to me more important to the advancement of the study of Classical Archaeology than the careful and systematic comparative study of style as it was practised by the late Heinrich v. Brunn. We owe to this line of study the rich accretion to our store of knowledge concerning Greek sculpture which forms the centre for the study of ancient art and from which the serious students of mediæval and Renaissance painting have in our days borrowed their methods and advanced their departments of knowledge.

The more I feel this the greater appears to me the responsibility of maintaining the serious and conscientious character of such study and of protesting against all that might cause a deterioration of those methods and bring the study into disrepute.

The recent exhibition of works of classical art from private collections in Great Britain organised by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London afforded great scope for the application of such methods of study. We must be grateful to the Committee for having organised it and to Mrs. Strong for having so speedily put into the hands of the visitor a catalogue, which not only helped to make the exhibition intelligible, but was also a wonderful achievement in putting together in so short a time a great deal of information from extant works and from archaeological literature to illustrate each work.

¹ Several causes, none of them connected with the editing of this Review, have led to the regrettable postponement of the publication of these notes taken last summer while the exhibition was open.—C. W.

All the more is it to be deplored that the spirit in which these identifications are put is far from showing the conscientious scientific balance which is required for the maintenance of sound method and the credit of the study as a whole. This is especially due to the loyal adherence which Mrs. Strong gives to Dr. Furtwängler, whose professed disciple she has shown herself to be for some time and whose methods of proceeding (in this department, at all events,) I strongly feel, tend to endanger the sound methods of enquiry into the style of ancient sculpture. She thus not only herself accepts such doubtful identifications as fully established; but by the dogmatic publication leads the uncritical to follow and to assume similar tone and method which will ultimately tend, I am convinced, to bring into discredit a line of study in which I have full faith and the advancement of which I have ever had most at heart. I shall point out some of the most striking instances selecting the more important works, in which I think these errors have been committed. I shall endeavour to put my objections as concisely as possible. The numbers given are those in the catalogue as presented to the visitors while the exhibition was open.

No. 46.—HEAD OF ZEUS. I will begin with one of the most striking works—at least one which deserves most eminent consideration, if we accept Prof. Furtwängler's estimate of it. Mrs. Strong here quotes the *ipsissima verba* of her master, who says of it: 'It is a Greek work of the great period of Pheidias (450-440) Our Roman copies in marble of bearded heads of gods from the Pheidian period appear coarse, empty and dead beside this wonderful Greek work. I am acquainted with no second work at all, in sculpture in the round, that

affords us, even approximately, so high a conception of the sublimity of the images of gods in the greatest period of Attic art, combined with such a freshness and delicacy of execution. It may be conjectured that the head belonged to the model for a large statue. It is, in any case, by the hand of one of the first masters of Greece, and a work entirely *unique* [the italics are his] in character; I know nothing similar to, or comparable with, it.'

Now the last sentence is clear for obvious reasons. This is a bold statement of opinion. I am only astonished that the boldness and outspokenness have not been carried a step further. For it appears to me manifest that what is suggested, or at least hinted at, is: that this terra-cotta head may be Pheidias's *model* for a head of Zeus, if not the Olympian Zeus.

Instead of the fifth century B.C. it appears to me most probable that this head was manufactured in the nineteenth or twentieth century A.D., and this would in great part account for its '*uniqueness*' in the light of ancient sculpture. The work manifests a mixture of periods, styles and techniques, the leading characteristics of which had not been fully realised by the maker of the terra-cotta; their unintelligent fusion makes the general aspect of this head so singular when placed among works of the Pheidian period—so '*unique*.' The main character was evidently borrowed from, and was meant to convey the general impression of, the bronze style in archaic heads. It almost looks as if the face had been made from a squeeze of such an earlier bronze. We thus have the peculiar sharpness in the line of the brow and in the eyelids, the almost archaic curve of the moustache. We are led to expect the well-defined semi-circular tuft of hair laid over the beard immediately below the middle of the underlip, as we find it in heads of Dionysus on Naxian coins and on so many specimens of archaic art. Yet, in strong contrast to this early bronze treatment we find a blend of the marble and clay treatment in the modelling of the longer locks of the beard. It is true they aim at the strict conventional symmetry which marks the genuine archaic bronzes; but the maker fails to keep up this character of regularity and breaks into the freedom of a later period with its feeling for texture or more accidental arrangements of real life. The variety of line and light and shade in the rich hair on the head is certainly not warranted by the marked archaism of the eyes

and the moustache. The individual locks, moreover, in hair and beard are not sharply defined and chiselled in their regular curves; but end in thick and washed out loops and curves, as the clay modeller or one working for marble would naturally render them. This coarseness of modelling and inelaboration in detail is still more noticeable in the locks behind the head and show the modern craftsman unable to carry through the part of the archaic Greek bronze-worker. Even in the detail-work of the moustache, in which the earlier style is imitated as regards the general outline, the elaboration of the part immediately below the nose is coarse and bungling.

As regards the actual terra-cotta itself and its manifest assertion of genuine antiquity, we must at once ask why the very striking antique corrosion on the face was in no way extended to the beard. One would naturally have expected that such coating, which comes from the ground in which the antique is imbedded for ages, would have shown itself on some parts at least of the beard. Further, on the right side of the middle of the lip there is a scratch through the smooth surface of the red thickening. This evidently is meant to be a vicissitude affecting the work during the ages of its sepulture after the terra-cotta (which is of *exceptional* hardness) was baked. For in a work so carefully finished such a noticeable flaw would at once have been smoothed down while the clay was soft if it had occurred before baking. Yet if it had been the wear and tear of time which produced this broad scratch, the edges of the scratch in the hard clay would have been sharp and corrugated when examined under a magnifying glass. As it is, this 'scratch' was however made smoothly in the *soft clay* while the 'artist' was producing his antique.

Even if I am wrong in my imputation of forgery—and I have no reason to admit that I am—the work could then only belong to the late *archaising* period, when early styles were imitated or works of eclectic character were fashioned, and it would then be far removed from the period when it 'served as a model for a large statue' of Pheidian art.

No. 22.—This HEAD OF APHRODITE belonging to Lord Leconfield is undoubtedly a beautiful work. But from admitting this to stamping it as an original work by Praxiteles is a great step, against which I wish to protest vigorously. We must

never forget that there are no more beautiful works of ancient art extant than the Aphrodite of Melos and the Nike of Samothrace. Yet we are not justified in ascribing them to any one of the great masters of ancient Greece. It is true Mrs. Strong here slightly tones down the dogmatism of her master when accepting his identification. After maintaining that it belongs to the same class as the Hermes by Praxiteles and 'to kindred original works of the same period,' she proceeds: 'It is safe, therefore, to conjecture that the same artist made both the Hermes and the Aphrodite now exhibited.' But the impression conveyed to the reader is that the work is distinctly a Greek original of the age of Praxiteles, most probably by the hand of that master. Professor Furtwängler himself says (*Masterpieces*, p. 315): 'Although we can bring forward no literary witness to help in the identification of this head, we are, I think, completely justified on technical and stylistic grounds in maintaining that it is a real Greek original by the artist of the Hermes.' Now it is precisely on these 'stylistic grounds' that it appears to me impossible to maintain that the Leconfield Aphrodite is an original by the hand of the master of the Hermes—if such studies of style are pursued with accuracy and not by means of general and inaccurate phrases.

To begin with the technique. There are in the Leconfield head coarsenesses and exaggerations which must be contrasted with the work on the Hermes. If the drill has been used in both (the drill, by the way, was already used in sculpture in the fifth century B.C.) its use in the finished working of the face is disturbingly manifest in the Leconfield head, while no traces in the Hermes remain as in the corners of the mouth of the Aphrodite. The roughness in the treatment of the hair is introduced at the cost of the indication of its texture, whereas in the Hermes the rough blocking out of the short curls when contrasted with the smooth modelling of the face emphasises the difference of texture and, by its very irregularity, produces that vivid impression of its true nature. In the Aphrodite the regularity of the deeper modelling of the strands of hair has been maintained, nay it has been flattened out and made commonplace in composition and line, losing its true indication of texture the more we get to the back. In this respect it is far inferior to the composition and treatment of the hair in most of the replicas of the 'Cnidian' type of

Aphrodite.¹ Compare especially the profile view. Nor, in comparison with these, is the Leconfield head helped by the roughness to the actual surface: for the smoother and more careful waving of the strands in the 'Kaufmann head' at Berlin, even in the Vatican replica, gives more life and real texture to the hair. The roughening treatment has been applied in an unintelligent manner. On the other hand the smooth coating or polish, as if the hair on the face had been treated with wax—perhaps a form of *circumlitio*—is more pronounced and obtrusive than in the Hermes and, as we shall see, points to a later period.

As regards the general composition: I fail to see in it the proportions of the more elongated head of Hermes. It is true it resembles in this point the 'Kaufmann' head to a certain degree; but again is in contrast to the long face of the Vatican Aphrodite. But where the composition is most at fault—a blemish in the work unworthy of one of the greatest masters—is in the relation and proportion between head and neck.

I must at once remark here that Plate XVII in Furtwängler's *Masterpieces* does not convey a true impression of the work in this as well as in other respects. Whether this is due to a defective photograph or to interference with the copper plate I cannot decide. The illustration in Vol. ii. p. 305 of Collignon's *Hist. d. l. Sculpt. Gr.*, and on pp. 278 and 279 of Klein's *Praxiteles* are more accurate. The abnormal thickness of the long neck in a female figure, broader in the base than the broadest part of the face, differs from all the other types of Aphrodite known to me and is one of the elements counteracting the harmonious impressions of the whole as a perfect work of art.

But this disturbing effect is increased by the detailed elaboration of the neck, about which Prof. Furtwängler says: . . . 'the Euboulus [the Praxitelean origin of which is far from being beyond dispute] is recalled . . . more especially by the treatment of the neck, the flesh of which is rendered with the softness of nature, but without a trace of feebleness.' What does this last phrase mean? Why compare the muscular firmness of a male portrait bust—even if it offered the slightest analogy (which it does *not*)—to the neck of Aphrodite? As a matter of fact, thick, fleshy redundant rolls of flesh run horizontally along the broad

¹ Cf. Michaelis, *J.H.S.* vol. viii. p. 324 *seq.*, Pl. LXXX.

² Conze, *Antike Denkm.* p. 30, Pl. XLI.

neck of the Leconfield Aphrodite mechanically indicated by round ridges and straight chisel cuts—a technical treatment and a character of style which I defy anyone to show in any part of the nude modelling of the Hermes. It distinctly points to a later period.

There are some further details of 'style' upon which Prof. Furtwängler bases his identification: 'The round skull and the ear, with its lobe well detached from the cheek, its wide opening, and the narrow fold of the cartilage, exactly resemble the Olympian Hermes.' Now the treatment of the ear manifests a most singular feature. It is placed unusually low in the head. Whereas the bottom of the lobe in the Hermes is in a line with the upper part of the tip of the nose, in the Leconfield head it is parallel with the lower lip. The lobe, moreover, in the Aphrodite is mechanically worked in a long rounded point, without much indication of cartilage by means of modelling; in the Hermes it is a comparatively broad, shorter and flattened semi-circle with much greater indication of the cartilage by means of modelling.

He continues: 'Again, the mouth of the Petworth Aphrodite finds its closest analogy in that of the Hermes, especially in the delicate transition between the lips and the surrounding surfaces, which is an unmistakable mark of late Praxitelean art.' This latter phrase appears to mean that there is no clear distinction between the 'red' of the lip and the skin—which is certainly a marked peculiarity, or fault, in the Leconfield head, but which certainly is not to be found in the delicate precision with which the 'red' of the upper lip is defined in the Hermes. I have already referred to the coarse way in which the drill has been used at the corners of the mouth which cannot be found in the Hermes.

The eyes do maintain the 'Praxitelean' character; though here too the Hermes shows more firmness in the plain sweep of the upper lid of which more is made visible in the full-face view.

Professor Furtwängler's—'ground of technique and style' can in no way be considered conclusive in making this head a work by the hand of the master of the Hermes. It is of later origin. The treatment in the folds of the neck and the shiny polish of the surface point to a similar character of work as is found in the *Vénus Accroupie* from Vienne¹ in the Louvre, which I have long

maintained illustrates characteristics ascribed to Kephisodotus II the son of Praxiteles. We might *hypothetically* ascribe the Leconfield head to that master or school.

No. 25.—A HEAD OF HERMES at Chatsworth is made far too much of. To say the least the head has been worked over so much that very little of the original surface remains—perhaps only the portion in front of the right ear.—Because of the tightly fitting curls this head is supposed to contain 'Myronian elements,' nay Professor Furtwängler² refers it to 'the Hermes statue in the Vatican with the inscription "Ingenui," in the style of Myron,' which he maintains already shows a type of head which must be described as the direct precursor of the one here described. Both the Chatsworth head and the Vatican Hermes are much later works and have nothing in common with Myron except, perhaps, the 'little tight curls.'

No. 8.—A far nobler work is the large BRONZE HEAD OF APOLLO from Chatsworth. Here Mrs. Strong manifests greater independence; for she says: 'Otherwise the head is difficult to place within any known school.' Professor Furtwängler³ fixes the date of this bronze to about the year 460 B.C. In view of the date and character of the Delphic Charioteer (and it is best to compare original bronze with original bronze) this date seems to me far too late. And when he ascribes the statue to Pythagoras of Rhegium, he appears to me to have ignored the main features of that artist and of the date and character of the Chatsworth bronze. One of the most striking characteristics of the head is its solemn severity, which must have been increased by the absolutely straight position on the neck, the neck being at right angles to the chest. This is not quite in keeping with the main characteristics of Pythagoras which Prof. Furtwängler gives (coupling him in that respect with Myron) in the following terms (p. 12): 'Both Myron and Pythagoras, the great rivals, stand together in antithesis to the Argive art of their time: while the latter remained content in finding the ideal of the figure standing in repose, the former strove to grasp and to fix movement; a fresh and fiery spirit distinguishes both from the Peloponnesians.' I cannot see much evidence of this spirit in the Chatsworth head. As an hypothesis I venture to suggest that the Chatsworth bronze might with more probability convey to us some idea of the famous Apollo

¹ O. Rayet, *Mon. Ant.* Pl. 53; Reinach, *Répertoire*, etc., ii. p. 371, 4.

² *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 215.

³ *Intermezzi*, p. 5 and p. 11.

statues by Kanachos of Sicyon as illustrated by the Piombino bronze¹ in the Louvre and the Payne-Knight bronze² in the British Museum. The *provenance* of the head from Smyrna would make this the more probable. We are much nearer the period of Pythagoras and Myron in No. 12, Mr. Warren's remarkable STATUETTE OF HERAKLES. This, in preservation and in exquisiteness of execution, is the finest Greek marble copy of an earlier original (probably of bronze) with which I am acquainted. Of Myronian style I can see nothing. The nearest types are the so-called 'Apollo or Athlete on the Omphalos' at Athens, or the Choiseul-Graffier 'Apollo' (I must adhere to my interpretation of *Athletes*) in the British Museum. If those are right who see in these statues Attic work and ascribe the original to Kalamis (and they must not then ascribe the Delphic Charioteer to that school or artist) then this Herakles must be assigned to the same origin. But I still hold that my attribution of those so-called Apollos to Pythagoras³ is the more probable (and in such cases it can only be a question of greater or less probability), and on the same ground I should see in this statuette of Herakles an illustration of that art. The excellent LARGE VOTIVE BRONZE STATUETTE OF A YOUTH, also belonging to Mr. Warren (No. 36) belongs to the same period as the marble Herakles.

I regret that there is not space to treat of some of the bronzes from the remarkable collection brought together in that exhibition.

No. 50.—Let me end with a remark on the important RELIEF of Athena in Lansdowne house. Of this Athena Mrs. Strong says: 'This figure of the goddess is clearly inspired by the "Lemnian Athena" of Pheidias, two copies of which have lately been identified' [by Furtwängler]. Now Professor Furtwängler's brilliant hypothesis that the Dresden and Cassel torsos of Athena, upon which he has placed the charming head from Bologna, represent the Lemnian Athena is perfectly justified and has much in its favour. But it still remains an hypothesis. To make it, as is constantly done by him and his followers, the very starting point for our knowledge of the whole art of Pheidias is in no way justifiable. I confess that, though in some respects I

am favourably impressed by the hypothesis, there are elements in the head, in the torso itself, and in the combination of both in the statue as a whole, which make me feel doubts as to its Pheidian character. If the Lemnian Athena was bare-headed (as is highly probable, though not certain) I cannot see how the Athena on the Lansdowne relief, with the long hair down the back and the absolutely different drapery can be 'inspired by the Lemnian Athena' as identified by Furtwängler, where the short hair, different drapery and different pose, show no direct relationship. On the other hand, the Athena from the Lansdowne relief bears the closest resemblance in all these points to the maidens from the frieze of the Parthenon. The Lansdowne relief may therefore bring us much nearer to the type of the Lemnian Athena than does Furtwängler's statue.

In these notes I have said enough to justify my protest against the methods of pursuing the study of comparative style as practised by Professor Furtwängler. The more I believe in the importance of this central method of archaeological study and the results to be derived from it, and the more I believe in a right way of following it, the more do I deplore the spread of hasty and misleading work in this direction.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C.R.* 1903, p. 328.)

THE most important results of the Forum excavations during the past six months are still the discoveries made in the prehistoric necropolis close to the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. They are very fully reported in the *Notizie degli Scavi* 1903, pp. 123-170⁴ and pp. 375-427.

The tomb A which was a cremation burial⁵ has been already described (*Not.*

⁴ Prof. Vaglieri gives a long summary of this report in the *Bullettino Comunale*, 1903, pp. 252-271. The illustrations used in the report in the *Notizie degli Scavi* are largely used here: and individuals or libraries who subscribe to both periodicals may be pardoned for wishing that the contents of the two were rather more independent of one another, if they are both to continue a separate existence (cf. *C.R.* 1903, p. 329). The validity of Prof. Vaglieri's objection to the title of Comm. Boni's second report (*Sepolcreto del Septimontium preromuleo*) is doubtful.

⁵ In mentioning the discovery in *C.R.* 1902, p. 285, I incorrectly called it a tomb 'a fossa' (in a

¹ Collignon, *Sc. Gr.* I. Pl. V.

² *Ibid.* p. 313.

³ See *J.H.S.* i. (1880), pp. 168-201, and ii. pp. 332-351; and *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, pp. 323 seq.

Scav. 1902, pp. 96-111). In the first report, which is very fully and well illustrated, an account is given of tombs B-E.

Tomb B was an inhumation burial in a rectangular trench: it has not as yet been entirely explored. A little way to the south, and in the stratum overlying the cemetery, was found the skeleton of a newborn colt, the bones being arranged in a circle about 1 foot 4 inches in diameter. The religious significance of such a sacrifice is unknown to us.

Among the tombs there are also several small mounds (three have so far been recognized) composed of burnt material, probably of primitive huts used for habitation, no doubt after the necropolis had passed out of use. The site has further been disturbed by the introduction of wells of three classes: the oldest are dug through the hard clayey soil, and are unlined: then come those lined with a dolium of terracotta. Both of these have footholes cut in the earth and may, according to Comm. Boni, belong to the period of the Kings, or at any rate to the early Republic: while the third class, which are attributed by him to the later Republic, are lined with slabs of tufa, and have the footholes cut in these.

The primitive extent of the necropolis cannot be determined, as the area at present under exploration is limited by Roman buildings on all four sides—by the steps of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina on the north-west, by a large concrete foundation on the north-east, by the so-called prison (*C.R.* 1902 p. 286) on the south-east, and by the Sacra Via on the south-west.

The site was still further disturbed during the early mediaeval period (perhaps the eighth century) when some latrine shafts were dug. At the bottom of one of them was a slab of tufa, the lid of the cremation tomb C, which consisted of a dolium about 2 feet high, containing a hut urn, in which were burnt bones and several vases, in two of which were found the bones of fish and of animals, remains perhaps of the funeral feast.

Close to it and a little to the north was the tomb D, the inhumation tomb of an infant, which had been buried in an oak rectangular trench) whereas I should have said 'a pozzo' (in a circular shaft), these being the two main classes, here as elsewhere (*C.R.* 1903, p. 328). My excuse must be that in the official account the hole is spoken of as 'una fossa o pozzetto scavato nel terreno' a confusion which destroys the distinction entirely.

coffin, of which traces were found, together with some pottery.

E, F, were two other burials of infants between 20 and 30 months old, one in two ovoidal vases, the other in a dolium belonging according to Comm. Boni to a far later date, inasmuch as they are posterior to floors of rammed earth, which themselves overlie the prehistoric cemetery.

He considers them, therefore, to be *suggrundaria*, but the words italicized in the only passage (Fulgentius, *Expos. Serm. Ant.* p. 560) in which the word occurs (*suggrundaria antiqui dicebant sepulcra infantium, qui necdum quadraginta dies implessent, quia nec busta dici poterant, quia ossa quae comburerentur non erant, nec tanta cadaveris immanitas, qua locus tumesceret*) make the imposition of the name unwarranted.

The second report first describes tomb G, a tomb 'a fossa' of a child, the body of which was enclosed in a portion of the trunk of an oak. Above this was a small cist of slabs of stone, containing several vases, for which there was no room in the coffin. This tomb had cut through three others H, Q, R, the first a dolium which contained the body of an infant, but of earlier date than E, F, to which it is otherwise analogous, the last two cremation burials: and the vases found in connexion with it show decided similarity with 'protocorinthian' vases found in Greece itself (*Not. Scav.* 1903, p. 390).

The tomb I is close to tomb G and similar in character to it: it has cut through and almost entirely destroyed the tomb J, which contained the body of an adult. In it the covering of the treetrunk was formed by three slabs of tufa. It was this tomb which contained the beads from a garment upon which they were sewn, and the bracelet of ivory. The age of the child has been determined from an examination of the skull from three to four years, and the race as 'mediterranean' i.e. indigenous.

K is again similar to G and I and the vases which it contains agree in character with those found in these tombs.

The total number of tombs of which the existence had been recognized up till the conclusion of the Report (Sept. 15th, 1903) is twenty-three, of which ten are cremation tombs (A, C, N, Q-X), and ten tombs 'a fossa,' two of adults (B, J), and eight of children or infants (D, G, I, K, L, M, O, P): while three (E, F, H) are tombs of infants in dolia or vases.

They have not all been as yet entirely explored.

Work is also proceeding in other parts of the Forum. The floor level of the Basilica of Constantine is being exposed: the tiles upon which the marble pavement lay are traceable in most places, but the pavement itself is much damaged. It had been laid bare by Nibby in 1828, but was much injured in 1849-54, when the basilica was used as a drill-yard for French soldiers (see Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 206). A spiral staircase in the north angle has also been cleared out and rendered accessible.

Just to the south-east of the Arch of Augustus a piece of road pavement formed of carefully laid and little worn blocks of selce has been discovered with a crepido of tufa on the south-east side, which does not permit, it would seem, the supposition that the Sacra Via can have been running at right angles to this road at this point, as it must have done if it ever passed to the south of the Regia. The newly found road is so close to the arch that the north-west portion of it must have been destroyed when the arch was constructed. It would have passed under the foundations of the Temple of Caesar going north-east, whereas going south-west it would run between the Temple of Castor and the lacus Juturnae: so that it must be treated as the south-eastern limit of the Forum of the late Republic.

Remains of an earlier period—drains built of blocks of tufa and parts of a pavement of slabs of tufa, at a slightly higher level than the road of which we have just spoken—have also come to light further to the south-east, and it seems improbable for this reason also that the Sacra Via ever passed here. Beneath the late paving of blocks of selce to the north-west of the temple of Vesta an earlier pavement of a similar nature has been found, the object of which is at present uncertain.

A fragment of an inscription has been excavated close by, cut in very large letters on a slab of marble. All that is preserved is

..... VI
..... TI

We have here the ends of the first and second lines, the letters of the first line being 34 centimetres in height, while those of the second line were smaller. It probably does *not* belong to the arch of Augustus unless to a restoration of it. Whether *C.I.L.* vi. 873 belonged to this arch or no

is doubtful, as its dimensions seem too small (Hülssen, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1889, 231). (Thélenat, *Le Forum Romain*, (ed. 1898), p. 181, *C.I.L.* vi. 31188a).

A drum of one of the columns of the temple of Vesta has also been discovered; but it is to be noticed that there are in this case six flutings between the bolt-holes in one direction and sixteen in the other (*C.R.* 1901, p. 139).

Further exploration has also gone on in the chambers built against the Palatine below the Clivus Victoriae on the south-west side of the temple of Augustus. It is a curious fact that these chambers seem to have been inaccessible from below, being blocked by the back wall of the 'tabernae' which surround the central area of the Horrea 'Germanicana' (?) on this (the south-east) and the north-east side at any rate, and which are built of opus quadratum. They seem to have been reached only by a staircase from the upper level, descending behind the back wall of the tabernae into a passage which narrows in width towards the south-west (where the excavations are not yet completed) and can only have been faintly lighted by skylights in the landings of the stairs: the travertine blocks which held, it would seem,¹ the metal framework of two of these skylights may still be seen. There were at least three storeys of these chambers; they have floors of herring-bone brickwork, and are lined with hard cement which forms a quarterround in the angles. They show traces of reconstruction, walls in opus reticulatum with brick quoins being cut and masked by later brickwork and the floors having in some cases been raised. Some of the chambers on the lowest level seem (in their later state at any rate) to have been inaccessible from without and to have merely served as substructures. These walls have been broken through by shafts from above made no doubt in mediaeval times.

An interesting discovery has been made in the central area of the Forum—that of a large mass of concrete, measuring 40 feet by 20, in the upper surface of which are embedded three blocks of travertine with square holes in them. This has been conjectured to be the base of the equestrian statue of Domitian (*Statius Silvae*, l. i. 29 sqq.).

'At laterum passus hinc Iulia templa
tuentur, illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli.

¹ I take this to be the case from the existence in them of many holes cut in their upper surfaces as if to take the ends of metal bars.

Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu. Ipse autem...prospectare videris, An nova contemptis surgant Palatia flammis Pulchrius, an tacita vigilet face Troieus ignis Atque exploratas iam laudet Vesta ministras'), and the identification seems to be very probable. If the three blocks¹ of travertine served to secure the statue, we must suppose that the charger had the right fore leg uplifted. The size of the statue has been calculated at six times lifesize (Vaglieri, *Bull. Com.*, 1903, p. 273). It stands a little to the north-west of the concrete base which has generally been supposed to be that of the equestrian statue of Constantine. It is also to be noted that the newly discovered base cuts through the system of galleries under the area of the Forum—as does also the Cloaca Maxima in its latest form. The galleries have, by the way, been further explored, and their termination towards the south-east discovered. The longitudinal gallery which runs as far as the Rostra of opus quadratum on the north-west, is cut by four cross galleries, the south-easternmost of which is a little way to the south-east of the supposed base of the equestrian statue of Constantine. The north-eastern termination of these galleries and of the chambers which open into them is the edge of the area of the Forum: but how far they extended on the south-west is as yet uncertain. The number of shafts is twelve in all, three in each of the cross-galleries, one being placed at the intersection with the longitudinal gallery, and one on each side of it at a few yards' distance.

Two articles which have recently been published upon the Forum, claim especial attention. The first is one² in which Prof. O. Richter abandons his view (cf. *C.R.* 1902, p. 336) of the comparative date of the hemicycle³ (the so-called Graecostasis) and the Rostra of opus quadratum, and agrees with Nichols that the former is the earlier. He further supposes it to be the Rostra of Caesar, and attributes the rectangular Rostra of opus quadratum to the period of Trajan, inasmuch as the Rostra are represented as rectangular upon the well-known reliefs⁴

which are placed in the open area of the Forum not far off, and which Prof. Richter supposes to have stood upon the Rostra as screens to separate off the central space reserved for the speaker.

The theory seems on the whole acceptable, though the fact that the platform at the top of the 'hemicycle' is only $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide is an objection which must be met.

The other work is an article of Prof. Studniczka's in the *Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Arch. Instituts* vi (1903), pp. 129 sqq., in which he deals with the 'tomb of Romulus' as one of a series of altars with sepulchral chambers, erected over the tombs of heroes. His treatment of the subject is interesting and careful. In order of date among the group of monuments below the black marble pavement he places first the inscribed stele, next the supposed Rostra, next the erection of the nature of an altar on the south side of the 'tomb of Romulus,' which must have preceded the construction of the two pedestals of the statues of the lions guarding the tomb, inasmuch as the back side of these pedestals has no base moulding, and is masked by this 'altar.' The pedestals he attributes to the beginning of the fourth century B.C., and supposes that the lions did not stand on them directly, but that we have only the lower half of a base resembling in shape the altars of Verminus and of Veiovis (see p. 142 of his article). The stele, on the other hand, he is inclined to attribute to the sixth century B.C. in agreement with Mommsen (*Hermes* xxxviii, 1903, p. 153) who while refusing to accept as certain any word in the whole inscription but *recei*, refers it not to the *rex sacrorum*, but to the real king. Prof. Studniczka also calls attention to the fact that the black marble pavement is in connexion with the original travertine pavement of the Comitium of Caesar and Augustus, and was thus itself, though damaged in later times, placed there at the same period.⁵ I noted the fact in *C.R.* 1900, p. 237, but failed to draw what now seems to me the right conclusion from it.

He also deals fully and carefully with the reports of the stratigraphic exploration of the Comitium, in which he does not distinguish more than fourteen different strata.

⁵ From the presence of chips of black marble beneath the level of the latest Republican pavement, Prof. Studniczka infers that the *niger lapis* was originally laid in connexion with this earlier travertine pavement of the Comitium, which is orientated (in correspondence with the Republican Curia) with the points of the compass (*C.R.* 1900, p. 237).

¹ The possibility of this is denied by Hülsen, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1904, p. 37: and this is the most serious objection to the identification.

² O. Richter, *Beiträge zur römischen Topographie*, II., *Die Römische Rednerbühne*, Berlin, 1903.

³ The curve is really only one-sixth of a circle with a radius of about 78 feet.

⁴ The emperor represented on these reliefs has been variously conjectured to be Domitian, Trajan, or Hadrian: but there is strong probability that we should identify him with Trajan.

From Comm. Boni's statement at the end of his last report (*Not. Scav.* 1903, p. 427) it is the prehistoric cemetery which is to have the precedence in the publication of results. It is no doubt of the greatest interest and importance and the care with which the accounts are drawn up is deserving of high praise, but further information as to the results of other explorations would be welcome, and it is a pity that the long promised final publication of the finds made in the layer of objects beneath the black marble pavement has not yet appeared.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

POSTSCRIPT.

It should be noticed that Herr Delbrück (*Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfelde*, p. 11) disagrees to some extent with Prof. Studniczka's chronology. The oldest floor level of the Comitium (which consisted of fragments of tufa rammed hard) is partly enclosed by a line of steps, which can be traced in a curve from the front of the Curia of Diocletian to the lapis niger, and which are supported at the back by a wall about three feet behind them. This wall displays such archaism in its construction that Herr Delbrück is inclined to assign to it a considerably earlier date than 433-431 B.C., to which he considers the podium of the temple of Apollo to belong. It is true that the floor may be later than the steps, as it does not seem to pass under them. Beneath the floor however lies the stratum of roof tiles, which Prof. Studniczka is inclined to connect with the Gaulish invasion, considering both the floor and the steps which enclose it as posterior.

Two more of the so-called 'pozzi rituali' (*C.R.* 1901, p. 330) have been discovered close to the temple of Divus Iulius. They are rectangular and similar to those previously found, but are enclosed by slabs of travertine.

T. A.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Norba.—The excavations at Norba, which had been carried on successfully in 1901, were resumed in 1902 (August 11th.—October 4th.). Work was begun on the site of a building which proved subsequently to be a temple dedicated to Juno Lucina. Remains of the wall which divided the pronaos from the cella are plainly visible. Fragments of Etrusco-Campanian ware dis-

covered in the foundations point to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. as the probable date of the building of the temple. This date is confirmed by the character of the various architectonic fragments, both of terracotta and of stone, which have come to light. This original temple was built of wood or baked clay and covered with decorations in painted terracotta. Later on (doubtless in imperial times) the temple, which may have been destroyed in the Sullan wars, was rebuilt with more solid materials. Subsequently the building was transformed into a Christian church, as is shown by numerous remains of mediæval architecture.

South of the temple and at a short distance from it was a large terrace supported on three sides by walls of polygonal masonry. Remains of a paved road leading up to this terrace were discovered. Traces of paving were found on the terrace; around the pavement were ranged square pilasters of travertine, which must have supported a portico running round the central court. About 3 feet below this upper pavement a second pavement was found; here also were traces of columns for carrying a portico. At a depth of some 9 feet below the surface a series of votive offerings was discovered. The greater part of these objects consisted of fragments of Etrusco-Campanian ware, black varnished. Antefixes, among them a head of a beardless satyr and the head of a maenad derived from Greek models of the 4th century, a Gorgoneion of archaising type, a figure of Eros carrying a *thymiatērion*, and numerous figures of women—these last Hellenistic imitations of Tanagraean style—were also found. In metal there were several rudimentary bronze figures, the features of which were indicated by dots, pieces of *aes rude*, coins, and many miscellaneous objects. The most important finds, however, were the following:—

(1) A bronze statuette of a woman in chiton and himation with the r. hand outstretched and a dove in the l. It is an imitation, perhaps by a Campanian artist, of a 5th century Greek statuette. It is in good preservation, but the feet are wanting. Very possibly it represents Aphroditē.

(2) Statuette of Juno Lucina standing. The figure wears chiton and himation and holds out a *patra* with the r. hand, an uncertain object, perhaps a flower, with the l. It is derived from a Greek 4th century type. The identification with Juno Lucina is rendered certain by an inscription on the base.

(3) Inscription on an oblong piece of bronze, well preserved; there are 3 holes for nails on either side.

Π·ΡΥΤΙΛΙΥΣ·Μ·Φ
ΙΥΝΟΝΕΙ·ΛΟΥΚΙΝΑ
ΔΕΔΙΤ·ΜΕΡΕΤΟΔ
ΔΙΟΥΟΣ·ΚΑΣΤΥΔ

(4) Another and similar piece of bronze. Inscription in punctured letters.

ΙΥΝΟΝΕΙ·ΛΟΥΚΙΝΑ
ΔΟΜΟ·ΠΡΟ
Κ·ΡΥΤΙΛΙΟ·Π·Φ

These inscriptions make it clear that the temple was dedicated to Juno Lucina. Their date must be roughly contemporary with the most archaic inscriptions of the Scipios. For the *Diovos castus*, see *Hermes*, xxx. pp. 548 ff., and cf. *C.I.L.* i. 813 and VI. 357, where we find

[ΙΥΝΟΝ]Ε·ΛΟΥΚΙΝΑΙ
[ΔΙΟΥΙΣ·Κ]ΑΣΤΥΔ·ΦΑΚΙΤΥΔ

The newly found inscription disposes of the views (a) that the rite of *castus* or abstinence was only connected with foreign and not with native Roman deities;

(b) that in *C.I.L.* i. 813, the words *castud facitud* are to be joined to *Loucinai*, and *coniugi* supplied between that word and *Diovis*.¹

Rome.—An interesting inscription of the Augustan period has lately been acquired by the Museo Nazionale Romano. The stone has been cut away from a *cippus*.

Π·Σ·Λ·Φ·ΚΕΝΣ
Ρ
ΥΔΟΣ·ΥΟΤΙΥΟΣ·ΠΡΟ
ΑΕΣΑΡΙΣ·ΔΙΥΙ·Φ·ΑΥΓ
ΜΑΧΙΜΙ
ΜΟ·ΜΑΧΙΜΟ
ΝΙΟ·ΓΑΛΛΟ
ΕΝ·Σ·Ο

Cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 385, 386.

The inscription, when restored, runs: [*C. Marcius*] *L. f. Cens[orinus, augu]r*, [*cos., lu]dos votivos pro [reditu imp. C]aesaris divi f. Aug[usti pont.] maximi [Iovi opti]mo maximo [fecit, cum C. Asi]nio Gallo [conlega]. Ecce s.c.*

The consuls are those of 8 B.C. The name of Gallus has been erased and subsequently restored. The inscription must refer to the

absence of Augustus and Tiberius at Ticinum in 9 B.C. (*Val. Max.* 5. 5. 3). It is said to have been found near the Colosseum.²

The excavations in the Piazza Venezia have been continued. The following are some of the more important finds:—

Lead pipes inscribed (a) *LAVRENTIVC·REGIONE VII.* (b) *ELASTERI VC IIIA.* (c) *ELASTERI VC I.* The last two should no doubt be read *Pl(avi) Asteri v(iri) c(larissimi)*. A Fl. Asterius was consul in 449. Several architectural fragments, among them a finely decorated fragment of a cornice; several small pieces of sculpture and many fragmentary inscriptions.³

Near the Church of S. Bibiana a mosaic pavement has been found representing a hunting party. A deer pursued by a hound, and a wild goat caught in a net are to be seen. The style is good, probably of the 1st century after Christ. This pavement may have belonged to the gardens of Pallas, the freedman of the Emperor Claudius, which were situated in this quarter, and were seized upon by Nero, after he had put Pallas to death.⁴

Falerone (Falerio, a colony in Picenum founded by Augustus after the battle of Actium).—Interesting fragments of a glass cup with intaglio designs have been found. The subjects are apparently Artemis between two lions, and dogs engaged in the chase. Cf. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, v. p. 185, Pl. xi. Such intaglio designs on glass are characteristic of late Roman work.⁵

A sphere of bronze, probably from Falerone, bears the inscription

ΕΧ·ΠΟΝΔ·ΙΝ ΚΑΠΙΤΟΛΙΟ ΧΙ·
ex(acto) pond(ere) in Capitolio xi-

The weight is certified to have been tested in an office for the testing of weights and measures, situated on the Capitol. The bronze weighs 360 grammes; the meaning of the sign xi- has not been explained.⁶

Tarentum.—Three kylikes have lately been restored from fragments found in 1893 at Tarentum.

(1) A band runs round the outside on a level with the handles; on it is the inscription

ΤΙΕΣΟΝ ΗΟ ΝΕΑΡΧΟ ΕΡΟΙΕΣΕΝ

² *Bull. della Comm. Arch.* 1903 (3).

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, April, 1903.

⁴ *Ibid.* Cf. also *Bull. della Comm. Arch.* 1903, p. 306.

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, June, 1903.

Klein, *Vas. mit Meistersign.*,² p. 73, records 36 cups signed by this potter.

(2) (a) On the inside: a warrior running to l., carrying spear and Boeotian shield. (b) On the outside: a man pursuing 5 women to r. (archaic b.-f. style), and 4 horsemen galloping to l.

(3) Designs outside. (a) Three nude runners between two *ἀγωνοθέται*. (b) Similar design with slight variations in detail.⁵

GREECE.

Crete.—The following are the most important results of Dr. Evans' last campaign at Knossos:—

Below the foundations of the later palace traces of an earlier building were found, showing a connection with the 12th dynasty of Egypt. Below the paved floors and corridors of the palace remains of magazines were discovered, with a series of stone receptacles, stored probably about 1800 B.C. Among the objects found here were relics of a sanctuary, including porcelain figures of a snake goddess and votaries, also tablets with a new form of linear script. A marble cross of Greek shape had apparently been once the central object of worship. Seal impressions revealed the cult of a male and of a female divinity guarded by lions. The god seems identical with the Cretan Zeus, the goddess a combination of Rhea and the Cretan Aphrodite-Ariadne. A stepped area to the north-west of the palace probably served as a theatre. Near this another sanctuary was found, containing votive vases with figures of double axes and horns of consecration, also a magnificent hoard of bronze vessels decorated with foliage and lilies in relief. North-east of the palace, was discovered a royal villa with flights of stairs and remains of upper stories, the principal hall being noteworthy as an anticipation of the later basilica.⁶

Delos.—The following is a summary of the results of the excavations carried on from June to August 1903:—

(1) *The temple and its precincts*.—Much of the work was devoted to clearing away the rubbish which had accumulated round the temple in the course of previous excavations. South-east of the temple a cavity artificially hollowed in the rock was discovered; it contained twenty inscriptions. At the north-east angle of the *περίβολος* traces of buildings of a late period were found and twelve inscriptions obtained. The work of clearance has made it possible to gain a much

better idea of the temple-buildings as a whole.

(2) *The town and harbour*.—Progress has been made in clearing streets and a house of the middle-class has been excavated. A funeral stèle found here was dedicated by friends to the memory of one Kerdon; a relief represents Kerdon grasping the prow of a ship. He probably lost his life at sea. In the court of the house fragments of several statues were discovered. The fact is of interest, as it shows that statues adorned the houses of some persons of comparatively moderate means.

At the harbour the work of excavation has been rendered difficult on the north side, owing to the succession of settlements one above the other. On the south side a large warehouse has been nearly cleared; twelve tall columns, which surrounded the inner court, are preserved. The building must have been of two stories, and bears witness to the commercial importance of Delos in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.⁷

F. H. MARSHALL.

NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1903. Part 3.

N. Langton. 'Notes on some Phocian obols.' Useful descriptions of the minute varieties of the obols, all of which have a bull's head and boar (forepart) as types.—J. Maurice. 'Classification chronologique des émissions monétaires de l'atelier de Nicomédie pendant la période Constantinienne.'

Part 4.

W. Wroth: 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1902.' 543 Greek coins were acquired during the year 1902. The total number of coins in the Greek series acquired by the Museum since 1887 now amounts to 9,133. Among the coins described the following may be noted:—*Olympizus* in the Macedonian Chalcidice. A bronze coin of the fourth century B.C. *obv.* Female head. *rev.* Eagle. This place was not, hitherto, known to have issued money. *Molossi* (Epirus). A silver coin (weight 35 grains) with one of the famous Molossian hunting-dogs as obverse type. *rev.* Fulmen of the Dodonaean Zeus. *Athens*. Several well-preserved specimens of the coinage of Imperial times, types: Apollo Lykeios, Nike holding garland, Theseus lifting the rock, etc. *Caesarea Germanica* (Bithynia). A unique bronze coin of J. Domna with a remarkable subject, apparently part of an amphitheatre with spectators. The numismatic representations of the Amphitheatre of Titus are discussed in connexion with this coin. *Nicomedia*. Bronze of Faustina jun. *rev.* Aphrodite seated holding apple; probably from some good original. *Attalia* (Lydia). Bronze of Caracalla. *rev.* Dionysos helping drunken Pan to rise from the ground. *Tralles*. Bronze of Tranquillina. *rev.* A female figure at the door of a shed or hut, apparently to led forth by Zeus who

⁵ *Notizie*, May, 1903.

⁶ *Athenæum*, 5th Dec., 1903.

⁷ *Académie des inscriptions, comptes-rendus*, Sept.-Oct. 1903.

stands before her: cp. Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.*, 669 f. (651 f.); 865 f. (846 f.). Another coin of Tralles, described in Brit. Mus. Cat. *Lydia* is inscribed ΕΙΟVC ΓΑΜΟ(Ι). *Ancyra* (Galatia). Bronze of Caracalla. *rev.* Panther suckling the infant Dionysos while a boy satyr caresses the panther's head. A charming composition perhaps taken from a painting or relief. *Bambyce*, afterwards *Hieropolis* (Cyrrestica). Silver coin (weight 121 grains). *obr.* Bust of the goddess Atergatis. *rev.* Within temple, Abd-Hadad, (priest and king of Bambyce, cire., B.C. 332) sacrificing at altar. This specimen is in some respects more complete than the rare example at Paris.—G. F. Hill on some coins of Caria and Lycia, including one of Neapolis ad Harpasum (bronze, first century B.C.) procured in Caria by Mr. W. L. Paton.

Rivista italiana di Numismatica. 1903. Part 3.

Dattari on coins of Alexandria.—Lanza on coins of Agrigentum.—F. Gneecchi on rare Roman imperial coins.—F. Gneecchi. 'Un denaro repubblicano ignoto.' A denarius in the Berlin Museum. *obr.* Head of Hercules. *rev.* Jupiter (?) in quadriga, inscribed. (unexplained) .ERENS.—R. Mowat. 'Un essai de denier romain avant la lettre.' A silver tablet of elliptical form bearing on each side a helmeted head of Virtus which exactly resembles the head on denarii of L. Aquilius Florus. M. Mowat has no doubt as to the genuineness of this curious piece which he says 'provient des fouilles du Forum.' He supposes it to be an impression from the die made by the engraver as an experiment before the letters of the inscription were added, probably by a second hand.

Part 4.

E. Gabrici on Th. Mommsen, with a list (p. 409) of his numismatic writings, 1846–1901.—S. Ambrosoli. 'Il Ripostiglio di Monte Cuore.' A hoard of Roman coins, chiefly bronze, Claudius to Hadrian, discovered in Feb. 1903 on Monte Cuore (Crenna, prov. Milano).—Reviews. Hill's *Sicily*; Wroth's *Parthia*; Rostowzew's *Roman Tesserae*.

Revue numismatique. 1903. Part 3.

Tacchella. 'Monnaies de la Mésie inférieure.' 79 coins lately acquired by the National Museum of Sophia, all new to Pick's *Corpus numorum*. Pl. xiii.

No. 1. Nicopolis, of Sept. Severus, represents a fine public building supposed by Tacchella to be the *ambulacrum* or *περίπατος* which the people of Nicopolis constructed in the time of Commodus.—Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles.' *Docimacum* (Phrygia). Tyche seated and reclining river-god (doubtless the *Δουπεῖος* an affluent of the Cayster) with hand raised to his head, an unusual gesture. *Siblia* (Phrygia). Two coins; one (of Geta) 'offre cette particularité curieuse de joindre au nom du magistrat Ménodote, celui de sa mère Emilienne—ΕΠΙ ΜΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ [ΑΙ]ΜΙΑΙΑΝΗC.' 'La Phrygie est une des contrées . . . où les noms de femmes apparaissent le plus souvent dans les documents officiels.' *Celenderis*. A *stater* inscribed ΚΕΛΕΝΔΕΡΠΤΙΚΟΝ in place of the usual ΚΕΛΕΝΔΕΡΠΤΩΝ (cp. ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ at Solus; ΤΕΡΣΙΚΟΝ at Tarsus, &c.).—Rouvier. 'L'ère d'Alexandre le Grand en Phénicie.' This era (B.C. 333) was used on the coins of Sidon and Aradus as well as at other Phoenician towns.—A. Parazzoli. 'Numismatique Alexandrine.' On the coins of Augustus struck at Alexandria.—J. de Foville. 'Monnaies trouvées à Karnak.' Four aurei in the Cabinet des Médailles from the famous Karnak find.—*Mélanges*. The seal of Athanasius Patriarch of Constantinople under Andronicus II. Palaeologus. On the reverse, Virgin and Child. *Reviews*. Hill's *Sicily*.

Journal international d'arch. numismatique. Parts 3 and 4, 1903.

Svoronos. *Νομισματική συλλογή Δημητρίου Π. Μανρομιχάλη*. Mr. Mavromichali who died in 1901 was a Greek vice-consul who resided in Rhodes and Cyprus and at Adalia in Pamphylia, at which place his collection was principally formed. The present article is a descriptive account (illustrated by six plates) of the coins, which are 856 in number including some Byzantine and mediaeval. The collection is richest in coins of Pamphylia and Pisidia.—J. Rouvier, 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie. *Tyre* (continued).'—K. M. Konstantopoulos. On Byzantine leaden seals in the National Museum, Athens (continued).

WARWICK WROTH.

The Classical Review

APRIL 1904.

HOMERIC NOTES.

II.¹

Odyssey iv, 95 ff.

ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ πάθον, καὶ ἀπώλεσα οἶκον
εὖ μάλα ναιετάοντα, κεχανδότα πολλὰ καὶ
ἐσθλά.

ὣν ὄφελον τριτάτην περ ἔχων ἐν δώμασι
μοῖραν
ναίειν, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες σόοι ἔμμεναι, οἱ τότ'
ὄλοντο

Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ ἐκὰς Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο.

The difficulty in the phrase ἀπώλεσα οἶκον has perplexed both ancient and modern scholars. The scholiast notes to this, ἀμφίβολον πότερον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἢ τὸν τοῦ Πριάμου, showing the obscurity the passage had for him.

Any reference to Priam seems so remote, that while Dacier and Pope thought this the only possible meaning, modern scholars have rightly rejected it.

Kammer explained οἶκος as referring to the possessions of Agamemnon, which seems out of harmony with the entire context. Many scholars, as Bergk, Bekker, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, and others, reject the passage as impossible to explain. Friedlaender thought some verses had dropped out, telling how after losing his property, he still had it in such abundance, that but a third part would content him. The commonly accepted version is that given by

Professor Perrin in his adaptation of Ameis-Hentze, 'I lost my house, viz. through the robbery of my wife and property.' Professor Seymour puts it, 'I lost my home, when Helen fled with my treasures.' The difficulties in the way of this interpretation are very evident,—as he cannot have lost his possessions, and still have them; it gives no satisfactory antecedent to the relative, and, most decisive of all, Menelaus nowhere in the *Odyssey* makes the slightest reference to the rape and disgrace of Helen, or to the treasures she took with her to Troy; he has not only forgiven, but forgotten her wrongdoing. Helen may refer to her own disgrace, Menelaus never does. Such a reference would in this connexion be particularly out of place. Everything in the context shows that the cause of his sorrow is the loss of his friends. His property, his οἶκος, he still has, and is proud of its abundance; his friends are gone, and the loss of friends makes him lose the use, the enjoyment of his possessions. It is a present, not a past loss, which grieves him. He has no thought of comparing his present with his past wealth. The clear meaning of the passage is, 'I have lost my possessions, for I do not enjoy them, in losing my friends.' This gives the proper construction to each word in the sentence, and is in harmony with the entire context. A similar use of ἀπώλεσα is found in Democritus, Frag. 272, Diels ὁ γὰρ βροῦ μὲν

¹ First paper published, vol. xvii. pp. 238 f.
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ἐπιτυχὸν εἶπεν υἱόν, ὁ δὲ ἀποτυχὸν ἀπώλεσε καὶ θυγατέρα. Here ἀπώλεσε refers not to an actual physical, but to a mental loss. 'He loses his joy, or satisfaction in his daughter also.'

To translate ἀπώλεσα οἶκον 'I have lost my enjoyment in my possessions' does no violence to the Greek, and removes every difficulty from the passage.

Odyssey iv, 707 ff.

κῆρυξ, τίπτε δέ μοι παῖς οἴχεται; οὐδὲ τί μιν
 χρεῶν
 ἡγῶν ὠκυπόρων ἐπιβαινέμεν, αἷ θ' ἄλλος ἵπποισι
 ἀνδράσι γίγονται, περώσι δὲ πονλὴν ἐφ'
 ἰγρήν.

These are the words of Penelope, when told of the departure and threatened death of Telemachus. The apparent irrelevancy of the lines has been variously explained. The scholiast to the passage remarks, ἡμάρτηται, διότι ἐν τῷ παθητικῷ οὐ κρατεῖ τοῦ λόγου. ἀλλ' ὅκειν ὁ ποιητὴς κεχρησθαι ποιητικῇ ὁρμῇ, οὐ λογιζόμενος τὸ πρέπον τοῦ προσώπου. Eustathius makes a similar remark. Damm, in his translation of 1769, omits these verses, adding in a note, 'Here follow two verses which have been added to Homer by some unskilled and late poet, since no one in sorrow ever could have spoken them.' Nitzsch gave a different trend to the comments on these verses, by this note: 'Sie meint, was Maenner wagen, sollte ihr halbreifer Telemach nicht.' This has continued to be the commonly accepted explanation, and is repeated in the last edition of Ameis-Hentze, 'ἀνδράσι an betonter Versstelle: für Maenner, aber nicht für Knaben wie Telemach.'

This explanation is entirely groundless. Telemachus is a boy in the eyes of Penelope, not because he is not a man, but because he is her boy, her son; Laertes constantly in xxiv calls Odysseus παῖς, in the same way as Penelope speaks of Telemachus in iv, 817. Telemachus can hardly have been as young as Achilles was, when he went to Troy. Telemachus regarded himself as a man, and was so regarded by others. α, 358,

μῦθος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει
 παῖσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ
 οἴκῳ.

β, 40, ὦ γέρον, οὐχ ἑκάς οὗτος ἀνὴρ, κ.τ.λ.

γ, 71, Nestor thinks him man enough to be a possible pirate, and in δ, 27, he is described as appearing like a god, which can refer only to his manly stature, and in λ, 185, 6,

Τηλέμαχος τεμείνεα νέμεται καὶ δαίτας ἱίσας
 δαίνυνται, ὡς ἐπέοικε δικασπύλον ἄνδρ' ἀλεγύνειν

his father's mother looked upon him as a man. He is never a παῖς, in the sense that he is not a man, and such a contrast as Nitzsch assumes, is impossible.

The true meaning of this passage is far different, and shows Homer's accurate knowledge of human nature. In great and unexpected sorrow, the mind, in its bewilderment, seizes on any trifle which may lead it from its grief. I have recently observed two cases of sudden sorrow, where those most affected, acted and spoke in exactly the same manner as Penelope. A father, whose son had suddenly died, talked for a moment of the peculiar shape of a mastiff's head; and a young woman, on hearing of the death of her father, talked in an equally irrelevant manner.

Such a tendency of the mind to seize on trifles, in moments of greatest tension, did not escape Shakespeare (*Julius Caesar*, II. i.) The conspirators, just when their minds are most engrossed in their dangerous undertaking, do not talk of their danger, but discuss the probable rising place of the sun, and its relations to the season, and the Capitol, with details, which would not have occurred to their calmer minds.

Lear, in bending over the dying Cordelia, says:

Cordelia, Cordelia! Stay a little, Ha!
 What is't thou say'st?—Her voice was ever soft,
 Gentle, and low,—an excellent thing in woman.

This last phrase is a close parallel to the words of Penelope. And so Dickens, in a passage in *Oliver Twist*, where Fagin stands at the bar to receive his sentence, is exactly to the point. 'When he turned his eyes toward the judge, his mind began to busy itself with the fashion of his dress, and what it cost, and how he put it on. He wondered within himself whether he had been to get his dinner, what he had had, and where he had had it. Not that, all this time, his mind was, for one instant, free from one oppressive overwhelming sense of the grave that opened at his feet; it was ever present to him, but in a vague and general way, and he could not fix his thoughts upon it. Thus, even while he trembled and turned burning hot at the idea of speedy death, he fell to counting the iron spikes before him, and wondering how the head of one had been broken off, and whether they would mend it,

or leave it as it was.' So here in Homer, Penelope seizes on the first idea that will carry her from her grief, the idea is a ship; any other would have done as well, for a moment her mind clings to this thought, then returns to its grief. Homer draws a true picture of the mind in its greatest anguish, and is not making a rhetorician's play on words, on ἀνδράσι, but is describing

such scenes exactly as they were, and are. Considered thus, there can be little doubt that the creative poet wrote this scene in iv, and that the corresponding passage in the *Iliad* xvii, 695, is the work of the borrower.

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NEW HOMERIC PAPYRI.

MESSRS. Grenfell and Hunt's last volume (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Part III, 1903) contains a good deal that bears upon the history of the Homeric text.

In the first place the rhetorical fragment in Doric, which was noticed by Prof. Rhys Roberts in the February No. of this Review, preserves a digamma otherwise forgotten in I 389. The quotation (Pap. 410 col. 2 v. 48) runs οὐδ' εἰ χρυσείῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ εἶδος ἐρίζου; in the MSS. and everywhere else we find κάλλος ἐρίζου. The age of the treatise may be according to Rhys Roberts s. IV.—III. B.C.; the digamma-observance may be added to that preserved by pap. 445 (below) in Z 493.

Next (Pap. 412) we have a very curious document—the latter end of the 18th book of Julius Africanus' *Κεστοί*. It is apparently the order or service for an incantation, and should receive the attention of those who are adepts in these matters. I can only deal with it as far as it bears upon the Homeric tradition. Where the first column opens Odysseus is found speaking: he says λ 34–43, and 48–50 (vv. 48 and 50 adapted). Then follows the rubric α δει ποιησαι ιρηκεν. Odysseus continues with Γ 278–280 (from Agamemnon's prayer) and three more lines, the quality of which is obvious:

[ηλθον] χρησομενος ως αν εις γαιαν ἔκων
[Τηλεμ]αχου γε ον ελειπον επι κολποισι
τ[ιθη]νιης
[τεκνο]ν εμον τοιη γαρ αριστη ην επαοιδη.

Next follows another rubric:

α δει επασαι λεγει.

This introduces 18 lines of Orphic and oriental gibberish, the actual incantation. After this Odysseus resumes with seven more lines resembling the three quoted above:

[τοιαδ]ε μεν παρα βοθρον εγων ηῖσα παραστας
[εν γαρ] εμεμνημην Κιρκης υποθημοσυννα[ω]ν
[η τοσα φ]αρμακα οιδεν οσ[α] τρεφει ευρεια
χθων
[ηλθεν δε] μεγα κυμα λεον[τ]ομαχου Αχεροντος
[Κωκυτος] Αθη τε Πολυφλεγέθων τε μεγιστος
[και νεκ]υον στολος αμ[φι]παριστατο και παρα
βοθρον
[πρωτη δ]ε ψυχη Ελπηγορος ηλθεν εταιρον.

With the last line we arrive at solid ground again (it is λ 51), and here the quotation from this strange source ends. Julius, who now speaks in his own person, remarks και τα εξης, meaning apparently that the rest was the usual text of the *Odyssey*. He then adds an explanation of the differences between his quotation and the ordinary Homeric text; (I give the passage in ordinary guise) εἴτ' οὖν οὕτως ἔχον αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ περίεργον τῆς ἐκπρήσεως τὰ ἄλλα (!) διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀξίωμα σεσιώπηκεν, εἰθ' οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τὰ ἄλλα συνράπτοντες ἐπη ταῦτα ἀπέσχισαν, ἀλλότρια τοῦ στοίχου τῆς ποιήσεως ἐκέῖνα ἐπικρέιναντες, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἐγνώκατε κῆμμα πολυτελέστερον. ἐπεικῶς (Blass; *επεικ...* Pap.) αὐτὸς ἐνταυθοῖ κατέταξα. τὴν τε . . . ἡν σύμπασαν ὑπόθεσιν ἀνακειμένην εὐρήσεις ἐν τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῆς ἀρχαίας πατρίδος κολωνείας Αἰλίας Καπιτωλείνης τῆς Παλαισ-τείνης, κὰν Νύση τῆς Καρίας, μεχρὶ δὲ τοῦ τρισκαίδεκάτου ἐν Ῥώμῃ πρὸς ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου θέρμαις ἐν τῇ ἐν Πανθείῳ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῇ καλῇ ἣν αὐτὸς ἡρχικτεκτόνησα τῷ Σεβαστῷ. From this strange statement we may gather that the previous quotation is given by Julius as from a MS. of the *Odyssey*, and not as might have been supposed as forming part of a service-book. Such a portent appears to be unique; a MS. of the *Odyssey* in which the *Nekyia* was interlarded with lines from other parts of the poems, 'freie Dichtung' by some late and unmetrical adapter, and pure hocus-pocus from the wild religion of

the time. Of course the epic language was largely drawn upon even by the comparatively respectable Orphics, but I have run through Dieterich's various publications and the appendix to Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena* without finding anything like this devil's mass-book. However if Julius states it existed, probably it did. Antiquarians often have little judgment, but there is a step between an antiquarian and a forger. When however he goes on to say that the whole *ὑπόθεσις*, that is I suppose entire books or codices of the Odyssey interpolated in this way, are to be found in three libraries — those of Jerusalem, Nysa in Caria, and Rome, it is more difficult to follow him. The editors say 'there is no ground for suspecting his facts'; but though an antiquarian may not forge a document, he has less difficulty in inventing title or pedigree; and Julius' good faith may have been surprised. The ambient too is doubtful; no mage, prophet, medium, faith-healer, or thoughtreader ever yet spoke the truth, and there is something peculiarly fishy about Jerusalem in this connection. However this may be, the statements about Pisistratus belong to a well-established category, that of Homeric mythology. I read in Gelzer's book (to which the editors refer) that Julius Africanus is held in high esteem as a Christian chronologer, and though the *Geoponica* is not my *livre de chevet* I have met him there. I am afraid he is the successor of Aelian, Alexander of Cotyiaeum, and Ptolemy son of Hephaestion, not to say those more respectable antiquaries Plutarch and Athenaeus; and his anecdotes about Pisistratus and the *ποιητής* himself are on a par with Dares, 'who wrote the *Iliad* before Homer,' Helen the daughter of Musaeus, who likewise wrote the Trojan war and from whom Homer took his subject, Phantasia too who played the like part in Egypt (Ptolemy) Oroebantius the Troezenian, who lived before Homer, *ὃς φασὶ Τροϊζήνιοι λόγοι*, Dares again with his Phrygian *Iliad*, and Oeagrus who first of all sang the war of Troy (Aelian). The post-Christian and Antonine view of Homer has these marked and constant characteristics. The age was one of the anecdotist and the antiquarian, and Julius added the mage-interest. Even a mage however may contribute readings; when we deduct the adaptations from Julius his yield is—*λ 39 παρθενικά τ' ἀταλαὶ νεοπενθέ' ἄωτον ἔχουσιν*, for *νεοπενθέϊ θυμόν*. I do not know why the editors say 'ἄωτον is unintelligible here'; it is Alexandrian or later for 'melancholy charm.' A somewhat

similar case of the intrusion of a non-Homeric usage is in I 212 where for *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη* the schol. A and on Aesch. P.V. 7 read *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύρρος ἄνθος ἀπέπτωτο*, a phrase the origin of which is suggested by Proclus fr. 291, p. 266 Abel. *ἀμνδροῦ πύρρος ἄνθος*. *Καμώντες* for *καμώντας* Γ 278 and *παρά* for *περί* λ 42 are found elsewhere, *τίνεσθον* for *τίνυσθον* Γ 279 is new.

No. 418 s. I-II A.D. This MS. contains continuous mythological scholia on A 263, 264, and 399. It would therefore seem to be a source of the so-called 'scholia Didymi' (the opinions on the origin of these are collected in Ludwig's programme, *Textkr. Untersuchungen ueber die mythologischen Scholien zu Homer's Ilias* 1900). Unfortunately the slight extent of the papyrus that has survived, and the absence of any reference to an authority, whether grammarian or historian, only complicates the problem. The pap. corresponds closely with the wording of scholia A and T, and without doubt it and they go back to the same source. The note in the papyrus on A 399 is the same as that which in the schol. A is ascribed to Didymus (*ιστορεῖ Δίδυμος*), but the remarkable omissions in the papyrus of the notes on 334 (ascribed to Ptolemaeus in the schol.) and 368 seem decisive against the papyrus being actually Didymus' *ὑπόμνημα τῆς α' Ἰλιάδος*. The ascription also of the variant on 400 to *τινες* (as in schol. T) instead of as in schol. A to Zenodotus points the same way. It seems idle to guess further.

No. 445 is more important. This papyrus, s. II-III A.D., contains portions of Z 128—end, with critical signs and very short scholia. Its text is quite un-Aristarchean, but such variants as there are are interesting: *επερχομενον* v. 187 was ascribed to ἄλλοι by sch. A; this is the first time it has been seen in a text. *εν αργει ουσα* v. 456 occurs in a minority of mediaeval MSS. This is much the oldest authority for it. v. 487 *προιαφει* is new here, but at Ω 110 it is the minority reading. v. 493 *πασι μάλιστα δ εμοι τοι Ιλιω εγγ[ε]γασιν* whereas all other MSS. read *πᾶσιν ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα τοὶ Ἰλίῳ* ignoring the digamma. The papyrus therefore confirms Epictetus' quotation (III. 22. 108) and Hoffmann's restoration, which he based on the wording of the line as it occurs in the Odyssey. This variant, with that in Pap. 410 above, and the other in P. Grenf. II. p. 11 which the editors quote, throws a real light on the later history of the text. It is noticeable that

these survivals occur in MSS. which show no particular connection with Alexandria. Further in v. 494 the Pap. is alone in reading $\chi\epsilon[\iota\rho\iota\ \pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta]$ instead of $\phi\alpha\iota[\delta\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \xi\kappa\tau\omega\rho]$ which is superscribed. 523 $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\omega\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ Pap. for $\delta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\omega\upsilon\upsilon$. New here, tho' the v.l. is common in the Odyssey. Conversely here a digamma is smothered. Other correc-

tions are on v. 187 $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$ viz. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$, a reading given to Aristarchus by schol. T,

which are confirmed; 477 $\alpha\rho\iota\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon\alpha$ where reading and correction offer a curious coinci-

dence with Ven. A; 487 $\pi\rho\omicron\iota\alpha\psi\epsilon\tau$: the correction is, on the analogy of Ω 110, back into the vulgate. I pass to the critical signs. The Pap. has not the importance of P. Tebtunis 4 (noticed *C.R.* 1903, p. 4), as the age of that MS. gave it a unique position; but the subject is always interesting. The Pap. agrees in general with Ven. A, still the only complete Homeric codex with semeia. The divergencies are these: 174 antisigma and diple Pap., diple only Ven. A. An antisigma with diple is a new combination, possibly it is meant as equivalent to a dotted diple, with reference to Ar.'s two readings $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon$ and $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\iota\zeta\epsilon$. V. 183 no diple Pap., diple Ven. A; 186 diple Pap., no diple Ven. A. The subject of 183-6 is the same, so it is merely a question of where the sign is best placed. 189 and 191 no diple Pap.: as the diple in Ven. A is confirmed by the scholia, these are omissions. 490-3: the Pap. omits one of four asterisks, no doubt by accident. 507-509 the Pap. omits all three asterisks. It is plain how in MSS., where these signs had no scholia to refer to, they might easily escape the copyist's notice.

There are now a very considerable number of papyrus fragments in existence showing critical signs and allowing the inference that in both ante- and post-Christian times copies of the Iliad with no scholia or very brief scholia and a full array of signs were common. The fragments are of no particular importance in themselves, but they enable us to see the Venetus A in its true light. It is no longer *sui generis*, nor do we need to premise a great scholar and recensor to explain it. It was one of many of the same sort of MSS.; vulgate texts, varying slightly here and there, with Aristarchus' signs. It is still unique for us as possessing current and abundant scholia; but no doubt this singularity is accidental. It must be remembered that most, if not

all, papyri with signs are older than the period by which the scholia can be supposed to have got into circulation. This Papyrus and the Bodleian Pap. Gr. class. a 1 (P) show us what a learned text was like before the Virmännerkommentar had been prepared for the delectation of the learned world. We may hope that a Byzantine papyrus may yet give us an early state of that compilation. The Ven. A then receives light from this and similar Papyri; I confess I find it difficult to account for the later mediaeval MSS. where the signs are sporadic.

We have not yet exhausted the attractions of this fruitful papyrus. The scholia next have to be considered. They are very brief and relate only to variants. In this respect they resemble the scholia of the Bodleian papyrus, with which they should be compared. They have however this peculiarity that in four out of five cases the reading quoted is that of the *κοινή*. In this *Review* for 1899, p. 334 sq. and 1900, 4 sq. I pointed out that the readings of the *κοινή* originally were part of Homeric scholia, and suggested some methods by which they might be recovered. The new information of the Papyrus before us confirms, I venture to think, my conclusions. The four scholia in question are:

128 $\eta\ \kappa\omicron\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$; in Ven. A. $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma,\ \omicron\iota\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$, $\delta\iota\omicron\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$; the same shorter T. The MSS. read $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$; $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu$ is found in a very few. Therefore the non-Aristarchean reading when supported by the bulk of the MSS. = the *κοινή*. (The text of the Papyrus here is wanting: probably like Ven. A it read the vulgate.)

148 $\alpha\iota\ \alpha\rho\chi\ \omicron\ \eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\omega\rho\eta$ (i.e. $\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\ \omicron\ \eta\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\eta\ \acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \omicron\omega\rho\eta$). The sch. A tell us $\omicron\omega\rho\eta$ was Aristophanes' reading. The MSS. are divided; a minority read the dative. The majority of MSS. as against a grammarian and the minority = the *κοινή*. The editors, it should be said, have some scruples about the expansion of the scholium; for $\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ = 'omit' Stephanus gives E.M. 501, 1 $\omicron\iota\ \omicron\iota\omega\nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\iota}\omega\theta\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \kappa$, $\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\eta\kappa\omega\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\pi\tau\eta\omega\varsigma$ and An. Bekk. ii. 600, 23 and 30 $\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \bar{\iota}\ \acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$, and the sentence from the E. M. may cover the construction in this telegraphic grammarian's Greek. As

to the abbreviation υ , of course I cannot reason with these Daumviri about the habits of papyrus, but speaking generally the principle of the first letter of the prefix

and the first letter of the main verb seems familiar, and I find ^πυ, which means ὑπόδειγμα, in the Bodleian Epictetus (Auct. T. 4. 13). Αἱ ἀρχαῖαι is a natural paraphrase for Aristophanes.

464 η κ τεθνεωτα. There are no later scholia here, but on M 409 Ven. A says Ἀρίσταρχος τεθνηώτων, ἄλλοι δὲ τεθνεώτων. The MSS. of course are predominantly -εώτα. So the majority of MSS. with ἄλλοι = the κοινή.

478 η κο βιη . .

Sch. A. ἄλλοι ὥδε βίην ἀγαθόν τε [καὶ Ἰλίων], sch. T οὕτως ἀγαθόν τε. MSS. are divided, but the majority read καὶ and not τε καὶ, and thus save the digamma.

As the papyrus is defective here I cannot

use it for my argument, but for restoring the reading the presumption is that ἄλλοι in A and οὕτως in T point to a grammarian; and as the majority of MSS. are decidedly against τε καὶ, it would seem better to read ἡ κοινή βίην δίχα τοῦ τε.

In four places then this MS. has given us the explicit reading of the ancient vulgate. I hope I am not indiscreet in saying that there is more of the same sort to come; and I propose to read, *meo Marte*, in the scholion of the Bodleian papyrus on B 397 η κο γειηται.

There are two more Iliad papyri (portions of N and Ψ) and one of χ and ψ of the Odyssey. The rarity of Odyssey MSS. gives the last some importance.

T. W. ALLEN.

PSEUDO-EUCLID, *INTRODUCTIO HARMONICA*.

IN the eighth chapter of the Εἰσαγωγή ἁρμονική assigned by von Jan, editor of the Teubner edition, to a certain Cleonides, there is an account of the various σύμφωνα, or Concorde.

This begins with the statement that there are six concords in the ἀμετάβολον σύστημα—the Perfect System, as (*e.g.*) Ptolemy calls it. Then follows an enumeration of the six. The 1st is the concord of the Fourth: the 2nd, that of the Fifth: the 3rd, that of the Octave: the 4th, that of the Octave together with the Fourth: the 5th, that of the Octave and Fifth: the 6th, that of two Octaves. Next it is pointed out that the Conjoint System extends up to the 4th of these concords, including the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th in succession. After this comes the following passage on the compass of the τόπος φωνῆς, or region of the voice:—ὁ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς τόπος αὐξεται μέχρι τοῦ ὀγδόου συμφώνου, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δις διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ δις διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε.

In this there are several suspicious features.

(1) The eighth concord is said to be two octaves and a Fourth together with two octaves and a Fifth. But this is the compass of five octaves. Why then is it not simply called πεντάκις διὰ πασῶν, instead of being described by this curious analysis of its parts?

(2) In the preceding context the 7th and 8th concords have not been described, but on the analogy of the 4th and 5th they

would naturally be δις διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων and δις διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε, respectively. In the text, however, we have these two formulæ combined in the definition of the 8th concord.

(3) We should rather expect—especially after what Aristoxenus had said about compass—that τόπος φωνῆς would mean the extreme compass for a single voice; and thus from the statement in the text that the τόπος φωνῆς extends to the 8th concord, we should infer that this concord was upwards of two octaves. This confirms the conclusion arrived at otherwise from the text that the 8th concord was two octaves and a Fifth. The sense required would be given by reading ὁ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς τόπος αὐξεται μέχρι τοῦ ὀγδόου συμφώνου, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δις διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε: and the omitted words would be somehow wrong.

Whatever emendation is required the conclusion that the sense of the original text was as given above, is strongly corroborated by a passage in Aristoxenus, 20, 27 Meibom., which gives for the greatest compass of the human voice two octaves and a fifth:—τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ διὰ πέντε καὶ τὸ δις διὰ πασῶν, τὸ γὰρ τρις διὰ πασῶν οὐκ ἐπιδιατίνομεν.

But though the most important point, the meaning conveyed by the original text, can be determined with great probability, it is perhaps hardly possible to decide what is the true emendation.

On the analogy of the preceding passage

on the Conjunct System the original might perhaps have been of the form ὁ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς τόπος αὐξεται μεχρὶ τοῦ ἐβδόμου συμφώνου ὅπερ ἐστὶ δις διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων, καὶ μεχρὶ τοῦ ὀγδόου συμφώνου ὅπερ ἐστὶ δις διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε. The double μεχρὶ might cause the omission of τοῦ ἐβδόμου... καί, and the text may have originated in an imperfect marginal note on the missing words.

Or possibly the text was without these words at first, and someone observing that the description of the seventh concord was omitted in the text, might have noted in the margin that τὸ δις διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων was wanting, which may have

occasioned the introduction of these words into the text.

In the nature of the case it is not impossible that the description of the 7th concord was not given in the original at all, because this concord does not belong to the systems whose compass the writer wished to describe.

The Teubner editor refers below his apparatus criticus to Aristoxenus 14, 20: but this does not contain the important information which would of itself suggest a correction of the text, nor does he express any suspicion that any correction is here needed.

J. COOK WILSON.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.

(Continued from p. 112.)

II.—Syntax.

A. Nouns. (Notes 436b-438.)

I have nothing to add as to *Number*, except the curious survival ἀμφοτέρων in CPR 41 (4/), overlooked in my last paper.

Concord.

Breach of concord is fairly common in the less educated documents, and especially takes the form of putting a nom. in apposition to a different case preceding it. Thus TbP 41 (ii/) a prolonged gen. abs. taken up with οὐ στοχασάμενος. BU 1002 (i/) Ἀντιφίλου Ἑλλήν... ἐπιάρχης, with other miswritten case-forms. BU 910 (1/) τοῦ ἀνδρός μου Ὀνῶφρις. AP 78 (2/) παντοδαπῶς μ[ου] πλεονεκτῖ ἄνθρωπος ἀ[σ]θής. (G. and H. say the reading is 'almost certain': Radermacher would emend ἀ[σ]θής, which is somewhat encouraged by τοιαύτης αὐθαδίας lower down. But those who have seen the papyrus can best judge, and they remark that there are other mistakes in this short petition.) Letr. 149 (2/) ἄμα καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ... ὁ διάτοχος (= διάδ.) τοῦ προφήτου. ChP 15 (4/) παρὰ Τασοῦτος μήτηρ Ταυρίνου. OP 527 (2/3) περὶ Σερήνου τοῦ γναφέως ὁ συννεργαζόμενος. AP 506 (2/) ἄρουρα μία in apposition to τῶν ἐπαρχόντων three lines higher—a most confused sentence. Archiv i. 405 (5/) τῇ δεσποίνῃ ἡμῶν Ἰσις καὶ τῇ δεσποτῇ ἡμῶν Ὀσίρις. In the *Expositor* for January 1904, p. 71, I have called attention to these exx. as supplying the true view of

the many similar nominatives in the Apocalypse. It is like an Englishman's 'between you and I': he would not say 'between I and you,' any more than St. John would have said ἀπὸ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός (1^b)—the *tour de force* ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν does not count. His grammatical sense is satisfied when the governing word has affected the case of one object.

Similarly there are false gender concords. BU 997 (ii/) τὴν ἐπάρχον αὐτῷ οἰκίαν. BU 251 (1/) τὴν πειπτοκότα [οἰκίαν]. BU 577 (3/) ἐκ τῆς μετῆλλαχότος γυναικάν (!). BU 606 (4/) ταῖς ἐφεστῶσι θύραις. LPu (ii/) τὴν δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἄνασσον ἀκούσαντα. OP 113 (2/) σφραγίδα ἀργυροῦν. (NP 30 (2/) κάμηλον θηλέα is justifiable.) LP v (3/4) πᾶν χθών. AP 113 (2/) ὁ τετελευτηκώς αὐτῆς μήτηρ. These again are paralleled in the Apocalypse, and in patristic writings of early date: see Reinhold *De Graecitate Patrum* etc. p. 57 f. Krumbacher has some remarks on this phenomenon in his recent lecture (*Problem d. ngr. Schriftsprache*) p. 50.

For gender note τὸν ζυγόν FP 121 (1/2) of a plough. So NT and class.

Nominative.

The tendency in the uneducated to use the nom. as a convenient indeclinable is seen in various documents, and underlies the false concord just discussed. Thus in the touching Christian epitaph, *JHS* 1902 p. 369 (Lycaonia, 3/) τῷ διχοτομήσαντί με, τοῦ

τὸ λοεπὸν ζῆν εἰς. NP 38 (3/) τῆς ἐπιτήρησις. BU 910 (1/) τοῦ Στοτόητις, 912 (1/) sim. BU 1002 (i/) ἔτους κς Παῦνι κβ βασιλεὺς πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαίου. ChP 15 (4/) bis, etc.

Parallel to the construction of *τρέις ἡμέραι* in Mc 8²—for which cf. Meisterhans³ 203, and the *Acta Paul. et Thecl.* cited by Deissmann in *Theol. Literaturz.* 1898, p. 629—are the innumerable exx. of *οὐλή* and *γείτονες* in descriptions of persons and places respectively. Typical of the former is ChP 6 (ii/) τῶι ἑαυτοῦ [ὦ νῖω] μέσῳ μελίχρωτι τετανῶι μακροπροσώπῳ εὐθύρην (for dat., an ex. coming under the concord head above) *οὐλή* καρπῶι δεξιῶι. For the latter will serve OP 99 (1/) μέρος ἦμισυ τῆς . . οἰκίας . . . γείτονες τῆς ὅλης οἰκίας, νότον καὶ ἀπηλῶτον δημοσίαι ῥῦμαι. So a Ptolemaic pap. in *Archiv* i. 57 ff., where *γείτονες* follows an acc. Very often the constr. is regularised *οὐ γείτονες* etc. Cf. Wessel on CPR 21. That we often find *οὐλή* does not affect the point: as was noted before (*Notes* 32a, 434a), the irrational ι adscript abounds. An apparent ex. of the same constr. is seen in BM ii. p. 299 (as read by Crönert in *C.R.* xvii. 197b) *ἐπειδὴ ἀσχολῶ ἐλθὲν πρὸς σὲν αὐτὴ ἡμέρῃ* ('i.e. αὐταὶ ἡμέραι, "his diebus"').

Accusative.

To the verbs quoted for Double Acc. add ἀφήρπασαν and ἐξέτρωσεν in ChP 15 (4/). Κωμαρχεῖν κόμην AP 33 (ii/) (noted before) is of course ordinary direct object, but has a common feature with the Cognate Acc. Ἐνεδρεύω = 'defraud' takes an acc. in OP 484 (2/): cf. ἐνηδρεύθημεν Demosth. 836. 13. I registered AP 50—with which stands BU 910 (1/) τόκου ὡς ἐγ δραχμῆς μῖας τῇ μνᾷ τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον *et saep.*—as 'Extension of Time.' But TbP 109 (i/) ἀρτάβας τρεῖς τιμῆς τὴν ἀρτάβην ἐκάστην χαλκοῦ δραχμῶν δισχιλίων, 'at a price of 2000 copper drachmae per artaba,' is essentially the same. The nearest parallel I can see in Kühner-Gerth is Herod. ii. 134 εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδύονσαν κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων 'short of 3 plethra each side by 20 feet,' which is placed (p. 316) among the acc. of part affected. We find the acc. used of point of time: OP 477 (2/) τῶν τὸ πέμπτον ἔτος Δομιτιανοῦ ἐφηβευκότων 'who became ephēbi in the 5th year of Domitian,' a recurrent formula: contr. οἱ τῶι β (ἔτει) θεοῦ Τιβερίου . . . ἐφηβευκότες (1/) in no. 24 of de Ricci's Egyptian inser. (*Archiv* ii. 431 ff.).

The acc. in the illiterate and late documents becomes residuary legatee of other cases, as *ἐτυχον βοήθειαν* ChP 15 (4/), οὐ μὴ

γράψω σε ἐπιστολὴν οὔτε λαλῶ σε οὔτε υἱγένω σε OP 119 (2/3—see Blass in *Hermes* xxiv. 313 on this amusing letter of a boy to his father).

Acc. in apposition to sentence: TP 1 (ii/) εἰ δὲ καὶ τις θεῖη, τὸ μὴ ὄν, μετοικισθῆναι τοὺς ταριχευτάς.

Genitive.

With Verbs:—Κοινωνῶ: BU 969 (2/) τῆς κτηνοτροφίας (for nom.) ἥς ἐκινῶνουν τῷ τετελευτηκότι. Τυχάνω regularly, e.g. TbP 30: the acc. above was only a significant freak. Στοχάζομαι: TbP 41 (ii/); ἔρχομαι: AP 31 (ii/) 'look after'; κυριεύω: TbP 104 (i/); δεσποτεύω: NP 60 (3/); πρόνοιαν ποιῶμαι: AP 137 (3/), 144 (5/); πειθαρχῶ: TbP 104 (i/) unambiguously—πειθαρχοῦσα αὐτοῦ ὡς προσήκόν ἐστι γυναῖκα ἀνδρός. (So in the epistle of Darius I. to Gadatas, *Michel* 32.) Contrast dat. thrice in Acts. The difference reminds us of the aberrant use of *ἐνοχος* with gen. in Mt, as to which Wilcken observes (on *θανάτῳ ἐνοχος* in an edict (1/) of Avilius Flaccus) that the prefect writes better Greek than the Evangelist, unless 'the illogical gen. *θανάτον* is only a MS corruption due to the fusion of the *u* and *o* vowels in the later vernacular' (*Archiv* i. 169); this will not account for the Syrian reading *κρίσεως* in Mc 3²⁹ (presumably following the case of ἀμαρτήματος which it supplants). Here however it is the papyri that deviate from the classical.

Price:—τόκου 'at such-and-such interest,' as BU 910 (i/). ἐκφορίου τοῦ παντὸς ἀποτάκτον λς 'at a fixed rent for the whole of 36 artabae' TbP 42 (ii/), *et sim.* 106 (ii/).

Time within which:—τοῦ ὄντος μηνός 'within the present month,' FP 124 (2/).

Description:—ὡς ἐτῶν δέκα τριῶν BU 937 (3/), *et passim.*

Partitive:—Διονύσιος . . τῶν ἱερονικῶν καὶ ἐξηγητηνικότων OP 516 (2/).

With Nouns:—ἐκάστης ἀρούρας δραχμᾶς ἐκατόν TbP 100 (ii/) in a distributive sense. So in same papyrus μεμέτρηκας ἐκάστης ἀρούρας (πυροῦ) τέταρτον, ib. 107 ἐκφορίου ἐκάστης ἀρούρας πυροῦ πέντε. A peculiar use of the gen. in OP 492 (2/) μετ' ἐναυτὸν ἕνα τῆς τελευτῆς μου, FP 118 (2/) πρῶ δύο ἡμερῶν ἀγόρασον τὰ ὀρνιθάρια τῆς εἰσορτῆς (cf. John 12¹ πρὸ ἑξ ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα), *IMd* iii. 325 (2/) πρὸ 16 Καλανδῶν Ἀγούστου: for this use of *πρὸ* cf. 2 Cor. 12². Note gen. with ἐξουσία ('power over'—as Jo 17²) CPR 18 (2/) διαθήκης ἐ., 'power to make a will,' BU 183 (1/) ἐ. τῶν ἰδίων πάντων. The use with negative adjectives is

very common. Kühner-Gerth p. 401 anm. 5, 6 treats them as Ablatives. (The type ἀκίνδυνος παντὸς κινδύνου TbP 105 (ii/) BU 938 (4/) *al.* shows that ἀφίλος φίλων has spread very far from poetic realms.) So in other legal documents TbP *l.c.* ἀνυπόλογον πάσης φθορᾶς (also 106), and ἀνυπεύθυνον παντὸς ἐπιτίμου. *ib.* 124 (ii/) ἀδιστάστους ὄντας πάσης αἰτίας. BU 970 (2/) τῆς εἰς ἅπαντας εὐεργεσίας. . ἁβοήθητος. We may compare ἀπείραστος κακῶν Jas 1¹³.

Ablative.—Add TbP 41 (ii/) γυναικῶν διαστείεν.

Gen. Abs..—TbP 85 (ii/) ἀνὰ μέσον δῶρωνος 'sc. οὐσης,' as later in same papyrus, where it is expressed. For gen. abs. in place of the case required by the construction, add TbP 41 (ii/) ἱκανῶν ἡμῶν ἐπόπτως ἐχόντων ἀνακεχωρήκαμεν: 'many of us, having had our suspicions aroused, have retired,' we should say. So NP 49 (3/) περιερχομένον μου τὸν ἄγρον μου, εἰπὲν μοι, 53 (*do.*) εὐχομαι . . . ὅπως ὑγιένουτός σου καὶ εὐθυμοῦντος προσδέξῃ τὰ ἐμὰ γράμματα. For gen. abs. without expressed subject add BU 925 (3/1) ἀναγνωσθέντων, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἡ βουλή ἐφώνησεν, 970 (2/) δηλωθέντος δι' ἧς προεῖθη μοι ἀσφαλείας, AP 66 (2/) προειγκαμένων μηδὲν ἐγνωκέαι, Pap. Catt. (2/) ἐξερχομένου—it might depend on νίος later, but gen. abs. is simpler: Wilcken needlessly emends -ω—, Mithraslit. p. 10 τοῦτο εἰπόντος, etc. The acc. abs. gives way to the gen. in ἐξόντος OP 506 (2/) *al. saep.*

Dative.

The decay of the Dative is not really visible in the papyri, except in the most illiterate, such as the boy's letter, OP 119 (2/3), cited under the accus. above, or NP 47 (3/) τίνι λόγου, ChP 15 (4/) θαρρῶν τοῖς χρήμασι αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλουτοῦ. Late provincial inser. show it. Thus *JHS* xix. 14 ὁ βοηθὼν ὑμῶν (Xtian), xxi. 231 (*do.*, Mysia) βοήθη 'Αλεξάνδρου, xix. 287 σὺν τῶν νιῶν (4/, Lycæonia); and in Mr. Cronin's Psidian inser. (Nov. 1902) no. 119 τέκνον 'Ανικήτῳ καὶ Κατίλλῃ, and σὺν παιδί μούνου Νεμετωρίῳ, no. 131 'Αλεξάνδρου ἀδρὶ αὐτῆς. Add *BCU* 1902 p. 181 (N. Syria) δόξα πατρὶ κὴ οἴῳ κὴ ἀγίῳ[

(a) *Dative Proper.*

Add dat. with μεσιτεύω BU 906 (1/), ἐνέχομαι TbP 5 (ii/), ἐνείλω (ἐμαντόν, 'worm my way into') TbP 24 (ii/), κελεύω, NP 55 (3/); ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς TbP 50 (ii/)—cf. Ac 21²¹, but the adverb's absence there makes the instr. suit

better; χάριτά σοι ὁμολογήσω NP 47 (3/); τόκου ἐγ δραχμῆς μίας τῇ μνᾷ BU 910 (1/)—ἐκάστης μνᾶς (as above) would have been clumsy here.

(b) *Locative Dative.*

Of place as late as 6/, *BCU* 1903 p. 335 τῷδε ἀναπαύεται τῷ τύμβῳ (Galatian tombstone). Of time τῇ γενεθλίᾳ μου OP 494 (2/).¹ τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις BU 903 (2/).

(c) *Instrumental Dative.*

With verb.—τυγχάνω πεπληροφορημένος τοῖς ὀφειλομένοις μοι OP 509 (2/).—For the formula ἐρρῶσθαι σε εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις we have in NP 50 (3/—a Roman trying to write Greek) ἐρρ. ὡς πλείστοις ἔτεσιν. (Was χρόνος beginning to take on its MGr meaning 'year'?) The dative is like χρόνοις αἰώνις, 'through times eternal,' in Ro 16²⁵. For instr. of reference add τῇ κλήσει Γλυκίῃ NP 21 (ii/), γένει Ποντικόν BU 937 (3/), προβεβηκότας ἤδη τοῖς ἔτεσιν TP i (ii/), where Lc 1⁷ adds ἐν. Note the inser. in *JHS* xix. 92 (2/) where the date with *consulibus* is represented by ὑπάτοις. In one sense this is not a 'Latinism,' since the instr. of attendant circumstances exists both in Latin and in Greek: ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ 1 Cor 11⁵ answers to Latin *capite non velato*. But of course the idiomatic Greek here would be ἐφ' ὑπάτων τῶν δείνων. Viereck gives a parallel (*Sermo gr.* etc.) p. 62.

My note on the instrumental dat. with ἐν (*Notes* 438b) has received very remarkable confirmation by the publication of TbP a year since. (See my lexical article in *Expositor*, Feb., 1903, p. 112, where several noteworthy uses of ἐν are collected.) I must deal with ἐν systematically when I come to the prepositions. Meanwhile I will only call attention to the editors' note, p. 86, where four exx. of ἐν μαχαίρῃ (-αις) are given from TbP and one from a Paris papyrus. ἐν μαχαίρῃ, 'with a sword,' in Lc 22⁴⁹, and ἐν ῥάβδῳ, 'with a rod,' in 1 Cor 4²¹, are accordingly seen to be vernacular Greek: the passage from Lucian, cited by Findlay in his note on 1 Cor *l.c.*, might have led us suspect as much before. We find also Λύκος σὺν ἄλλοις ἐν ὄπλοις TbP 48 (ii/), with which we compare in a Ptolemaic pap. from Gizeh (Archiv i. 57 ff.) παραγενομένων . . . σὺν ὄπλοις.

¹ The archaeologists may like to note this 'Will of Acusilaus' (156 A.D.), providing that money shall be yearly applied from his estate for a feast of his slaves and freedmen near his tomb upon his birthday. The testator adjures the triad Δία Γῆν' Ἥλιον.

The phrase *κινδυνεύει τῷ ζῆν* may be noted also from TbP 44 (ii/).

ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.

Position of Adjective.

An attributive apparently in predicate position meets us in OP 99 (1/) τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ μητρικῆς οἰκίας τριστέγου. This is a good ex. of the rule for the position of a second adjective, cited from Krüger by Moulton in his note WM 166. Hort on 1 Pet 1¹⁸ accepts this view. Jebb on Soph. *O.T.* 1199 ff. explains the noun and following adjective as forming a 'composite idea,' which applies excellently to 1 Pet *l.c.* and the papyrus passage: it may be applied also to the curious ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς in Jo 12⁹. (Why is it not exemplified in 1 Pet 2²—all the more as the perpetual papyrus formula, seen first in BU 1005 (iii/), πυρὸν νέον ἄδολον καθαρὸν ἀπὸ παντός—see *Expositor*, Feb., 1903, p. 107—always puts the noun first, and γάλα ἄδολον would be as common a phrase perhaps as 'pure milk' is with us?) A further ex. of misplaced attributive, to be explained like ὁ ὄχλος πολὺς, is BU 248 (2/) τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀμπέλων ἰδίων γηγενῶς γενέσθαι ἀναλογούντως Ἀπολλωνίω.

The position of the personal pronoun possessive may be noted here: St. Paul's use of ὑμῶν between article and noun (as 2 Cor 12¹⁹) is paralleled in Mithraslit. p. 17 ἡ σοῦ οὐσία, where see note: cf. WM 193, WS 210, Blass² 171.

Comparison.

The rarity of the superlative -τατος in NT must be set down as accidental, in view of the numerous exx. in the papyri. The equivalence of compar. and superl. in the colloquial speech is well shown by passages where the two are used together: add *BCII* 1903, p. 415 (inser. of imperial age) ποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς τὰ δινότατα καὶ χαλεπώτερα διὰ. Early exx. of compar. for superl. are TbP 33 (ii/) ἐν μείζονι ἀξιώματι καὶ τιμῇ κείμενος. (Μεγαλονυπρέπεστερον ἐγδεχθήτωι, in the same letter, could be paralleled from literature: cf. also βέλτιον in 2 Tim 1¹⁵, κάλλιον Ac 25¹⁰.) ἐν βαρυτέρῃ ἀρρωστίᾳ κῖσθαι TbP 52 (ii/). The literary pap. Ch P 2 (2/) has βλαβερωτέρον (gen. pl.), tr. 'very harmful'; but 'somewhat harmful' would do, so far as the scrap of context goes—cf. δεισδιαιμονεστέρους in Ac 17²². Genuine superl., not elative, are still very few. BP 9 (Ptolemaic) ἀπήγμεθα εἰς τὴν αἰσχρο[τάτην] φυλακὴν is practically elative—and the papyrus may have had -τέραν for all we know. BU 973 (2/)

πρὸς τὸ πλίστον. OP 506 (2/) αἰ. ἐκ τοῦ ἀποβορροτάτου μέρους, a formula. BU 1011 (ii/) ἄριστον δέ ἐστιν . . . τό etc., 'the best course is . . .' Notice ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα surviving in the same papyrus. TbP 5 (ii/) ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου, 'to the best of their power.' ib. 105 (ii/) τὴν ἐσομένην πλείστην τιμὴν.

'Duality.'

To my previous exx. (*Notes* 439b) add OP 465 (2/—astrological calendar) for ἕτερα τέκνα, here 'born of other mothers': the edd. quote Eurip. *Med.* 639. OP 494 (2/) is a specimen of incorrect ἕτερος—each of three additional witnesses to a will signs himself ἕτερος τῶν μαρτυρησάντων. In the marriage contracts NP 21 (ii/), OP 497 (2/) 'either' party is expressed by τις. Pap. Catt. (2/) has ὁ εἷς, ὁ εἷς for each of two sons: contr. NP 48 (3/), an illiterate and late document, where two cows are μίαν μὲν μελάνην . . . τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν φυράν. OP 491 (2/) shows ἐκάτερος throughout very correctly of two brothers; when a third is brought in we have τις. But φτίνιοῦν αὐτῶν is 'either of the two.' For the alleged use of ἀμφοτέροι = πάντες I can now quote NP 67, 69 (4/), where it is used of *four* men.

Ἰδιος.—I need add nothing, except the remark that the 'Byzantine use ἰδιός μου' is proved for much earlier times by ChP 4 (ii/) ὄντα ἡμῶν ἰδιον, OP 483 (2/) εἶναι τὰς προκειμένας ἀρούρας εἰδίας μου, NP 25 (2/) διὰ Ἑρμαίου ἰδίου αὐτοῦ.

Ἐαυτοῦ.—For the uneducated use of ἔαυτοῦ or αὐτοῦ for ἑαυτοῦ or σεαυτοῦ sing. add MP 16 (iii/) γράψαι τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ ἀποστεῖλαι Νικίαν ἐφ' αὐτόν (2nd). TbP 18 (ii/) φρόντισον ὥς πάντα τὰ ἐνοφιλούμενα ἑαυτῷ (2nd). For the plural, which is good Hellenistic, add TbP 47 ἵνα κομισώμεθα τὰ ἑαυτῶν (1st), 124 (ii/) probably 1st, but fragmentary, NP 11 (4/) διαιρῆκεμεν πρὸς ἑαυτούς (1st). Also *JHS* 1902 p. 355 (1st).

Relatives and Interrogatives.

As in NT, ὅστις is used regularly in the nom. Rarely acc., as ἦντινα BM 77 (8/), ὄντινα inser. *JHS* 1902 p. 349: the phrase ἕως ὅτου (Mt and Jo once each, Le thrice) occurs in NP 56 (3/). So ἐξ ὅτου BM 190 (3/). The curious combinations ὅτι ὁποῖαν, ὅτι τί occur respectively in NP 54 (3/) οἶδας ὅτι ὁποῖαν προαίρεσιν ἔχω καὶ οἶδας ὅτι γνώμη ὁποῖα ἐστίν, and BU 607 (2/) γράψον μοι ὅτι τί ἐπραξας. For ποῖος add TbP 25 (ii/) διὰ τίνος καὶ ἀπὸ ποίου ἐπιδείγματος, BU 619 (2/) ὑπὸ τίνων καὶ ἐπὶ ποίοις ὑπάρχονσι. For τίς in place of ὅς add *JHS* xix. 299 τίς ἂν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ κακῶς ποιήσει, ib. 305 τίς ἂν ταύτῃ τ[ῇ] στήλῃ κακὴν]

χείρα προσοίσει, and so 307 (with *ιστήλη*); *ib.* 308 is correct, as to the relative and the case after *ποιεῖν*, ὅς ἂν κακῶς ποιήσει τὸ ἥρῳον. Τίς for ὅστις in *JHS* xxi. 227 (i/) *Ἐρενία . . . καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῆς . . .* [*χαίρετε*], καὶ σὺ πολλὰ, τίς ποτ' εἶ.

In late papyri etc., as in MGr, the article becomes a relative once more. BU 948 (4/5, very illiterate) *πρὸς τὸ δύνoμε*. Wilcken in *Archiv* i. 164 has some exx. from BM papyri of 346 A.D. :—p. 292 *τό μοι δέδωκες*, 301 *τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν ποιεῖς*, 304 *τὴν χίρα τὴν δέδωκεν*. Cf. Justin M. *apol.* i. 5 and Gildersleeve's note (p. 116). Τί relative in BU 948 (*supr.*), οὐδὲν ἔχω τί ποιήσω σοι, has exact NT parallels, as *Lc* 17^s (contr. 11^o). Cf. *ποῦ* relative in NP 75 (3/4) *τόπον αὐτοῖς παράσχες ποῦ μίνωσιν* : cf.

Lc 9^{ss}, but the deliberative question there is still discernible.

Compounds meaning *whatsoever* show a fine variety. *ὅτῳδῶτιν* FP 21 (2/), *οὐντινοῦν* TbP 5, 124 (ii/) *ὥτινοῦν* OP 491 (2/), *ἡνδηποτοῦν* TbP 27 (ii/), *ὀνδηποτοῦν* *ib.* 124 *al.*, FP p. 49 (Ptol.), *οὐτινοσοῦν* OP 100 (2/), *οἰωδῆποτε* BU 895 (2/), and so on.

Πᾶς = *any* (in negative clauses).—Add TbP 105 (ii/) *ἀντιπείθουσι παντὸς ἐπιτίμου*, *ib.* 11 (ii/) [*ἀνεν δίκης*] καὶ κρίσεως καὶ πάσης..., BU 920 (2/) *χωρὶς παραδοχῆς πάσης*, *ib.* 908 (2/) *δίχα πάσης ἐξουσίας*, *al.* Plutarch *Cons. ad Uxorē*, *δίχα πάσης περιεργίας*, will serve as a literary ex. I have not looked for more.

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THE CITATIONS FROM SALLUST'S HISTORIES IN ARUSIANUS MESSIUS.

FROM the method followed by Verrius Flaccus¹ and Nonius Marcellus² in the arrangement of their citations from Latin authors, it has been found possible to infer that this or that citation from a lost work followed or preceded in that work this or that other citation. For example, we now know that in the third book of Sisenna's Histories the fragment numbered 14 in Peter's edition really stood later in the book than the fragment numbered 33 by Peter; also that in the fourth book Peter's frag. 81 came after frag. 83 and before frag. 82.

Did Arusianus Messius follow any dis-

coverable method of arranging his 'Exempla Elocutionum,' which would enable us to infer the true position of this or that citation in the lost Histories of Sallust or the lost speeches of Cicero? Arusianus Messius, who lived at the end of the fourth century, derived his examples of Latin constructions (*exempla elocutionum*) from four authors, Virgil, Sallust, Terence, and Cicero. His book (sometimes called the 'quadriga Messi') is arranged in alphabetic sections, an A-section, a B-section, a C-section, and so on, but within the sections themselves alphabetic order is not followed. It begins, for example, in this way :—

Abundans	illius rei, Virg. Ecl. ii. 20.
	illa re, Cic. pro Cornelio ii.
(abundat) illa re, Cic. pro Cluentio 184.	
(abunde est) huius rei, Virg. Aen. vii. 552.	
Ardet	illa re, Virg. Aen. xi. 782.
	illam rem, Virg. Ecl. ii. 1.
	in illa re, Sall. Cat. 5, 4.
	in illam rem, Virg. Aen. vii. 623.

Then follow :—Avertit, Accingo, Appulit, Avidus, Abnuo, Amicus, Adhibet, etc. From the order of the citations under Abundans and Ardet it will be seen that Arusianus does not follow so transparent

an arrangement as Nonius. His arrangement of the citations under each lemma seems to be at hap-hazard. At least I can find no tangible clue. He follows no definite order of the cases. Constructions with the Gen. precede constructions with the Abl. almost as often as they follow them. It is true that in the majority of instances a construction with a simple Case

¹ See Reitzenstein, 'Verriane Forschungen' (*Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen*, vol. i. 1887).

² See Lindsay, 'Nonius Marcellus' (*St. Andrews University Publications*, No. 1. 1901).

precedes a construction with a Preposition and a Case (as in the lemma *Ardeat*, above), but since this rule is violated in about 28 and observed in about 75 instances, the number of the exceptions is too great to permit us to regard this clue as of much

value. There is indeed one clue that seems more reliable. In those instances in which we find more than one example of exactly the same construction, the second (or third) example follows the natural order, *e.g.* (p. 463 Keil, vol. vii. s. l. *Dignus*):—

dignus fieri . . . Virg. Ecl. v. 54, et puer ipse fuit cantari dignus;
Virg. Ecl. v. 85, et erat tum dignus amari;

or again (p. 479 Keil, s. l. *Indutus*):—

indutus illis rebus . . . Virg. Aen. xi. 83, indutosque iubet truncos hostilibus armis;
Virg. Aen. xii. 947, tunc etiam spoliis indute meorum?

However, against 33 instances of this rule stand some 8 exceptions, which (unless they can fairly be referred to some scribe's error of transposition) destroy the infallibility of the clue.

To one rule only, so far as I can see, there is no exception whatever. When two examples of exactly the same construction are drawn from the same book of the same

author, they are quoted in the natural order of sequence (as in the lemma *Dignus*, above).

Using this clue we can locate, relatively to each other, two passages in the second book of Sallust's Histories; also two passages in the fourth. We find under the lemma *Suetus* (p. 510 K.):—

suetus his rebus . . . Sall. Hist. ii (fr. 88 Maur.) genus militum suetum a pueritia latrocinii;
Sall. Hist. ii (fr. 85 Maur.) genus hominum vagum et rapinis suetum magis quam agrorum cultibus;

and under the lemma *In Praesentia* (p. 487, K.):—

in praesens . . . Sall. Hist. iv (frag. 50 Maur.) quod in praesens modo satis cautum fuerat;
Sall. Hist. iv. (fr. 69, 19 Maur.) quid ab illis nisi dolum in praesens et postea bellum expectans?

We may therefore infer that in the text of Sallust Hist. ii the fragment numbered 88 by Maurenbrecher held some place prior to the fragment numbered 85, and similarly

in the text of Book iv. fragment 50 M stood earlier than fragment 69 M.

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NOTES ON THE *SILVAE* OF STATIUS.

IN lecturing on some of the *Silvae* this winter, I have found that I sometimes arrived at a more or less decided opinion in favour of one reading or interpretation and against another. Much has been done for Statius of late, and the disputable passages are fewer than they were. It is in the hope of helping to make them fewer still that I venture to send these notes to the *Classical Review*. I have used the elaborate edition of Dr. Vollmer with increasing distrust: it seems to me a very unsafe guide. Sometimes Dr. Vollmer admits with good

reason a reading that is not in the MSS (*e.g.* *certent* in I. iv. 13 and *carpsi*, for *carpsit*, *ib.* 105 seem certain or all but certain): sometimes he keeps the reading of the MSS when it is impossible (*quis caneris*, I. iv. 23) or ludicrous (*leones*, V. iii. 99). 'Quis caneris' has been condemned by Mr. Housman in his Prolegomena to Manilius (p. xlviii) and Mr. Housman with equal justice rejects Dr. Vollmer's interpretation of I. iv. 40 (a passage which I touch upon below, partly to discuss the use of 'ignarus').

I. iv. 39.

quae tum patrumque equitumque notavi
lumina et ignarae plebis lugere potentes.

Stephens (Camb. 1651) has the right interpretation: his note on 'lumina' is 'fletuum ocellos.' The passage means: 'What eyes I observed'—that is 'what sadness I read in the eyes—of senator and knight and of the commons, unwont as they are to show sympathy for the great.' Dr. Vollmer has hit upon a new interpretation: he thinks that 'lumina patrum equitumque' means luminaries or distinguished men of the senatorial and equestrian order, and that these with 'potentes ignarae plebis,' leaders of the obscure crowd, are the subjects of the verb 'lugere,' 'notavi' being followed not by a simple accusative but by an accusative and infinitive. This view is open to the following objections:—

1. 'lumina patrum' is a phrase that requires justification. 'lumina curiae' or 'equestris ordinis,' one would recognize at once as legitimate. V. quotes *Silv.* VI. viii. 15, (which does not illustrate the genitive) and Virgil *Aen.* xi. 349, *lumina tot cecidisse ducum*. But is this latter passage really similar? Is it not a phrase like 'sapientia Laeli,' only plural? *lumina ducum* = illustres duces, not a partitive genitive at all?

2. Who are the 'plebis potentes,' whom a poet would naturally couple with senators and knights, in the reign of Domitian?

3. In l. 46 Statius says that Gallieus had shown clemency to humble people (*ignarique manus humiles et verba precantum*) and in line 115 that when his health was restored there were joyful gatherings '*populique patrumque*.' Surely the meaning here must be that during his illness all three orders were anxious, plebs, eques, senatus.

4. 'ignarae,' in V.'s sense, is at best irrelevant, if not detrimental. 'ignarae lugere potentes' has a definite and complimentary point.

'ignarus,' according to V. means 'obscure' or 'unknown.' Is this likely? The chances are against it. 'gnarus' and 'ignarus' in a passive sense are usually applied to inanimate objects or facts, things which exclude the active sense. 'gnarus' in the sense of 'known' is found chiefly in Tacitus ('gnarum id Caesari': in vi. 35 'conspicui eoque gnari' the context precludes ambiguity). 'Fors ignara' in Ovid *Met.* i. 453 (quoted by Lewis and Short) surely means 'blind' or 'unknowing' (that is not knowing what

she did, blindly) rather than 'unknown.' *Met.* vii. 404, *iamque aderat Theseus, proles ignara parenti*—the interposition of *proles* makes a difference.

And there is a further question about 'gnarus' and 'ignarus.' Can they be used absolutely? 'gnarus' means aware of something (or known to somebody). Can it mean 'well-informed' generally? or 'ignarus' 'ignorant,' 'ill-informed' generally? I doubt it, and I have seen no passage which compels me to admit it. There is a well-known passage in Virgil (*Aen.* x. 705).

Paris urbe paterna
occubat, *ignarum* Laurens habet ora Mi-
manta.

'ignarum' is supposed to be passive here, but is it not more picturesque and effective in an active sense? Mimas—his shade or ghost—is ignorant, and not ignorant in general, but unacquainted with something. What is it? It is the *Laurentian coast*, or the dead that rest there near him. Paris sleeps among kindred shades. Mimas, like Tiphys in Seneca (*Medea* 621),

exul ignotas iacet inter umbras.

II. ii. 100 f.

saepe per autumnum iam pubescente Lyaeo
conscendit scopulos noctisque occulta sub
umbra

palmite maturo rorantia lumina tersit
Nereis et dulces rapuit de collibus uvas.
saepe et vicino sparsa est vindemia fluctu
et Satyri cecidere vadis nudamque per undas
Dorida montani cupierunt prendere Panes.

According to Dr. Vollmer, the Nereid is pursued by a satyr and in her flight lets fall the grapes she has gathered upon the neighbouring waves (*sparsa est vindemia fluctu*). The satyr plunges after her into the sea.

It is difficult to believe that Statius is relating so definite an adventure. He is describing the nearness of the vineyards to the sea. In the first four lines, we have a creature of the sea among the vines (who in the third line takes a leafy vine-branch to brush the salt water from her eyes). In the last three lines the converse—creatures of the land plunging into the sea, not pursuing the Nereis of the first picture, but a sea-nymph now called Doris. '*Sparsa est vindemia fluctu*' is merely a touch added to the picture incidentally—the spray of the sea besprinkles the vintage or the mature grapes of autumn.

ib. 147.

tuque nurus inter longe . . .
 praecordia curae,
 non frontem vertere minae.

I mention this passage in order to discuss the use of the word 'nurus.'

It is agreed that there is a lacuna in the text, a line—probably only one—lost. Dr. Vollmer suggests that the missing words were like these :

tuque nurus inter [longe doctissima Polla,
 aequas mente virum:] longe praecordia curae,
 non frontem vertere minae,

and he thinks that the occurrence of 'longe' in both lines caused the disappearance of the intervening words. 'Longe praecordia curae,' he says, means 'longe absunt praecordia cura.' Surely this is quite impossible; it is not in the least borne out by the passage he quotes (III. iii. 26), where there is no genitive. Further, the abrupt statement in the indicative 'aequas mente virum' is not in the least like Statius' manner. Nor do I see any reason why Polla should be named. She has been named earlier in the poem.

One of the missing words can, I think, be recovered. Dictionaries say that 'nurus' can be used 'absolutely,' in the sense of a woman or young married woman. But this is just the sort of dictionary statement that must always be received with caution. Consider some of the passages :

- Ovid *A. A.* iii. 248 nurus *Parthas*.
 „ *Met.* ii. 366 nuribus gestanda *Latinis*.
 „ *Her.* xvi. 184 nec capient *Phrygias*
 atria nostra nurus ('matres'
 mentioned in the preceding line).
 Mart. IV. lxx. 2 atque inter *Latias*
 gloria prima nurus (in the pre-

ceding line 'felix, Nigrina,
 marito').

Lucan *Phars.* I. 164-5

cultus, gestare decoros
 vix nuribus, rapuere mares.

Here 'nuribus' does seem to stand alone : but is it not possible that 'nuribus' means 'their daughters-in-law'—the effeminate raiment is worn by men whose age makes it a greater offence?

There is a passage in Statius himself, *Silvae* II. vi. 24 :

optarent multum *Graiae* cuperentque *Latinae*
 sic peperisse nurus.

What evidence can be found for a quite 'absolute' use of 'nurus'? 'Nurus *Latinae*' means 'the women to whom we give our sons in marriage' as a Roman of mature age might say.

I infer from all this that one of the lost words was 'Latias' or 'Latinas.' It cannot be dispensed with. Without it, Polla would be described as the most accomplished of *her own* daughters-in-law.

Statius then may have written something like this :

Tuque nurus inter longe *praedocta* *Latinas*
 parque viro mentem, cui non *praecordia*
curae,
 non frontem vertere minae—

'Praedoctus' occurs in V. iii. 3 (where V. shows that Statius had a liking for compounds with 'prae'). We have two words sufficiently alike to mislead the scribe's eye and cause the loss of a line. And 'curae' becomes nom. pl.—'no cares embitter your heart, no anger furrows your brow.' It is of course impossible to say what came at the beginning of the second line: 'praedocta *Latinas*' is perhaps fairly probable as a supplement of the first.

W. R. HARDIE.

NOTES.

THE VOCATIVE OF *Θεός*.—In *C.R.* March 1904, p. 109, Prof. J. H. Moulton in his extremely useful collections gives an example of voc. *Θεέ* from *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 355: *Θε Βοήθει*. This is however only an example of restoration, which may of course probably be right, but cannot be regarded as authoritative. The abbreviation *Θε* may stand for *Θεός* as well as for *Θεέ*. The same formula is frequent: v.e.g. *Papers of Amer. Sch. Athens* I, p. 66, where the restoration is equally uncertain. I know at least one example where *Θεέ* in this epigraphic formula is written in full, but cannot find it at the present moment; but I think I have seen inscriptions also with *Θεός Βοήθει*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

ON JUVENAL vii. 222.—In *C.R.* March 1904, p. 128, Mr. Owen asks 'why on earth, should it (i.e. *mediae noctis hora* Juv. vii. 222) not stand as an exaggeration for late at night?' The answer is, of course, obvious: it does not and cannot in this case do so because Juvenal wrote in Italy about Italian life. It is really unnecessary to argue this point; working by lamplight among the Romans meant in the overwhelming number of cases work done before sunrise, as many passages, e.g. in Cicero's Letters, prove; and exceptions are clearly marked as exceptions by the situation and the context. Mr. Owen, I fear, 'writes as a teacher of English youth,' while on this point at least Mr. Housman is true to Roman

ways; and the Roman schoolmaster had few written exercises by his boys to correct, because for the most he *dictabat*. Of course Mr. Owen is quite right, when he 'declines to believe that Roman schoolmasters started lessons at midnight.' That is merely Juvenal's way: when he wants to express that the schools began early in the morning, he says they started from midnight. He never spoils a good *dictum* by injudicious adherence to exact truth; the stories and good sayings that circulate in University society exemplify this almost universal tendency of clover and witty mankind, as every reader of the *C.R.* will know; and Juvenal was familiar with what corresponded to University society, for he *declamabat ad medium aetatem*.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE PLURAL OF *res publica*.—With regard to the plural of *res publica* discussed recently in *C.R.* we may note the curious passage of Festus 206 M: Resp. multarum ciuitatum pluraliter dixit C. Gracchus in ea quam conscripsit de lege p. Eani (so MS.) et peregrinis cum ait: 'eae nationes cum aliis rebus, per auaritiam atque stultitiam res publicas suas amiserunt.' Apparently Verrius Flaccus thought the plural notable; otherwise he would not have quoted for it a bit of archaic Latin.

J. S. REID.

LATIN *s(s)* FROM *rs*.—One of the many phonological problems which have received fresh and suggestive treatment in Sommer's *Handbuch der Lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* is the history of primitive Italic *rs* in Latin, discussed on pages 270 ff. In this case, however, it seems to me that Sommer leaves something to be desired. His theory is this: *r* before *ss* was not lost in prehistoric times, as Brugmann has held until recently, for it is preserved in the usual spelling of the isolated *dorsum* from **dorssum*: but it was greatly weakened in this

position, as is shown by such spellings as *rus(s)us*, *pros(s)us*, *suasum*, *dossun*, etc. Compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel accompanied the process (here Sommer follows Brugmann), as is shown by the single *s* of *suasum* from **suarssum*. The spelling without *r* belonged especially to the earlier period. The retention of *ss* after a long vowel in *dossun* and *dossuarius* is probably due, he says, to a strengthening of *ss* on the loss of the preceding *r*.

The theory that a short vowel before *rs* was lengthened in Latin upon the loss or weakening of *r* is based on the spelling of *suasum* with one *s* in its single occurrence in Plautus, at *Truc.* 271, and in a comment of Festus (434 Th. d. P.) on that passage. Since *ss* had not been simplified after a long vowel in Plautus' time, and the word was apparently obsolete in Festus' day, this is very weak evidence. Perhaps Plautus wrote a single *s*, although he pronounced double *s*, and copyists who did not know this archaic word did not change *s* to *ss* when the writing of double consonants became obligatory. As evidence of a short vowel in this position we have *dossun* and its derivatives, *dossuarius*, *dossenius*, and *Dossenius*. The fact that *prosa* shows only one *s* after an original long vowel proves that we have, in the other words, not a 'strengthening of the *s*-sound,' but the ordinary preservation of *ss* after a short vowel. The Romance words, Italian *dosso*, French *dos*, etc., likewise indicate a short *o* for *dossun* (see G. Paris, *Romania*, x. 47).

Sommer's belief in a weakening rather than a loss of *r* before *ss* is based on the appearance of *r* in the 'isolated *dorsum*.' There is a possibility, however, that *dorsum* got its *r* from a fancied connection with *deorsum*; Festus, 48 Th. d. P., says: '*Dorsum* dictum quod pars ea corporis deversa sit *deorsum*.' It seems to me probable that *r* was lost before *ss* in prehistoric times, and quite certain that there was no compensatory lengthening connected with the process.

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REVIEWS.

SIDGWICK'S *SEPTEM c. THEBAS* AND *PERSAE OF AISCHYLOS*.

Aeschylus, Septem contra Thebas and *Persae* (separate vols.). With Introduction and Notes by A. SIDGWICK. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.

THESE two volumes exhibit the familiar merits of Mr. Sidgwick's editions of classical authors; the introductions are sufficiently full, and the notes are lucid, vigorous, and terse, and bear the unmistakable marks of accurate and refined scholarship. These qualities combine to make the books as useful and welcome as their predecessors. A deficiency which some of us regretted in the editor's *Virgil* is here supplied, and there is a satisfactory amount of that discussion of conflicting views and moot points which

contributes as much as anything to the making of a scholar. There is, however, one serious omission. Surely any but an elementary edition of a Greek play should contain a scheme and explanation of the lyric metres. It is of little use to write of strophic correspondence for students who do not understand what the term really means; and to expect them to appreciate the beauties of a poem of whose rhythmic structure they are ignorant, is but to court disappointment. In these editions all information on the subject is wanting, and some of the lyrics themselves are printed with the lines cut up into irrational lengths after the manner of the mss.

There are a good many passages which,

as I venture to think, need the editor's further consideration, and I select a few which are capable of fairly brief treatment.

Septem.

116. παντελής is taken to mean 'all-accomplishing,' a rendering both unlikely and unnecessary, as I endeavoured to show in an earlier number of the *C.R.* Even in *Ag.* 973, Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει, it is not necessary to give τέλειος an active sense. The poet is there merely playing on the syllable τελ- after his manner; and though we may, if we choose, suppose that he suggests the possibility of τέλειος meaning 'Accomplisher,' we may safely say that he could not have done so except in such a connexion.

134. ἐπ' αὖτις πόνων is read without remark either in the critical notes or the commentary. M gives φόνων, which makes good sense, though a far better one is obtained if with Verrall we read φονῶν (from φονάω). No rendering of ἐπ. πόνων is given, and since ἐπίλυσις cannot mean 'release,' it is difficult to see what meaning the phrase could have here.

205. The old interpretation of σίριγγες, as meaning 'naves,' is given, in spite of Verrall's convincing note. Is it quite fair to the poet to suppose that he would describe his warriors as going into battle with noisy, i.e. ungreated, axles?

251. ὃ συντέλεια, μὴ προδοῖς πυργώματα. The editor suggests that the gods are called a 'company' (he naturally avoids using the actual word) because, like the human συντελείς who jointly contribute to bear a public burden, they 'combine,' or should combine, to protect the city. Is not this a needless debasing of the poetic currency? Surely, if παντελής means (as I claim to have shown that it does) 'possessed of all power,' συντέλεια, as applied to the gods, will mean 'combination of powers.' 'O all ye powers of heaven' would be a fairly exact translation.

428 οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς | Ἔριν πέδοι σκήψασαν ἐμποδῶν σχεθεῖν. The MSS. reading is retained, and the omission of αὖν is defended by reference to the well-known use of the aor. inf. without the particle after verbs of prophesying, expectation, &c. But the form of the sentence and the insertion of the negative οὐδέ here make all the difference. The messenger clearly professes to be reporting the words οὐδ' αὖν εἰργάσθαι, which is a quite different thing from such sentences as πολλὰκι γὰρ οἱ εἶπε . . . νόσφ' ὑπ' ἀρ-

γάλη φθίσθαι and others quoted in the note. The further difficulty presented by the strange phrase τὴν Διὸς Ἔριν is hardly removed by saying "Ἔρις, "strife," is a well-known figure in the *Iliad*, and is called (4. 441) "the comrade and sister of murderous Ares," and may therefore be called τὴν Διὸς." Though we grant that Ἔρις was a daughter of Zeus, we must still ask why Kapaneus should expect her to take a side, and that against himself. Verrall's brilliant ἐπαί νῦν αὖν solves the whole puzzle.

433 ὀπλισμένη: 'bold use where the part. is transferred from the man to the torch.' I find it hard to believe in such unnatural 'transferences.' Would it not be better, as it is certainly simpler, to say that the verb is used in the extended sense 'borne as a weapon'?

653 ff. This is the point at which Eteokles, having heard that his brother is to attack the seventh gate, exclaims

ὦ θεομανές [τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στύγος].¹
ὦ πανδάκρυτον ἄμυν Οἰδίπου γένος.
ὦμοι, πατὴρ δὴ νῦν ἀραὶ τελεσφόροι.

It is in the highest degree remarkable that Mr. Sidgwick has not a word to say on the ethical and dramatic fitness (or unfitness) of this passionate outburst. Dr. Verrall in his edition pointed out to us several things in connexion with the structure of the play that are of prime importance for the proper estimation of it as a work of art. (1) It is very improbable that the title Ἐπὶ Θήβας was given to the play by Aischylos, and we may safely assume that seven was not the total number of the chiefs in the Argive army. (The Kadmeian chiefs, on the other hand, do appear to have been only seven in number, one for each gate.) (2) The spy in his first report, when he speaks of the seven captains whom he saw, tacitly implies that they were all Argives and makes no mention of Polyneikes, whom he would not recognise because it was dark. (3) We are therefore to understand that Eteokles has at that point no suspicion of his brother's intention to join in the assault. From these considerations and the absence of any hint to the contrary, Dr. Verrall concludes that the poet wishes to represent the meeting of the brothers (which each of them had every reason to avoid) as being absolutely unforeseen by Eteokles until the spy mentions Polyneikes in 632. He has twice left the

Dr. Verrall would reject the words in brackets; but their retention does not affect his argument.

stage to arrange for the defence of the gates, and twice been interrupted. Upon hearing the spy's second and detailed report, he assigns opponents severally to six of the hostile chiefs, guided in each case by the special fitness described, and thus has no choice but to meet the seventh opponent himself. With evident amazement and horror, which find natural expression in the cry, 'Oh, infatuated!' &c., he learns that this last is his own brother; but realising that the hand of fate is too strong for him, and stung to madness by his brother's definite challenge, he will not now draw back, and rushes to meet his doom. With this view we have a situation hardly surpassed in the ancient drama for impressiveness and power, and the play becomes a real tragedy instead of a mere succession of pictorial scenes. Mr. Sidgwick, however, adheres to the old view, though without adducing any arguments in support of it, and without countering those brought forward by Verrall. He writes, 'It is all foreseen from the first; there is no uncertainty, no change of purpose, no surprise, no struggle . . . The myth is simple, and the drama marches straight to its goal.' But if this is so, the poet would seem to have struck a false note, since Eteokles' impassioned language here, so far from being that of one who has foreseen all from the beginning, is that of one who has received a sudden and violent shock. If the encounter was looked forward to all along, it would have been natural to give at least some hint of the fact in one of the earlier scenes; as it is, Eteokles seems to be working himself into a fine passion somewhat too late and with an attempt at theatrical effect which falls flat. A mere actor, and such an actor, is what the hero of the play is supposed *not* to be, and we are entitled to expect from those who hold that all is foreseen, both some account of his mental and emotional attitude at this moment and some attempt to solve the dilemma that emerges here.

783 f. πατροφόνῃ χειρὶ τῶν | κρείσσω τέκνων δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη. Mr. Sidgwick accepts κρείσσοτέκνων, in's correction of the corrupt κρείσσω τέκνων of M; but for three reasons it cannot be right. (1) The sense obtained, 'eyes better than children,' is unsatisfactory; (2) the form κρείσσοτέκνος is impossible (it should be κρείσσονότεκνος); (3) if there were such a word as κρείσσονό(ν)τεκνος, the only meaning it could have would be 'possessing (or in some relation to) better children.'

788 καὶ σφε σιδαρονόμῳ διὰ χερί ποτε λαχεῖν | κτήματα. The editor's note is, 'καὶ NO. CLVIII. VOL. XVIII.

is "and"; it could not be "even" or "also" before enclitic: it is used here (with a certain looseness, but not unnaturally) as an explanation; "curses of bitter words, and that they should . . .," i.e. "namely." The difficulty suggested is surely imaginary. The force of καί, which clearly must mean 'also' if the passage is not to lose its point, passes over σφε to the rest of the sentence: 'that with a hand that wielded iron also (as did his) they should divide' etc. Cp. Pind. N. 8. 50 ἐπαοιδᾶς δ' ἀνὴρ | νόδων καὶ τις κάματον θῆκεν: P. 1. 52 καὶ τις ἐὼν | μεγαλάνωρ. Whatever may have been the original text of the corrupt passage which immediately precedes (783 f.), we may take it is as certain that the curse aptly fitted the supposed offence of the sons and that this aptness is pointed by the emphatic καί.

1030 τοιαύτ' ἔδοξεν τῷδε Καδμείων τέλος. Here again is a passage where the commentary makes no reference to an obvious difficulty. Mr. Sidgwick follows the mss. in reading τῷδε, which, as Verrall pointed out, cannot be right, since the Καδμείων τέλος were certainly not on the stage. Verrall proposed τῶδε ('concerning these two'). Soph. Ant. 211 σοὶ ταύτ' ἀρέσκει, παῖ Μενουκίως Κρέον, | τὸν τῇδε δύσνον καὶ τὸν εὐμενῇ πόλει, where edd. needlessly alter to κάς τόν, affords strong support to the correction, for both construction and subject are identical. Indeed the Soph. passage would appear to be imitated from this, and the two defend each other.

Persae.

13 νέον δ' ἄνδρα βαύζει. This passage has given trouble, and has even called forth the absurd correction νῶς δ' 'and the bride cries for her husband.' Mr. Sidgwick translates, 'mutters against the youthful king.' But βαύζειν can no more mean 'mutters against' than it can mean 'cries for.' The natural rendering, and it suits the context, seems to be 'murmurs that the chief is young.'

93 ff.

δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ τίς ἀν-
ήρ θνατὸς ἀλύζει;
τίς ὁ κραιπνῷ ποδὶ πηδήματος
εὐπετέος ἀνάσσω;
5 φιλόφρων γὰρ σαίνουσα τὸ
πρῶτον παράγει
βροτὸν εἰς ἀρκύστατα τόθεν
οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ θνατὸν ἀ-
λύξαντα φυγεῖν.

This is the mss. text. I have improperly chopped up the lines into lengths of two

feet to suit the size of these columns ; but properly each pair of the first six lines, and the last three, should be printed as one. Agreeing with J. H. H. Schmidt that the whole passage forms an epode, not a strophe and antistrophe, I take the construction of the rhythmic period to be 22. 22. 22. 222 ἐπ.,—λύξαντα φυγεῖν being a μέγεθος ἐπωδικόν. Schmidt accepting the changes in the text now about to be considered has no epode at the end of the period, but my arrangement is of course as metrically sound as his. Mr. Sidgwick and others, believing that all after φιλόφρων corresponds to δολόμητιν ἀνάσσων as antistrophe to strophe, and also apparently maintaining the now exploded notion that such correspondence must be syllabic, do great violence to the text. In 95 f. Mr. Sidgwick reads πῆδημα τόδ' εὐπετῶς ἀνάσσων, which he regards as a 'necessary emendation,' because 'lord of a leap is too grotesque.' 'Lord' here would indeed be grotesque, but 'master of a leap' is not so, and the mss. text is amply supported by κώπης ἀναξ (378), ἀναξ ψευδῶν (*Andr.* 447), and ὄχων ἀνάσσειν, (*Hel.* 1267). The strangeness of the phrase εὐπετῶς ἀνάσσων, appears to have escaped notice: εὐπετῶς must describe the manner in which the leaper comes down, and is hardly a suitable adverb with which to qualify a participle that means 'springing up.' (It need scarcely to be said that this objection cannot be retorted upon πῆδημα εὐπετές, since πῆδημα describes the whole leap, of which the coming down is an important part.) In 97 ff. Mr. Sidgwick accepts Seidler's παρασαίνει for σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει, which is supposed to be a scholium on παρασαίνει, and Hermann's ἄρκνας Ἄρα for εἰς ἀρκίστατα; and after Robortello and Wecklein reads ὑπερθέιν νιν ἄνατον ἐξαλίξαι. Now all these changes, however ingenious, are nothing less than wanton, until the necessity of strophic correspondence has been proved. So far as I am aware, this has not been attempted; and J. H. H. Schmidt, the great master of the subject, regards the passage as an epode, as has been already said. Mr. Sidgwick brands σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει as 'scholium a poeta longe alienum.' The justice of the last four words is a matter of taste: but anyone who regards the mss. text as a scholium must account for the unnecessary words τὸ πρῶτον: if παρασαίνει is original, the natural scholium would be simply σαίνουσα παράγει. It remains to justify the mss. text by showing that it is irreproachable from the metrical point of view. The Ionic foot, whose prevailing form is _ _ _ , is capable of almost

every conceivable variety, and the following all occur: _ _ _ _ _ | _ _ _ _ _ | _ _ _ _ _ | _ _ _ _ _ | _ _ _ _ _ | _ _ _ _ _ . Instances of these varieties are *Bacch.* 396 | ἄν μέγαλα δι | ὥκειν: *Theb.* 707 τὰν | ὤλεσίοικ | ον: *Pers.* 86 | τοξό-
δαμνον | Ἄρη: *Bacch.* 575 ἔδα | σιν καλλίστ |
οισι λιπ | αίνειν: *Ag.* 458 προδίκ | οἰς Ἄτρείδ |
αἰς (_ _ _). In *Aisch. Supp.* 1032, *P.V.* 404, and elsewhere, we have even _ > _ _ ,
e.g. | ἐνδείκνυσιν |, where the second syllable is an irrational short. The scansion of 96 is | εὐπετέως ἄν | ἄσσων |. That of 97 ff. is φῖλῳ | φρῶν γὰρ σαῖν | οὐσᾶ τῷ ||
πρῶτον πᾶρᾶγ | ἔ || βροτόν: εἰς ἄρ | κῦσταῖᾶ
τῶθεν || οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπ | ἐρ θνᾶτον ᾶ || λῦξαντᾶ
φῶγ | εἰν ||.

131 ff. τὸν ἀμφίζευκτον ἐξαμείψ | as ἀμ-
φοτέρας ἄλιον | πρῶνα κοινὸν αἶας. The objec-
tions to the view that *Aisch.* is speaking
here of two headlands, one on each side of
the straits, are patent from the translation
given: 'having passed the sea-cape of either
land, yoked in union.' This is strictly un-
intelligible. Nor is it likely that the bridge,
not being a suspension bridge, did connect
two headlands; a shelving beach was no
doubt chosen. Mr. Sidgwick adds, 'The
πρῶνα is certainly neither the straits (schol.)
nor the bridge (Blouf.).' Is it so certain
that the schol. is wrong? Anyone hearing
the words as far as ἀμφοτέρας would expect
the object of ἐξαμείψας to be some word or
words describing the straits. Upon hearing
ἄλιον he would be still more sure of this;
and when πρῶνα was uttered he would easily
accept ἄλιον πρῶνα as a fine metaphor not
too bold for *Aisch.* Indeed the mere posi-
tion of ἄλιον (before πρῶνα) is in itself fatal
to the other view. It cannot be a descrip-
tive epithet, but is deliberately so placed
to prepare us for the metaphor. This inter-
pretation also throws light on 879 ff. νᾶσοί
θ' αἰ κατὰ πρῶν' ἄλιον κ.τ.λ. Having once
established the metaphor for the waters of
the Aegean, running as they do to a point
northwards, he feels that he can describe
the islands as lying κατὰ πρῶν' ἄλιον, 'along
the promontory of waters,' and the emphatic
position of ἄλιον is no longer necessary. If
πρῶνα be taken here as denoting some head-
land or cape, the passage becomes as unin-
telligible as the former.

135 ἀβροπειθεῖς. The editor's translation
in the note here is 'tenderly mourning,' and
in the Introduction, where the word is
mentioned, he renders it 'revelling in
sorrow.' His note on ἀβρόγοι (541) is 'lit,
in luxury of sorrow,' i.e. unchecked, weak
abandonment to grief.' But surely ἀβρο—
can import neither tenderness nor revelling

nor abandonment; it denotes the artificial refinements and elaborations of Asiatic mourning, such as the poet endeavours to reproduce at the end of the play. Similarly ἀβροβάται in 1072 cannot mean 'softly stepping,' probably referring to the soft Persian shoe; ἀβρός is not used of material softness. The first part of the compound has no doubt the same signification as in ἀβροπειθής and ἀβρόχοος, and suggests posturing and the performance of certain conventional movements of a refined and artistic nature by the mourners as they move off.

275 and 283. We have here two more instances of unwarranted alteration of the text in order to produce syllabic correspondence between strophe and antistrophe. In 275 the mss. all give σώματα, a trochaic dactyl (— ◡) corresponding to βέλεα in the strophe. This is a perfectly legitimate correspondence, though it is not common. Mr. Sidgwick, however, writes, 'μέλεα, a reading found in the margin of a late MS., is no doubt right for the unmetrical σώματα of the mss.: it is the usual case of a gloss supplanting the true reading.' Similarly in 283 Wecklein's ἦνυσαν (ἔθυσαν codd.) is accepted because there is a trochaic dactyl in the antistrophe.

428 ἕως κελαινῆς νυκτὸς ὄμμ' ἀφείλετο (the shouting and lamentation). There should have been a note on ὄμμα νυκτός, if only to prevent the student referring to L. and S., who absurdly take the phrase to mean the moon! It is of course a periphrasis for 'night.'

568 M gives τοῖ δ' ἄρα πρωτόμοροι, φεῦ, and in the antistr. (576) γναπτόμενοι δ' αἰὲ δεινά (no doubt for δεινὰ). Since no fault can be justly found either with the language or the metre, the alterations πρωτόμοροι and δὲ δεινά, φεῦ are needless.

616 τῆς τ' αἰὲν ἐν φέλλοισι θαλλούσης βίον ξανθῆς ἐλαίας. The note is, 'the acc. is probably "extended cognate," where instead of the strict cognate θάλλος is substituted the allied idea βίον.' Is it not time we abolished the terms 'cognate' and 'quasi-cognate' or 'extended cognate.'? 'Cognate' does not describe the construction of the acc., and 'quasi-cognate' implies that the 'cognate acc.' is a type from which the quasi-cognates were subsequently derived. The assumption is highly improbable; for while the 'quasi-cognates' are countless, the 'cognates' are extremely rare; so that it would be more reasonable to regard the former as the type of the latter. And this is doubtless the

true account. They are all simply adverbial accusatives and are sufficiently described as such. The 'cognates,' so far from forming a type, are no more than a small class of adverbials which happen to be cognate to the governing verb.

887 ἀγχιάλους. The translation 'seaward' is not required by the context, and would seem to be an impossible signification for the word, which apparently means no more than 'island.' The warrant for its application to islands is probably to be found in the fact that no part of any island then well known to the Greeks is any great distance from the sea.

900 Hermann's ἐκράτει for ἐκράτυνε of the mss. is read without remark. There appears to be no ground for the change; the metre certainly does not call for it.

926 πολλοὶ φῶτες . . . πᾶν γὰρ φύστις | μυριάς ἀνδρῶν ἐξέφθινται. There can be little doubt that γὰρ φύστις is corrupt, but Franz's ταρφῆς τις, which has been accepted, cannot be right. The τις, which the editor ignores, rendering by 'countless myriads,' is intolerable. τις, which like the Latin *quidam*, modifies the force of the adj. to which it is attached (ep. Soph. *Al.* 1266 ὡς ταχεῖά τις βροτοῖς | χάρις διαρρεῖ) cannot go with ταρφῆς since that word is already strengthened by πᾶν. If, on the other hand, we take it with μυριάς, the meaning must be 'about ten thousand men very tightly packed (in Hades).' This would be Aristophanic rather than Aeschylean, and reads like a quip on Ξέρξῃ "Αἰδοῦ σάκτορι Περσῶν immediately preceding. σάκτορι touches on the verge of the permissible in boldness, and for that very reason the poet would not at once make it positively comic by going on to speak of the dead as a πᾶν ταρφῆς τις μυριάς.

945 λαοπαθία σέβων may be accepted provisionally as a probable correction of the unmetrical λαοπαθῇ τε σεβίζων (the strophic line is κακοφατῖδα βοάν), but there is no reason for regarding the syllable λα- as short. We have simply another instance of a trochaic dactyl corresponding to a tribrach (see above, on 275), and the meaning will be 'suffered by the people.' Wecklein regards λαο- (which he scans, λαῶ-) as a resolved form of the intensive λα-. The likelihood of this we need not discuss. Both the suggestion and the avoidance of the obvious meaning of λαοπαθία are due solely to the groundless belief that a trochaic dactyl cannot correspond to a tribrach. Mr. Sidgwick adopts Wecklein's view, though naturally 'with much doubt.'

M. A. BAYFIELD.

SOME RECENT EDITIONS OF PLAYS OF ARISTOPHANES.

The Thesmophoriazusae. By B. B. ROGERS, M.A. London: Bell & Sons, 1904. Pp., 220. xlii. 7s. 6d.

Aves: edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN. Lugduni Batavorum: Sijthoff. 1902. F. 4.25.

Lysistrata: the same, 1903. F. 2.90.

Thesmophoriazusae: the same, 1904.

MR. ROGERS' new volume has all the merits of his last (*C.R.* xvi. 354), shrewdness and freshness in the commentary, thoroughness in the critical notes, ease and spirit in the verse translation. We are not likely ever to see the *Thesmophoriazusae* revived at Oxford or Cambridge, though I observe that Prof. Van Leeuwen thinks even the *Lysistrata* might easily be adapted for performances *coram matronis castisque puellis*; but it is one of the poet's most amusing pieces and we may be thankful accordingly for a really good English edition, not to mention the English rendering. In the latter Mr. Rogers has caught the Aristophanic spirit excellently. It is freer than other versions of his, he tells us, because it was executed when he had no text of Aristophanes with him and was obliged to trust to his memory. But in so great an Aristophanist memory was not much at fault. The familiar lines beginning the women's parabasis were perhaps more happily given by Mr. Collins in his *Aristophanes*, but that translation was a good deal freer and only a scrap.

Mr. Rogers introduces a few new readings of his own which deserve mention; in 163 διεκινούνθ' ὠδέ πως for the MS. διεκίνων Ἰωνικῶς: 967 ὥς ἐπ' ἔργον ᾠδικόν: 984 πάντως δὲ ἡστυεύμεν for ἡστυέομεν δὲ πάντως: 987 φῶδης for ὠδ': 1041 φεύγουσαν for φεύγουσαν. (I doubt whether his incidental suggestion on 685 that Juvenal in 13.1 wrote *extemplo quodcumque malum* will commend itself generally.) It is doubtful whether he and Van Leeuwen are right in regarding the servant-girl of 280 foll. as imaginary. Why should she be? On the other hand he adopts too easily and without a word of warning the name *Mnesilochus* for the κηδεστής, though this as the Dutch editor recognises rests on insufficient evidence and there is difficulty in admitting Euripides' father-in-law when Euripides himself was a man of seventy.

In a valuable introduction Mr. Rogers contends very plausibly for two points which

would clear up perplexities in the play. He argues that it should be assigned to the year 410, not 411, and that the scholium on *Frogs* 53, giving 412 for the *Andromeda*, which is used to fix the *Thesmophoriazusae*, must be wrong. It is somewhat bold to set aside the scholiast's positive statement, but he certainly makes out a good case, including an interpretation of the obscure line 809, which Van Leeuwen is reduced to omitting altogether in a very unconvincing way. His treatment of the difficulty about ἡ μέση in 80 is also much more attractive than Van Leeuwen's. The latter actually alters ἐπεὶ τρίτη ἐστὶ to ἐπεὶ ἐσθ' ἐορτή with an indifference to palaeographical probability which he is rather too apt to show. Such a corruption is most unlikely. Rogers looks rather for an explanation of the phrase ἡ μέση, and finds it in the possibility that ἡ μέση does not mean the middle day of the celebration, which probably lasted four days, but 'the intermediate day between the sorrow of the κάθοδος and the joy of the καλλιγένεια', between Proserpine's descent to Hades and her return to earth.

Prof. Van Leeuwen's *Thesmophoriazusae* has by a curious accident appeared simultaneously with Rogers' edition; the *Birds* and the *Lysistrata* a little longer ago. Showing possibly slight signs of haste here and there, they are yet very serviceable and welcome volumes, and with his earlier ones bring him well in sight of a complete Aristophanes. *Plutus*, *Ecclesiazusae*, and *Peace* remain to do. It is naturally on the *Birds* that he seems to have spent most pains. In the preface he refuses to acquiesce in any serious or semi-serious view of the play and its meaning, mentioning among other commentators *Merryum emunctae naris interpretem, qualem ipsum eius nomen promittit*, whom he highly esteems but will not follow in thinking any moral or religious lesson intended. *Quichoto et Tartarino, non Ephialtis Enceladisque affinis est Pisetaernus*. This seems to me thoroughly sound, but why not apply the same principle to the *Lysistrata*, in which he wishes to invest the women of Athens with a half-serious dignity, *dignae quae armorum impio strepitui molliores intermiscerent sonos, dignae quibus etiam in scena suus tribueretur locus*? One would have thought the *Lysistrata* the last play to be treated in this way, and, as he himself says of the *Birds*,

how the poet would have laughed at such interpretations! In his preface to the latter play, written in flowing but curiously modern Latin, another point of interest is an ingenious parallel between the fall of Alcibiades and the fall of Parnell.

He introduces into the text, as in the earlier volumes, a good many emendations of his own and of other recent or still living scholars, such as Dr. Blaydes and Herwerden. It has been suggested above that his own are sometimes too daring. A few of them may be given here without any attempt to distinguish good from less good, what seems admissible from what can hardly be entertained. But I doubt whether any of them should have been actually placed in the text. Suggesting a change as possible or even likely is one thing; making it is another.

Birds 396 εὐπρεπῶς for δημοσίᾳ: 468 καὶ γάρ for καὶ τοῦ: 718 γάμον αὐτόν: 842 ἐκκά-θευδε: 1247 καὶ ἀμφικίονας δόμους for καὶ δόμους Ἀμφίονος.

Lys. 312 πόνου or κόπου for καπνοῦ: 449 ἐπιλέλοιπεν ὁ στρατός: 579 ξυνάγειν for ξαίνειν: 988 ἀλέος with digamma for παλέος or παλαιός: 1099 ἐσεῖδον with digamma for κ' ἶδον (but in Attic at any rate εἰσορᾶν is a poetical word): after 1150 an entirely new verse. The proposal to make 1273 foll. and 1295 foll. change places certainly deserves consideration.

Thesm. 21 θεῖον: 23 προσμάθοιμ' ἔτι | μὴ <παντάσσι> χωλὸς εἶναι τῷ σκέλῃ: τῶν θ' ἱματίων ἀμελούςας for τ.θ'ι. ἀποδύσας in which the genitive is strange: 811 κλέψονσα: 857 λευρόν, which he has forgotten to justify in the commentary.

On line 753 of the *Birds* he makes a suggestion substantially identical with one of my own which appeared in this *Review* xv. 388. Instead of

εἰ μετ' ὀρνέθων τις ὑμῶν, ὦ θεαταί, βούλεται
διαπλέκειν ζῶν ἡδέως τὸ λοιπόν, ὡς ἡμᾶς ἴτω,

in which I pointed out the difficulty, I suggested something like

εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ θεαταί, βούλεται τὰς ἡμέρας
κ.τ.λ.

and Mr. Van Leeuwen now suggests

εἴ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ θεαταί, διαπλέκων εὖ τὸν βίον
βούλεται ζῆν ἡδέως κ.τ.λ.

As far as I know, the difficulty had not been pointed out before, and it is therefore rather remarkable that two scholars should call attention to it independently within a year. It must, however, have been seen from time to time by intelligent readers, and therefore I do not at all call in question the fact of Mr. Van Leeuwen's having detected it himself. But it would have been more in accordance with usage, had he referred to my observations, which, accidentally no doubt, preceded his. That they were known to him appears from his referring elsewhere to other notes of mine published at the same time. What he writes about the name trochilus as given to the bird that appears at line 60 is also identical with a protest of mine against such a misunderstanding of the poet's joke.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF HOMER.

Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée. VICTOR BÉRARD.
Tome I, 590 pages; Tome II, 630 pages.
240 illustrations and maps. 50 francs.
Paris: Armand Colin, 1902, 1903.

M. BÉRARD is known chiefly as the most resolute and extreme champion of Phoenician influence on the development of civilization in Greece. But the Phoenician theory is at present unpopular and has been relegated by most scholars to a vague background of temporary oblivion. There is therefore some danger that the large work which we have to review may suffer from its associa-

tion with philo-Phoenicianism, especially as M. Bérard unites the exposition of his Homeric views with his championship of the Phoenicians, and makes it his main purpose to press Homeric explanations and illustrations into the service of the Phoenicians. But there is no essential and necessary connexion between what (as we believe) ought to be the fundamental idea in the geographical study of Homer and the Phoenician theories. Part of the book is a study of the *Odyssey* from the geographical point of view, and as such seems to the present reviewer to be extremely

important, often full of suggestion and almost always interesting. As to the Phœnician side of the book, we shall say as little as possible. We should say nothing, but M. Bérard will not permit that, for it is hardly possible to touch any detail, without finding that it is made to teach a Phœnician lesson. We grant freely that the tendency of the present day scholarship is probably too strongly anti-Phœnician (or rather non-Phœnician) and that a reaction is likely to take place; also that Phœnician influence on Greece (at a period which now no longer seems so ancient and so close to the beginning of Greek civilization as it once did, and as it does still to M. Bérard) was great and is worthy of careful study, and that the reaction against the present anti-Phœnicianism is likely, when it comes, to carry men too far (as it now seems to us to carry M. Bérard too far).

What is really of the highest importance in this book is that it is an illustrated guide-book to the country (or rather the seas and coasts) of the *Odyssey*. The present reviewer had once the good fortune to spend four days at Troy, and there conceived the idea that such a book for the *Iliad* ought to be undertaken by some competent scholar. It seemed to him that the best hope for progress in the Homeric question lay in the chance that some good scholar, saturated with Homer, perfectly familiar with the *Iliad* from years of love and study, should spend some months (or years) in making himself equally familiar with and fond of the country where the *Iliad* was transacted (ideally and in a sense actually). Illuminative and creative thoughts must spring from this kind of study. The scene lies where the Greek sailors, accustomed to the calculable winds and the easy navigation of the *Aegean Sea*, must necessarily rest before tempting the path that led to the stormy and uncertain waters of the *Euxine*. It was the threshold of a new world. The opening of the *Euxine* to Greek navigation was as epoch-making an event in Greek history as the entrance on the *Atlantic* and the free crossing of it was to modern European history; and the discovery of the trans-*Euxine* lands transformed Greek development as thoroughly as the discovery of the trans-*Atlantic* world transformed the European world. The Greek sailors must halt on the Trojan side of the way to the *Euxine*. The opposite Thracian coast was an impossible resting place for them. The case is reversed at the entrance to the *Bosphorus*, where the European side

is far more advantageous: in the *Bosphorus*, it is true, the Megarians, blinded by their experience along the south coast of the *Hellespont* and *Propontis*, could be deceived at first into a preference for *Chalcedon*; but not even the blind could choose the Thracian Chersonese before the plain of *Troy*.

Till one sees *Troy* one hardly realizes to how great a degree its significance for the Greeks lay in its position guarding the path to the *Black Sea*. It must be won by the Greeks, before they could sail freely up toward the *Euxine* and their history could enter on a new era. It had been the key to open to them the new world; and on that account the scene of the great Greek Epic was necessarily laid there by the national consciousness. No part of the ever-divided land of Greece could be the scene of the true Greek Epic. Only in contest with a foreign foe could the Greeks feel themselves a single nation; and only on a foreign soil could the national Epic be placed, if it were laid on the land at all.

But the genius of Hellenism, like its fairest Goddess, was born on the sea, not on the land; like its greatest God it was nursed amid the clash of weapons and the sounds and dances of war. It was reared on the lap of that loose association of states and tribes, whose joint efforts or competitive ardour had first found the way into the *Euxine* and opened a new life and a new world to the Greeks. For such a race a national Epic whose scene lay entirely on the land was not enough, even though the land was at the gate of the *Black Sea*. An Epic of the Greek seas was needed; and this Epic M. Bérard has studied with patient skill. In this book he describes the localities of the Epic, and places them before our eyes in the photographs taken by Madame Bérard.

The remarks which have been made about the Trojan land and the *Iliad* are liable to convey a false impression as to M. Bérard's method. He did not explore the seas and coasts, and find himself gradually led to certain views about the geography of the *Odyssey*. On the contrary, in the course of his annual lectures on the historical geography of antiquity in Paris, at the *École des Hautes Études*, beginning in 1896, he reasoned out step by step the geography of the *Odyssey*. His reasoning was outlined in an earlier series of articles on *la Méditerranée Phénicienne*, 1895-6, and was gradually formulated in his professorial lectures; and the spirit of the reasoning had been already contained in his treatise

de l'Origine des Cultes Arcadiens, 1894, where most things find a Phœnician origin. When the geography of Homer was completed and formulated, he started with Mme. Bérard to make afresh the voyages of Ulysses, and did so in the months March-June 1901. The spirit of the book, therefore, comes not from the localities, the winds and the hills and the waves, but from the study and the lecture-room. Yet a considerable part of the book is remarkably fresh and vivid, and does not smell of the lamp, but breathes of the fresh air and the open life of the Greeks, to a degree which seems hardly consistent with that origin, until we remember that M. Bérard spent three years at the French school of Athens. 1887-90, and wandered far over Greek and half-Greek lands and seas. But still it remains true that the book is a theory framed apart from the localities, and in one case at least we cannot but feel that the localities have been forced to the theory, and do not sufficiently suit the poem. The identification of the island of Calypso rests entirely on theories of mythological genealogy, slippery explanations of myths, and hazardous etymology; it is all work of the study, and the most dreary part of the whole two volumes. Then finally the island which we have been accustomed to regard, whether rightly or wrongly, as a lofty massive island rising conspicuous out of the open sea (like Samos in appearance, or Samothrace, comparisons which M. Bérard will appreciate), with forests of tall trees and pleasant meadows and four fountains flowing in various courses, is fixed precisely as the small bare rocky islet of Perejil near Ceuta, a bold rock, but so environed by higher lands that it can hardly be distinguished against them at a little distance even in clear weather, and was with difficulty found by a ship searching for it (I. 271, 274). M. Bérard discusses the meaning of ὀμφαλὸς θαλάσσης I. p. 190, and refuses to admit that it carries with it any implication of a broad level surface of the sea surrounding the island which is compared to the ὀμφαλός, though the ὀμφαλοί on a shield (which he appeals to in support of his view) certainly imply the broad level surface on which the prominences stand forth. But even if we concede that the islet close in under the mountains of the coast might be called ὀμφαλὸς θαλάσσης, yet the tall trees which grew on the border of the isle, alder and poplar and fragrant cypresses and pine-trees that reach to heaven, and the soft meadows seem not to be found on Perejil, which is

described as rock covered with low vegetation, bushes, or stunted trees, wild-olive and pine, and absolutely devoid of fresh water. M. Bérard tries to explain away these discrepancies: the fountains are discovered on the adjoining mainland, and the trees have disappeared from all these coasts. But on this uninhabited and uninhabitable island, it seems more probable that trees would be one of the most permanent features of the landscape. The flowers of Calypso, the violets and a plant which may well be the σέλινον, are there in luxuriant abundance. The cave is there on the east coast at the head of a narrow creek, which boats can with care enter. But M. Bérard takes no notice, if I remember rightly, of a serious discrepancy: it is impossible to get into or away from the cave except by sea: there is no communication between the cave and the rest of the island except by taking boat and landing again on the north-west side. M. Bérard, unfortunately, was unable to visit Perejil himself; and we are dependent on the description of a friend who made the visit for him. Now if, as M. Bérard thinks, the Phœnicians used this creek as a secret refuge for their piratical craft, they would certainly have cut a means of communication by steps in the perpendicular rocks, which line the creek on all sides except the mouth; and these could not disappear. Ulysses seems to have been on an island where food for men grew, as well as the food of goddesses, and where he could go out and in freely on foot, cut down great trees and build a raft.

But even those who think that the *Odyssey* mirrors to us real voyages of a primitive navigation (in which opinion the present reviewer is entirely on M. Bérard's side), may still justifiably believe that Calypso lived partly in fairy-land, and seek for her island in no single spot on earth or sea. But if we must seek for her home, I should not look so far away from the Straits of Messina. Ulysses drifted on a mast in ten days from the Straits to the Isle of Calypso, and sailed back from the isle, keeping the Bear on his left hand, for eighteen days till he came within sight of Corfu, and then after the storm destroyed his vessel, a north wind was sent by Athena to blow him to the coast. It is hardly possible to avoid the inference that he drifted in a northerly direction from Charybdis (a south wind had driven him thither) to Calypso, and later he sailed south-east to Corfu, for Italy was then an island, as is well known to mythologists. The real evidence, therefore, does not favour

Perejil: only Phoenician theorizing speaks on its behalf.

The feature of the book that disappoints the present reviewer is that this Epic of early Greece is not regarded as a poem of Greek origin. It is a story of the Phoenician sailors, a nautical guide to the Phoenician voyages, versified by an Ionic poet at the court of the Neleid kings of Miletus about 850 B.C. Its date is determined by the argument that it must have been composed before the Greeks had any knowledge of the western seas, and must therefore be earlier than the voyage of the first Greek sailor west of the strait that separates Ithaca from the Peloponnesus: the knowledge of those western seas shown in the *Odyssey*, though extremely accurate, is all gained from Phoenician sources. This argument reveals the wide gulf that separates M. Bérard's point of view from that of the present reviewer. We look from sides so opposite to one another that we cannot get the same general impression, nor can one of us sympathize in the train of reasoning that commends itself to the other.

But the study of the localities, and of the details of the poem in relation to them, is, in general, most delightful, and full of highly ingenious application of observations gathered from very varied written sources. In order to get the most favourable impression of the book—and it is always wise to take an author at his best when one is beginning to read him—probably the way is to start with Book v. *Nausikaa*, vol. I, p. 481. The study of the voyage of Ulysses from the island of Calypso is extremely good, clear, well thought out, and instructive as regards the character of winds and voyages in the Mediterranean and Ionian seas. One feels after reading it that one understands the story of the voyages very much better, whether or not one is convinced that Ulysses sailed from Perejil to Corfu.

M. Bérard represents a certain school of thought and method: in some respects good, in other respects quite old-fashioned: his dislike for the fancies of the archaeologists, and his contempt for the primitive and unscientific character of their reasoning is expressed in some very amusing pages, I pp. 19–24. To him the only reason why a Mycenaean people has been placed by them before Hellenic history began, or at its dawn, is (as he says frankly and apparently with full belief) that Mycenae chanced to be excavated before Pylos, Ithaca, Knossos, and Gortyna.

Luckily, since he wrote those pages Knossos has been excavated, and the Mycenaean people remain planted more firmly where the archaeologists had placed them, and the history of the Mediterranean civilization is being unfolded by them before our eyes in a long panorama, in which the Phoenicians will in good time find their proper place, important, but far less conspicuous than that assigned to them by M. Bérard. But he has too little patience with the scholars who examine the shapes of helmets and weapons, and admires a little too much perhaps those who can distinguish the races of wine-drinkers from the races of beer-drinkers (I p. 21). In our opinion such tempting and easy generalizations are often premature, a warning rather than a model.

As to the innumerable derivations of topographical names from Phoenician words or roots, the reviewer is entirely incompetent to criticize or to offer any opinion. The easy method of setting them aside as too numerous, or from some other vague general reason, would be merely the refuge of self-satisfied ignorance, and wholly unfair to a scholar like M. Bérard. It must be left to Semitic scholars to give an opinion on them.

The 'topology' which plays so large a part in the book would be a tempting subject to dilate on; but it is difficult to enter upon it within the brief limits of such a notice as this. M. Bérard traces in great detail the history of the changes of site of towns, and the reasons why at different times and in different states of manners and society, different kinds of site are favoured. By the thoroughness with which he has done this, he has set before the reader a wonderful and intensely interesting picture of the primitive Mediterranean world, and has illustrated it from later voyages, later history and later piracy, with admirable skill and a wide range of knowledge. But the picture is dominated by the 'idol' of the Phoenician; and almost everything turns into an instance of the all-pervading activity of the race, to whom the Greeks owe their knowledge, their navigation, and their Homer.

If we could only have had the *Odyssean* geography in one volume, and the Phoenicians in another, then every reader could have taken his choice. But it is cheap and unfair to blame M. Bérard for not having written a book that he did not intend or desire to write. He has written, not 'the Geography of the *Odyssey*,' but 'the

Phoenicians and the *Odyssey*,' and we can cordially thank him for incidentally creating for us a system of *Odyssean* naval geography, in relation to winds, channels, and currents, while he was pursuing the object which he seems to have considered more important, but which many English readers will probably consider a quite secondary one. And he himself, when he proceeds to sum up his work, II p. 544, speaks as if the demonstration of the truth and reality of every scene in the *Odyssey* were the chief object of the two volumes.

This review may be concluded, as it was begun, from the *Iliad*. We want a real topographical study of the *Iliad* such as M. Bérard has thrown in along with his Phœnician studies. But it must be done on the spot. The weaknesses of M. Bérard's work seem to spring from its having been sketched out and in great part composed in the study. It would be even more fatal to write the geographical study of the *Iliad* in Europe, in Paris, or Oxford, or Berlin. Knowledge, love, and abundance of time are needed. Everyone who has had even a tourist's run to Hissarlik and Bunarbashi feels that he has learned much, and will henceforth see the *Iliad* in a new and fresher light. For example, the present reviewer starting from Tchanak Kalesi for Troy, chanced to meet Mr. Curzon, then newly elected a Fellow of

All Souls, now Lord Curzon; and they beguiled the long ride by discussing the sites and setting in order their knowledge. They found themselves of opposite opinions in regard to the claims of Bunarbashi and Hissarlik and on several other points. After visiting the two sites they were in entire agreement.

But again after three more days, spent in riding over the plain on many lines in order to gain a clear idea of the relation of the parts, the present reviewer found that it was an infinitely more difficult thing than he had imagined to get such an idea. The beginning should be to map the plain for oneself. Thereafter one would read the admirable passage in 'Homer and the Epic,' in which Mr. Andrew Lang explains the situation where Parthenopæus was killed (if one does not know it exactly from memory), and start one's topographical investigations in the now familiar country by trying to identify the precise spot. From that beginning one would gradually work out the whole topography and along with it a new view of the *Iliad*; but it would take time. Few holidays would be to the reviewer more delightful than to act as the squire and armourbearer of the scholar who is to achieve that great adventure.

W. M. RAMSAY.

VAHLEN'S *ENNIUS*.

Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae: iteratis curis recensuit JOHANNES VAHLEN. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. MCMIII. Pp. cxxiv, 326. Mk. 16.

DR. VAHLEN's new edition of Ennius is far more than a revision of the edition of 1854. The whole has been practically rewritten, amplified by the addition of material collected during the intervening period, and not infrequently remodelled in the light of riper judgment. The result, whatever view may be taken of the theories which are put forward as to the nature and contents of the original poems, is a storehouse of practically all the available material which can be brought to bear on Ennius, which must be referred to by any future student of the remains. Little will be found in the way of comment on the style and thought or historical accuracy of Ennius; but

almost every possible detail, on which such comment may be based. The 332 pages of the first volume have now become 530 and it will perhaps be the most convenient method for criticism to consider the main features of difference between the two editions.

The most substantial but least controversial addition is the first part of the introduction, *Historia Ennii*, in which Dr. Vahlen, after putting together such evidence as can be gleaned with regard to the poet's life and indicating his inferences, passes in review practically all extant mentions of the poet, allusions to his works and echoes of his phraseology from Terence to Ekkehart and concludes with a consideration of the modern editions from the Stephanus volume of 1564 to Ribbeck's third edition of the dramatic fragments in 1898. The 'life of Ennius' is a good example of what can be made of rather

insufficient material and Dr. Vahlen shows sound judgment in what he believes and disbelieves in his authorities: he ingeniously suggests, for instance, that the somewhat improbable statement of Jerome that he lived on the Aventine *contentus unius ancillae ministerio* arose from the prominent part played by the *ancilla* in the well known story of Ennius and Nasica. The literary history of Ennius' works which follows gives an interesting view of the process of mutilation which the poems have suffered and in dealing with the modern editions Dr. Vahlen shows the methods employed for the purpose of re-integration.

In the second part of his Introduction Dr. Vahlen has revised the *Quaestiones Ennianae* of the first edition. He deals, as there, with what he believes to have been the contents of the various books and gives his reasons for assigning the extant fragments to their respective places. His later treatise follows the lines and for the most part the wording of the earlier, but in many places adds new support for his original views, especially where they had been attacked by other critics, and is of course entirely remodelled when later reflection has caused him to alter his opinions, or make new additions to the contents of individual books. The most interesting of these new lights is undoubtedly that thrown on Book xii. Putting together Macrobius' assignation of the famous fragment about Fabius (xii. 2) to Book xii and the statement of Varro that in the Twelfth Book Ennius dealt with his own times, Dr. Vahlen has concluded that at that point he paused in his narrative and summed up his opinion of the principal figures of the previous books together with comments on contemporary life and personal details. Accordingly he collects here the Fabius fragment and that about Curius (xii. 3) and with them the *sicut fortis equus* passage and the famous line about his own enfranchisement *nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini* (xii. 8). It may not unreasonably be objected that it was far more likely that this sort of reflective interlude should occur at the end and not in the middle of the epic, but it may fairly be said in support of Dr. Vahlen's view that it is difficult to get over this double ascription to Book xii, and further Ennius' pause is not so improbable when we reflect that he is just embarking on the narration of events which occurred under his own observation. Hardly less important is the addition now made to Book vii. On the somewhat slender thread

of a superscript to the text of Orosius quoting the line *qualis consiliis quantumque potasset in armis*, in reference to Hamilcar Rhodanus, Dr. Vahlen conjectures that at the opening of the section on the Punic War Ennius treated of the origin and early history of Carthage. He accordingly places here together with the line quoted the two fragments *Poenos Sarra oriundos* and *Poeni suos soliti dis sacrificare puellios*. The deduction is perhaps rather fine, but the inherent probability of the supposition inclines one to accept it. In Book iii he rejects on account of their vagueness certain fragments which used to be assigned to the reign of Servius Tullius: certainly their claim to a place there was slight. He adheres to his view that the famous passage about the intimate friend of Servilius does not refer to the Servilius who fell at Cannae and should therefore be retained in Book vii. In both these instances his action seems right. On the other hand his transference of the line *hic occasus datus est: at Oratius inclutus saltru* (ii. 8) to Book ii as a part of the battle of the Horatii and Curiatii seems more than doubtful: its appropriateness here is, to say the least of it, questionable, whereas it would form an admirable part in a description of Horatius Cocles. Again, though the fragment iv. 5 may refer to the Gauls' attack in 364 A.U.C., yet seeing that Macrobius expressly quotes it from Book vii and that appropriate references may be found for it there, it seems rash to move it. Dr. Vahlen has considerably amplified his discussion on the chronology of Ennius based on the fragment *septingenti sunt* etc. (Lib. Inc. xxxviii): he makes trenchant criticisms on the scholars who have attempted reconciliation with the ordinarily accepted chronology, and offers the happy suggestion that the lines are a quotation from a speech, in which a certain exaggeration is likely. He might have added that if, as seems probable, Ennius made Ilia the daughter of Aeneas, it was imperative that he should approximate the foundation of Rome to the fall of Troy.

To the discussion of the Annals is now added a section of the introduction dealing with the dramas, Dr. Vahlen being apparently no longer satisfied, as he professed himself in the first edition, with the comments of Ribbeck. The main interest of this section, apart from the discussion of the sequence of individual fragments, is the establishment of the relation of Ennius' plays to their Greek prototypes. In some

cases, as for instance the Eumenides, Hecuba, Iphigenia, and Medea there is no room for doubt, but in others the case is more difficult. Dr. Vahlen has for instance, shown conclusively, I think, that the Andromache of Ennius cannot have been modelled on Euripides' Andromache, as it seems to deal with a period immediately subsequent to the sack of Troy and about contemporary therefore with that of the Troades. The main novelty suggested by the new edition is the notion that Ennius occasionally resorted to a kind of *contaminatio* and combined in one play several Greek originals. On this theory Dr. Vahlen believes the *Hectoris Lytra* to represent an original trilogy of Aeschylus: the process is conceivable, but it is rather staggering to find a single drama extending from an ἀπιστεία of Hector previous to the wounding of Eurypylus and the appeal to Patroclus and going right down to Priam's visit to Achilles and the ransoming of the body; the μῦθος is to say the least of it of a most un-Aristotelian μέγεθος. On the other hand if we omit the Eurypylus-Patroclus fragment (Hec. Lytr. iv) and either find room for it, as in the first edition, in the Achilles or relegate it to the *fragmenta incertae sedis* we need assume no earlier beginning than a period just before the arming of Achilles, and the supposition of a trilogy is unnecessary.¹ Again, it seems very odd, seeing the extreme closeness with which Ennius followed Euripides' Medea, that he should have concluded with a scene showing Medea at Athens: the supposition of two distinct plays, the Medea and the Medea Exsul, seems here a more plausible explanation than 'contamination.' As to the vexed question of the *Achilles Aristarchi* Dr. Vahlen seems to have found the right solution in supposing that Ennius wrote only one Achilles and that modelled on Aristarchus: the extant fragments fit well into this scheme.

One is glad to find that Dr. Vahlen has now abandoned the belief which he held in the first edition that Ennius' *saturae* were a development of the dramatic *saturae* recorded by Livy. He now puts forward a view far more in accordance with probability and the trend of recent criticism, that Ennius collected together a number of his short poems on diverse subjects and in different metres,

the only common feature being a more or less definite moral purpose, and headed the collection *satura* 'a medley.' He has further abandoned his rather perverse notion that the 'Scipio' was a portion of the *saturae*: the fact, which he records, that Gellius cites it as a separate poem seems to establish what one would otherwise be inclined to believe: it would not be congruous with the other topics of the *saturae*.

In his treatment of the text of the fragments of the *Annals*, Dr. Vahlen appears far more distinctly in his character as leader of the modern conservative school than he did in his previous edition, and returns in a large number of places to the MS readings, where previously he had recourse to emendation. In the majority of such cases his action may be commended: he shows sometimes that the MS reading makes quite tolerable sense and does not require emendation: e.g. i. 28 (l. 35) *et cita*, (l. 45) *gerendae*, xiv. 1 *placide*, xvi. 18, *non in* are all obviously as good as the emendations which had previously ousted them: more often by a slight adjustment of the line, or an ingenious suggestion of a possible context, he shows that the former emendations were due to a preconceived and probably false notion of the original meaning of the passage. A particularly good instance is i. 49. By the happy restoration of 48 to its place in a jeering speech of Remus, Dr. Vahlen has given a perfectly intelligible sense to the MS text of 49 as it appears in Festus, *at tu non ut sum summam (MSS summa) servare decet rem*: in ii. 19, again the supposition of another *aut* clause at the beginning of the following line makes quite good sense of the previously rejected text *post aut marcus*: similarly in viii. 3. (l. 270) the citations from Cicero and Livy and the interpretation they suggest show convincingly that the MS *nec* was right as against Columna's *sed*. Similar examples will be found in i, 3, vii, 1 and 7. There are however a large number of other instances in which the return to the MS reading cannot be considered so happy. It is no doubt an editor's duty in really desperate places, where no conjecture is at all convincing, to leave the MS text and let his reader select from the suggestions made in the notes. But it is surely carrying this principle too far to follow it in cases where a perfectly simple emendation will restore what must have been the original sense, and prevent a hopeless metrical dislocation. In i. 2, for instance, Dr. Vahlen has made a most ingenious guess at

¹ Considerable support is however lent to Dr. Vahlen's view by Statius *Silv.* ii. 7, 55-56, where speaking of an early poem, possibly a drama, of Lucan's, he says *Iudes Hectora Thessalosque cursus et supplicis Priami potentis aurum*. The ground covered would be almost identical and Lucan may have modelled his work on Ennius.

the original context of the preserved fragment, which is strongly supported by the passage he quotes from Lucretius: but it is gratuitous to leave in the text the unmetrical *nosce*, when the original must have been either *nosces* or *noscet* which he suggests in the notes (or *noscas*). Again in i. 40 it seems almost quixotic to print the MS *consis* . . . *se fluvius*, when the sense must have been that of Becker's conjecture *consistit*.¹ In vii. 14 (l. 240) the MS *et cuncta malaque et bona dictu* hopelessly interrupts the flow of one of the few sustained fragments which remain: it surely would have been worth while to print one of the many conjectures, all of which agree as to the meaning of the lines. *Sub monte late* in xvii. 2 is a parallel case, and others may be found in i. 58, vi. 11 and 15, x. 9, and xvi. 11. In xvi. 13 it requires some faith to believe that Ennius wrote the Greek word *bradys*. In i. 47 (l. 87), vii. 14 (l. 248), and ix. 13, the return to the MS text is possible but not convincing: in the last passage at any rate Mr. Onions' suggestion *dentifabros* seems a more probable form than *dentefabres*. Of other passages where Dr. Vahlen deserts his original readings the most noticeable perhaps are i. 14, where he is almost certainly right in detecting two distinct traditions (as also in iii. 8), v. 3 where the addition of *euax* rests on rather slender evidence, ix. 12, a great improvement, and xv. 7. In i. 52 *virginēs nam*, and ii. 11 *cura mīs cum* Dr. Vahlen's present readings produce examples of scansion which it is rather hard to swallow (could it be that the word-accent made them possible? it is noticeable that both would come under the law of *breves breviautes*).

The text of the dramas shows less radical alteration from the first edition than that of the *Annals*; the changes are smaller and do not in general make much difference to the sense. There is again the same conservative tendency. In *Alcmaeo* iii. (28), *Alexander* i. (36), viii. (58), ix. (2), *Andromache* v. (87), *Hectoris Lytra* i. and xv., and *Medea* xiv. Dr. Vahlen has either by explanation or slight readjustment of the division of the lines successfully defended the text of the authori-

ties against the assaults of sometimes very gratuitous 'emendation.' In some passages too he has been singularly happy with 'conservative conjectures,' making good sense out of his text with very slight alterations where earlier editions had gone far afield in correction. This is notably the case with the beautifully simple *fit* for *sit* in *Iphigeneia* xii. (242), and the very ingenious conjecture *habitu* for the nonsense-word *babium* in *Thyestes* vi, which is strongly commended by the parallel from Lucretius and the generally philosophic tone of the context as shown by the previous fragment. Just as in the *Annals*, Dr. Vahlen seems sometimes to go too far in restoration: e.g. in *Alexander* viii. 55 it is pedantic and misleading to print *virginali* representing a nominative with a suppressed *s*; in *Eumenides* ii. the explanation which has to be given of the present text is very far-fetched and a slight rearrangement, such as was adopted in the first edition, will give a far more probable sentiment: in *Hecuba* iv *manus* is almost unconstruable, *anus* would do well. In *Ajax* iv. there is certainly no authority for Hermann's *animum*, but the *Ajax* which Dr. Vahlen extracts from an obvious corruption in the MSS of *Festus* requires a great deal of supposition to make it construe and may surely arise from a dittography of the previous *in Aiace*. *Alcmaeo* ii. 24, *alter* and *Eumenides* vi. *prudam* still await a satisfactory solution: certainly in the latter passage Ribbeck seems to be on the right lines.

There is little to notice in the text of the *Saturae* and *Varia* and indeed the differences from the first edition are very few. Once again it seems to show a quixotic respect for MS authority to refuse to write the citation from the *Hedylphagetica* as verse: it can be done with a very slight adjustment, as may be seen from any other edition. On the other hand the second fragment from the *Scipio*, which clearly does not profess to give more than the sense and would require much rearrangement before it scanned, is better left. In *Sat.* vi *infertis*, which has the best authority, is an improvement on the *insertis* of the first edition, and frag. ii. of the *Protrepticus* is improved.

The Index *Testium* which is now prefixed to the Index *Sermonis* is a valuable addition to the book.

CYRIL BAILEY.

¹ Prof. Robinson Ellis has recently noticed (*Fronto and M. Aurelius*, p. 27) that Brahman reports the MS reading as *constitis*, whence he happily restores *constitit is*.

MERRILL'S SELECTIONS FROM THE YOUNGER PLINY.

Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny. Edited by E. T. MERRILL, Robert-Rich Professor of Latin in Wesleyan University. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.; New York: The Macmillan Company. Pp. 1, 473. 6s.

A GOOD selection of Pliny's letters has long been wanted: now that it has appeared, it is to be hoped that examining bodies will vary with its aid the dullness and difficulty of the more severely classical pabulum with which pass candidates are so often confronted. The selection is a judicious one, representing nearly a third of the whole: short, scrappy letters on the one hand, the somewhat tedious narratives of *causes célèbres* on the other are readily omitted and repetition of theme is avoided—e.g. only one of the villa-descriptions is admitted. One misses a few favourites—the recitation fiasco of 6.15, Pliny's wonderful confession of his principles on criticism in 6.17, the letters on Pallas (if 8.6 was too long, 7.29 might have represented it), the request that Tacitus would mention in his Histories Pliny's attack on Massa (7.33: 'the bare truth only, please—a good deed needs no more,' he says, evidently remembering Cicero's letter to Luceius), the account of the floods caused by heavy rains in the Tiber and Anio valleys in 8.17, and the rebuke administered to an unnecessarily severe father, 9.12.

A critical apparatus accompanies the text: Prof. Merrill has examined the MSS himself and hopes to publish a critical edition of the whole work at no distant date. I hope he will add a short, practical, exegetical commentary to it; it would do much to encourage the reading of these delightful letters. In his preference of the BF tradition to that of MV the editor is sometimes carried too far. In 1.9.5 he follows BF in making Pliny say 'one of the pleasures of my country house is this: *nihil audio quod audisse, nihil dico quod dixisse paeniteat. Nemo me apud quemquam sinistris sermonibus carpit, neminem ipse reprehendo.*' But how does Pliny know he is not being slandered in someone else's house? If a Cabinet Minister at a critical moment withdrew to his country house, however peaceful his life there might be, he could hardly say confidently, 'No one's taking away my character in any drawing-room.' And MV read, happily enough, *apud me*. Prof. Merrill indeed says this reading is a mere correction 'in the interest of a higher ethical

idea' of a scribe, who, he says, did not observe the parallelism of *nemo—carpit* to *nihil—audisse*.¹ I cannot follow the ethics of the matter, but the parallelism surely vanishes if we adopt Prof. Merrill's text. Elsewhere BF are too highly respected. In 1.18.4 (where MV are not available) they represent Pliny as saying, in reference to an action in which he rather expected failure, *prosperè cessit atque ideo illa actio mihi... ianuam famæ patefecit*. The fifteenth century MSS quite rightly emended to *atque adeo*, but Prof. Merrill refuses to follow. Other points affecting the text are: 2.13.8 *equidem iuuenis statim iuueni quantum potui audissimè contuli*, where *me* is surely necessary, and most easily supplied after *audissimè*, and 8.24.1: here a conjecture of Catanaeus' is adopted and we read *amor in te meus cogit...ut...admoneam ut quæ scis teneas et obserues, aut scias melius*. How much better the MSS, which read *aut nescire melius*: 'if you can't follow the precepts you have learned, better never have learned them.'

The notes are full, sometimes perhaps a little too full. In a complete edition it may be necessary to collect e.g. every detail about the persons mentioned by Pliny: in a series like this much less suffices—and really gives the student a clearer idea of the facts. The space thus saved would have made easy the inclusion of a few of the letters alluded to above. Yet many of the longer notes are undeniably attractive, especially those bearing on Roman ways of life and thought: e.g. the Roman view of hunting (1.6.1) and of the ordinary span of human life (1.12.11. Add Tac. *Dial.* 17, where Aper, speaking in the year 74 A.D., does not seem to doubt the tale of an ancient Briton, whom he had met, and who claimed to have joined in opposing Caesar's landing in the island) or that characteristically Silver belief that there was something fine in dying by some notable convulsion of nature such as an earthquake (6.20.17: to the passages cited add. Sen. *N. Q.* 2 fin.). At 1.9.7 *discursum*, 2.14.5 σοφῶς, 4.2.1 *referret* (cp. 5.16.9), 4.11.9 *omnibus numeris pudoris* perhaps deserve a brief note. A few Silver points are missed: 1.10.11 (*ista=haec*), 1.18.5 (*sub* almost causal), 1.20.2 (*custodire* of keeping, observing a rule), 5.5.4 (*memoriam sui*: cp. 8.8.3 where Prof. Merrill notes that for

¹ That *audio* here means 'to be called' is not likely, and in no way hinted at by the editor.

ipsa sui copia we should expect *sua ipsius c.*), and 6. 20. 20, 9. 13. 26 (*imputare*). Otherwise the differences between Pliny's style and that of the Republicans etc. are regularly and clearly brought out.

In a few places I cannot accept the explanation given in the notes. In 1. 10. 6 *nullus horror in cultu* means 'nothing careless about his dress, get-up' (cp. the common use of *cultus* in reference to style), not 'no rudeness in his manner'; 1. 12. 2 *utcumque* certainly does not go with *magnum* and the *vero* that follows so far from supporting that view makes it impossible: the word is here an adverb and means 'anyhow,' 'after all.' And so evidently in 5. 5. 2 which the ed. cites to support him; 1. 16. 2 *sententiae* here probably does not mean 'aphorisms,' as stated: it might mean 'epigrammatic sentences'—as it does e.g. in the title of the elder Seneca's work—and the Quintilian passages cited in the note undoubtedly refer to such gems of rhetoric. In 2. 1. 5 *colligit* is simply 'pick up': see Mart. 12. 82 c. *follem* and Sil. 10. 3 (a lion *per uulnera colligit hostem* leaps on his assailants and picks up one of them); 2. 11. 10 *cum cetera tum praecipue senatorum frequentia celeberrimus*, 'a time when the city was frequented by crowds of people of all kinds, especially senators': *cetera* is abl. I doubt if Pliny ever uses the 'adverbial' acc. *cetera*: it is quite needless to assume it here; 4. 13. 3 *stude* is 'go to college' rather than 'school': as Prof. Merrill notes, the teachers referred

to are *rhetores*, not *grammatici*; 7. 24. 7. the heir of the gay Ummidia walks out from an exhibition when her company of actors appears: *hoc nepos, at hercule alienissimi homines...plaudebant*. The contrast shows that *al.* means 'men who were in no way related to her': hence Pliny's joy that she left the rightful heir the bulk of her property and treated these *claqueurs* as they deserved. 'Of a very different kind' is a rather serious mistranslation.

In the useful summary of Plinian 'stylistic' which follows the notes Prof. Merrill gives 7. 27. 6 as possibly an ex. of the dative of agent 'perhaps the only ex. with other than perf. ptc.' But surely 2. 14. 12 is another: *pudet referre quae quam fracta pronuntiatione dicantur, quibus quam teneris clamoribus excipiuntur*.

I have noted one or two slips. On p. 206 we read '[the speech] of Pericles over the dead at Marathon'; is there any reason for assigning the famous orator *uir bonus dicendi peritus* to the younger Cato (p. 300)? The comma after *collegi* in 2. 11. 14 is inconsistent with the rendering in the note, and in 5. 16. 8 *omnia quae audiit saepe, quae dixit, aspernatur* the punctuation is surely rather misleading: none is needed except a comma before *saepe*. On p. 318 the rendering 'I cannot feel badly (*moeste fero*) that their opinion of my character is so high' reads strangely to English eyes. Is 'ponys' (p. 298) an Americanism?

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

ROBY'S ROMAN PRIVATE LAW.

Roman Private Law in the times of Cicero and of the Antonines. By HENRY JOHN ROBY, M.A., Hon. L.L.D. Two volumes. 30s. net.

THIS book is a solid contribution to the study of Roman Law, and is at the same time of inestimable importance to those interested in classical scholarship: for it is an attempt to present the Roman Law as it existed during the period of the highest development of the Latin race, that is to say from the close of the Republic to the end of the second century of our era, roughly speaking up to the date of the murder of Ulpian A.D. 228. Most treatises on Roman Law are based upon the law as codified and enacted by Justinian: they thus represent

the law of the Byzantine Empire rather than that of Italian Rome. This body of law is based upon and has its origin in Italian legislation: but for the classical student its significance and interest are more remote than in the case of the earlier law: for it is difficult to disentangle the earlier from the Byzantine elements.

To discriminate these elements is a task which demands one who is at once a lawyer and a scholar. These qualifications are rarely combined in one man, but they are peculiarly distinctive of Mr. Roby. And he has performed the labour which he has undertaken with a skill and lucidity which it would be impertinent in the present writer to praise. To few men of learning does the study of Latin owe so much as to Mr.

Roby. His *Latin Grammar*, the soundest and most scientific work on Latin Grammar in the English language, has had incalculable influence in giving precision to English scholarship: the syntax in itself supplies as good a training in logic as any formal text-book. His Introduction to the Digest and edition of the title *De Usufructu* are an important contribution to the study of Justinian's Digest. And now in the present elaborate work, the product of ripe scholarship and rich legal knowledge, Mr. Roby's untiring energy have provided a treatise which is at once an advanced text-book of the pre-Justinian law and a running commentary on the chief legal cruxes found in the texts of Roman authors. The main authorities are (1) Cicero and other Roman authors (2) Gaius, which is however a small work very imperfectly preserved, (3) such Laws and fragments of Laws as exist (4) quotations in the Digest from the works of great lawyers especially Julian Gaius Papinian Ulpian Paul. This part of the work has given rise to great difficulty, as the nicest care is required in distinguishing the earlier law from the Byzantine interpolations of Tribonian. 'It is impossible,' says Mr. Roby, 'to avoid drawing largely of the waters of the Digest, however suspicious one may justly feel of their being tainted. Justinian's great work in consolidating and amending Roman law was absolutely necessary, if it was to take the place it has taken in the usage of European nations, but his books are full of pitfalls for the student of earlier law. *Incedo per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*' (i. vii.).

After a discussion of the sources of Roman Law, Book I deals with citizenship and status, their modes of acquisition and loss: and suits about freedom (*causae liberales*). Book II concerns the family. The position of slaves, children, wives *in manu*, patrons and freedmen, guardians and wards, *curatores* (which Mr. Roby quaintly translates 'caretakers'), husbands and wives, and arising therefrom the law of dowery and dissolution of marriage are discussed. Book III deals with the law of inheritance, wills, intestate succession, acquisition of inheritance, *bonorum possessio*, *hereditatis petitio*, legacy, trusts, and other matters, such as the restrictions on childless persons. Book IV concerns property in relation to ownership, possession, servitudes, then certain protective interdicts as to easements, the interdicts *de itinere actuque priuato*, *de aqua cottidiana et aestiua*, *de riuis*, *de cloacis*; finally gift is treated.

Book V concerns obligations, which are classed under five heads, according to their aim. First stand obligations leading to *stricta iudicia*, viz., *stipulatio*, *literarum obligatio*, *mutuum* and 'other *condictiones*, where there is at most a constructive contract, or claim analogous to that on a money-loan' (ii. 4). Secondly come obligations leading to *bonae fidei iudicia*, loan (*commodatum*), deposit, trusts (*fiducia*, *pignus* and *hypotheca*), partnership (*societas*), purchase and sale (*emptio venditio*), letting and hiring (*locatio conductio*). Thirdly stand semi-delictual obligations which necessitate discharge without dispute or delay, such as *damni iniuria*. Fourthly stand obligations involving *delictum*, theft, robbery, harbouring of runaway slaves, intimidation, fraud. Fifthly are dealt with liabilities on contracts and delicts of persons other than the defendant. Sixthly come obligations involving persons of insufficient age (minors) or persons in absence or captivity (*postliminium*), etc. Book VI deals with procedure: the constitution of the courts, modes of suing, appeals, execution, and interdicts. The work concludes with four essays on Cicero's four private speeches, *pro Quintio*, *pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*, *pro Tullio*, *pro Caecina*.

It is obvious from this summary that we have here a complete treatise on the law. It is at once clear in statement and arrangement, and elaborate in detail. It places before the reader fully and copiously the original Latin texts, and in the foot-notes collects illustrative passages from the Latin classics, especially Cicero: and it takes into complete consideration the views of modern authorities on Roman law, chiefly continental. It will make easier the path of the future editor of Cicero's Verrines and technical speeches. For instance the passage in *pro Murena* § 27, where Cicero derides the ingenuity of lawyers, is elucidated under the head of *emptio tutelae evitandae causa* (i. 71), and of *tutela mulierum* (i. 101). Marriage within prohibited degrees is illustrated by the marriage of Sassa, Cic. *pro Clu.* § 12 (i. 129). The difficult passage in *Verr. II. i.* § 115 regarding the intestate succession in the case of Minucius, and the rights of *gentiles* in such circumstances is examined under the head of intestate succession (i. 221). Cicero's determination to proceed against Dolabella for recovery of dowery and thus to free the sureties *Ad Att. xvi.* 15 § 2, receives new light (ii. 35). Appeal for reinstatement coupled with application for

double damages (*in duplum ire*) is considered in connexion with the *crux pro Placc.* §. 29, where Mr. Roby believes that the plaintiff sued for double damages because the defendant had enforced a judgement which was no judgement (ii. 422).

The four essays upon Cicero's private speeches, with which the work concludes, are the most luminous attempt that has been made to disentangle the complexities of these speeches, which are among the hardest and most interesting of Cicero's forensic remains. Mr. Roby speaks sympathetically of the *pro Quintio*. 'One cannot but admire young Cicero's courage in taking up the case and pleading it with such vigour . . . while Sulla was dictator. But genius gives impulse and confidence; and genius alone could have excited the enthusiasm and won the favour which have preserved to us so many of Cicero's speeches and writings, when all the other oratory and

almost all the prose writings of the Republic, except his, have been allowed to perish' (ii. 469). To the 'brilliant' *pro Caccina* Mr. Roby pays the special attention that it deserves. The argumentative power, luminous exposition, and irony of this speech, combined with absence of frothy rhetoric, make it one of the greatest monuments of ancient oratory. With regard to the two interdicts *de vi* which play so large a part in it, Mr. Roby concludes that both assumed possession, but that with the *interdictum de vi* such possession must not be faulty, while with the *interdictum de vi hominibus armatis* even faulty possession was sufficient.

The work concludes with two indexes, an index of words and matters, and an index of passages referred to in Cicero and other writers.

S. G. OWEN.

KROMAYER'S *ANCIENT BATTLE-GROUNDS*.

Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland. Von J. KROMAYER. Band I. Von Epaminondas zum Eingreifen der Römer. Pp. x+352. 6 Lithographic Maps, 4 Photographic Plates, 3 Sketches in Text. Berlin: Weidmann, 1903. Mk 12.

THIS is an interesting book, not only as throwing light on the four battles with which it specifically deals, but also for its general conclusions on Ancient Military History. The author examined the topography in the Spring of 1900 in company with two officers in the German Army, and his book is dedicated to Herr Graf v. Schlieffen, chief of the General Staff. He believes that the military operations of antiquity are some of the best examples that can be found to illustrate modern strategy and tactics, if only for the reason that they are on a smaller scale, and therefore clearer (p. 19). He draws interesting comparisons, as for instance between Mantinea and Leuthen (p. 69), and makes one feel confident that his criticisms, whether we accept them or not, are not those of an amateur, but what a member of the German General Staff would write of a modern battle.

In explaining the careful estimates he has attempted to make of the forces engaged in each case, Kromayer makes the sensible

remark that it matters little whether one knows numbers down to a hundred or a thousand, but that it makes all the difference to the character of a battle whether twenty or forty or sixty thousand men fought in it (p. 12). Whether his data are in all cases sufficient may be a matter of opinion, but most of us will probably admit that it is a line of inquiry that has not always been pursued far enough. The four battles which are dealt with in detail are Mantinea (362 B.C.), Chaeronea (338 B.C.), Sellasia (221 B.C.), and Mantinea (207 B.C.). In each case the strategy of the whole campaign is carefully considered, and a supplement is devoted to its chronology. That on Chaeronea is important, as it is a defence on new evidence of the old view that the capture of Elatea occurred in the autumn of 339. This was Grote's view (chap. xc), and it has this advantage in its favour that it allows the natural interpretation of the 'Winter Battle' for ἡ χειμερινή of *De Corona* § 216. There has however been much to say on the other side, and among British historians, both Hogarth (Philip and Alexander of Macedon, pp. 121 and 126) and Bury (*History of Greece*, ii, 315) take the view that Philip did not seize Elatea till the spring of 338. As in this case there was no winter campaign, ἡ χειμερινή has to

be translated 'The Battle of the Storm.' The evidence on which Kromayer relies is a combination of some Delphian Inscriptions with what is, so far as I am aware, a new inference from a passage in Aeschines (*In Ctes.* 130). He argues that it must have been after Elatea was captured that Demosthenes, ἐμπιλάμενος τῆς διδομένης ὑφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίας, objected to an embassy being sent to Delphi to consult the oracle. The portent which had alarmed Aeschines, and in his opinion demanded such an embassy, was ἡ τῶν μυστῶν τελευτή at the Mysteries. Accepting the explanation of the Scholia (Schultz p. 338) that this refers to a shark killing one or more people when bathing in the sea on the day called 'ἄλαδε μύσται,' Kromayer concludes that Elatea must have been taken before this day, that is before the 21st of September.¹

He then draws from Delphian Inscriptions the following conclusions as to the dates of the various Amphictyonic meetings of 340 and 339 B.C.

¹ Or within two days of it. (P. 174, note 2.)

Middle of Oct. to Middle of Nov. 340.
Regular Autumn Meeting, at which Aeschines made his speech against Amphissa.

Feb. or March 339. Extraordinary Meeting.

March or April 339. Kottyphus' Expedition.

Middle of May to Middle of June 339.
Regular Spring Meeting, at which Philip was elected General.

If the shark argument is valid, there can indeed be no other date for Philip's election. The regular autumn meeting cannot have been held before the beginning of October, and must have been later than the date of the Mysteries, and later still than the capture of Elatea. Whether we are prepared to accept it or not, it must certainly be carefully considered in all future discussions of the question.

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GARDTHAUSEN'S GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

Sammlungen und Cataloge griechischer Handschriften, im Verein mit Fachgenossen bearbeitet von V. Gardthausen. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903. 6 m.

In 1879 Professor Gardthausen brought out his well-known 'Griechische Palaeographie,' an ample and handsome collection, from which a generation has drawn its rudiments of the decipherer's art, and which may be fairly said still to hold the field. It suffered, however, even in 1879, from the fundamental defect of being based almost entirely on printed material; and therefore like Lebmann's manual of Abbreviations which succeeded it, was out of date almost before it was published. I remember a well-known palaeographer remarking that the only trustworthy part of the book was the matter at the end: the tables of dates, scribes, possessors, and libraries. The author has done well to republish a portion of this bibliographical matter—the list of collections and their catalogues brought up to 1903.

The lists have evidently been made with great care, and the author acknowledges contributions from experts who disguise

themselves under the transparent initials H. O. and F. M., and others, such as R. Förster and W. Weinberger, perhaps less familiar in this country. May one hope for another publication, to contain the old tables of dates, indictions, etc., and a revised list of scribes and possessors? The working palaeographer would then be satisfactorily equipped.

It is of course in Italy, among West-European countries that there is most to be done in the way of cataloguing Greek MSS. Since I gave an account of Italian labours in this field (*C.R.* 1896, 234), I see that a great deal has been done. The *Studi italiani di filologia classica* contain lists of the Greek MSS. at Udine, Lucca, Pistoia, Messina (University), the Angelica, Corsiniana, and Vittorio Emanuele at Rome, the Estense at Modena, Girgenti, Palermo, Padua, Piacenza. The supplements to the Laurenziana, the few Greek MSS. in the Magliabecchiana, have been catalogued. An elaborate catalogue of the Vallicelliana at Rome—that favoured library which shares with gardens and cats the roof of the old house of the Filippini—has been made by Sig. E. Martini, who adds an index

to his earlier volume which appeared in 1893 and 1896. But all this activity is put in the shade by the announcement that a catalogue of the 2500 Greek MSS. of the Ambrosiana went to press in 1901. Sigg. Martini and Bassi will have conferred a benefit upon Hyperboreans impossible to over estimate. The stranger, however, notes with regret three unfilled gaps: the volume in which the late C. Castellani began to collect the accessions to the Marciana is without a successor, the S. Salvatore MSS. at Messina still remain without a written catalogue, and the Apostolic Library, so far as one hears, has laid down

its arms, satisfied with clothing its smaller collections (Palatine, Urbino, Ottobuoni, Regina, Pio II.) in sumptuous type.

Herr Gardthausen's book might, for practical utility, have been better arranged. The modern catalogue of a library, where it exists, does not spring to the eye as clearly as it should from bygone bibliographical lumber. It appears to be very accurate: I have only noticed 'Eaton' for Henry VIII.'s foundation, and a denial of all his initials to the reviewer, who possesses *tria nomina* and signs

T. W. A.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Antigone. An account of the presentation of the *Antigone* of Sophocles at the Leland Stanford Junior University, April 17th and 19th, 1902. Paul Elder and Company. San Francisco, 1903.

THIS little book, freely illustrated with reproductions of photographs, is the record of a performance which sought 'to strengthen the cause of Greek studies on the Pacific coast' and, it is good to hear, attained its end.

It contains a sympathetic study of the play by Prof. A. T. Murray, who incidentally points out that to Antigone alone of all the characters of the play Creon is not only the representative of the State but also a *τίτανος*, a fact which heightens her isolation; and further he sees in this conception of Creon as the representative of the State the reason why the interment of Polynices, whose unburied body was a menace to the State, should precede Antigone's release.

Professor Fairclough contributes a note on the function of the chorus and the music of the drama, which, whether as accompaniment to plain speech, as recitative, or as choral lyrics sung in unison with rhythmic movements to a harmonised accompaniment of instruments, played, in his judgment, a larger part than is sometimes realised, recalling to the last the lyrical origin of the drama as a 'story set forth in dance-song.'

J. E. CASE.

De Ioannis Stobaei excerptis Platoniciis de Phaedone. Scripsit ERNESTUS BICKEL. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903.

THIS is a reprint of an article published in the Supplement to vol. 28 of the *Jahrbuch f. class. Philologie*. The author provides us with a detailed comparison of the readings given by our manuscripts of the *Phaedo* with those which appear in Stobaeus' excerpts, with a view to determining how far the testimony of Stobaeus throws light on the origin and inter-relations of Platonic texts. A convenient tabular form is adopted for exhibiting the more important differences of lection in each of the Stobaeus excerpts (*Phaedo* 60 B, C; 69 E-80 D; 91 E-95 A; 95 E-107 A; 63 B-82 C; 107 B-114 D; 68 B-69 D). An examination of the first excerpt leads to the conclusion that—'brevi ecloga funditus eversa sententia Cobeti est qui peculiarem librorum recentiorum Platonis memoriam post Photium ortam esse voluit' (p. 420). And further, 'Schanzium libros Phaedonis in duas classes ita secantem ut priori praeter BC etiam (ΔΦΓς) attribueret, codicibus (ACEHJL) E alteram familiam totam repraesentari vellet, parum firmis rationibus usum esse apparet' (p. 421). The truth would appear to be that—'Non nisi communi codicum recentiorum a familia BC D differentia codices recentiores inter se copulantur.' Another result, suggested by the readings of the first excerpt and confirmed by further observations, is thus stated: 'tot lectiones aperte vitiosas singularum familiarum codicum Platoniorum apud

Stobaeum recurrere, tot locis singulos codices auctoritatem gnomologo defensam obnuere, totiens nostros libros in easdem scripturas atque scriptores veteres discedere vidimus, ut gravissimam quamque differentiam nostrae memoriae Platonicae ab antiquitate originem petere sumi debeat' (p. 486). That many of our later *codices* preserve a genuinely ancient tradition is a fact which, if true, is of the highest importance; and it seems undeniable that it is here supported by a considerable body of evidence.

What is most remarkable about the readings given by Stobaeus is the variety of tradition they represent. Thus, in the first two excerpts his text shows the closest affinity to that of the E family; whereas in the third it diverges from E and approximates most nearly to C. In the fourth excerpt, again, the relationship it shows to the Coislunian (F) is more close than its relation to either C or E; while in the sixth and seventh excerpts it reverts to C in common with B D. In one excerpt, the fifth, the text of Stobaeus exhibits marked divergencies from all our existing manuscripts and would appear to represent an independent tradition.

It is not often that the lections peculiar to Stobaeus are preferable to those of our best texts of the *Phaedo*. Occasionally, however, he proves really helpful. Thus, in common with Eusebius, he gives *ὁμοίως* for *ὁμῶς* in 80 D. In 94 A he restores an indispensable *ἄν* after *πάσχειν*. In 70 A he confirms *ἀπόλλυται*, as against the more authoritative subjunctive. In 78 C, in place of *κατὰ ταῦτα ταῦτα δὲ σύνθετα*, he offers the nearer *κατὰ ταῦτα* (read *ταῦτὰ σύνθετα*: and his omissions of *τοῦ λόγου* (108 D) and of *εἰσπεῖ* (112 D) may also be correct. But the majority of his deviations is obviously erroneous. It is interesting to observe that, as a rule, the citations of Iamblichus accord more nearly with our *codices* than with Stobaeus; although in one instance at least—*ἀνδρεία* for *ἀνδρία*, 69 B—Iamblichus supports Stobaeus against the *codices*.

On the whole, it would seem that Herr Bickel has made out his case against Schanz and Cobet.

R. G. BURY.

Inscriptiones Graecae ad illustrandas Dialectos Selectae scholarum in usum. Edidit FELIX SOLMSEN. Teubner. viii + 96 pp. Mk. 2.

THIS book supplies a want: perhaps I ought to say supplies a lack, before the want has been felt in this country. But it is a

very necessary part of classical training that some idea should be given of the vast quantity of original documents which exist, free from the changes and chances of copying and corruption. To use such a book is also a very satisfactory way of impressing the characteristics of dialects upon young learners, and a useful illustration of Theocritus or Alcaeus. But it does seem to me a great pity that the text is printed, by a sort of compromise, in a hybrid style: accents, breathings, and quantities being marked, and yet *ω* and *η* not always used. It would have been better to print, as in the *Corpus*, both a text in the actual signs used, and a transliteration in the ordinary style. Such a form as *ἡερεν* is quite misleading, except to those who know more than users of this book will know. With the method I suggest, it will be less easy for a pupil to suppose, as they all seem to do, that the symbol (;) marks a question in Greek, and the absence of it a statement; and many of the ambiguities in their well-meant compositions may be avoided. The selection of pieces is good.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

TWO CHICAGO UNIVERSITY DECENNIAL PUBLICATIONS.

The Meaning of ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς in writers of the fourth century. By ROY C. FLICKINGER. 1902. Pp. 16.

The Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia. By EDWARD CAPPS. 1903. Pp. 30.

MR. FLICKINGER is under a misapprehension as to what his evidence can prove. Let us assume that in the four *Poetics* passages *ἐ.τ.σ.* may be roughly translated 'at scenic contests,' 'at the performance,' or even that (as he says) *σ.* actually means 'performance.' This proves nothing at all as to the original sense of the expression, which may have been just the same as our 'on the stage' and have been subsequently by usage weakened into indistinctness. Hence the whole argument of this paper falls to the ground. On the other hand, as I seem first to have appealed to the phrase *ἐ.τ.σ.* as bearing on the stage controversy, I should like to say that I am less confident now as to its meaning literally *on the stage*. Certainly there are uses of *ἐπὶ* with the genitive which go to show that it may mean *at* or *near* the *σ.*, i.e. the background, as Dr. Dörpfeld contends. Such grammatical evidence does really assist the judgment.

The chief conclusions of Prof. Capps are first that Epicharmus, Magnes, and Chionides were contemporaries, though Epicharmus was somewhat the older in years and as an author: (does Mr. Capps really explain the πολλῶ πρότερος of Aristotle?) then that we may put the first victory of Magnes 'some years before 472, possibly into the eighties, and Chionides might easily have competed in the official contests as early as the year recorded by Suidas, 488 or 487': finally 'that the dramatic and lyric choregia was established in the year 502/1, and that the first comic contest at the Dionysia took place in 487/6.' These points are maintained with much ingenuity, resting as the latter ones do on rather elaborate combinations of the data furnished by imperfect inscriptions. The method is a little perilous and we must for the present suspend our judgment as to the details. Added to the paper is a reconstruction of the catalogue of victors (*C.I.A.* ii. 977) with Prof. Capps' restorations.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

De Infinitivi apud Plinium minorem usu.
Dissertatio inauguralis. PHILIPPUS MENNA.
Rostock, 1902. Pp. 152.

THIS work exhibits the worst features of its class. The exx. of infinitival uses taken from other authors are quite superfluous except where they really supplement Draeger and Schmidt: this is frequently not the case, and the Justin quotations appear to come direct from Wentzel's dissertation, mentioned in the preface. The facts are stated in so confused a form that the book is practically useless. In the midst of a list of words which take the acc. and inf. in Pliny I see (p. 29) '*ratio*'. On examining the author's account of the usage I find '*Acc. Inf. non exstat ap. Plin.*' and then the statement that Plin. is very fond of the phrase *ratio constat*. So any index will tell us, but it has nothing to do with the *infinitivi apud Pl. min. usus*. I could give many similar exx. Two pages later, we come to the use of adjectives governing acc. and inf. The first on the list is *acerbum*: the passage cited for it is given in full, and it runs thus: *quam triste hoc ipsi, quam a. mihi, si is—inhabilis studiis fuerit*. On p. 15 Ovid *Her.* 7. 164 (*quid crimen dicis praefer amasse meum*) is cited as parallel to such expressions as *meum uelle, meum ridere*. On p. 39 we find 8. 18. 1 cited as an ex. of the acc. and inf. after *creditur*: the infin. here obviously depends on *falsum*

est, as the author himself recognises on p. 32. It is sheer perversity to admit (p. 23) that *concurrit* is used impersonally in Cic., and then call the use personal in 4. 15. 6 *concurrit autem ut sit eodem anno quaestor . . . Asinius Bassus*.

The classified enumeration of Pliny's gerunds and gerundives (pp. 107–133) is much more satisfactory as regards clearness of statement. But is such an enumeration of any value? WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Latin Hexameter Verse: An Aid to Composition. By S. E. WINBOLT, M.A., a Master at Christ's Hospital. Methuen. xiv + 266 pp. 3s. 6d.

THE teacher who has found it comparatively easy to explain and illustrate the principles of Elegiacs usually finds it a different thing to teach hexameters. So long as there was plenty of time for these compositions, given a good ear, it was possible to learn and to teach; but now our time for what the great public believes to be useless, has become so circumscribed, that our only chance to do anything is to be systematic. So far as I know, this is the first book in English which attempts to systematize the teaching of hexameters for practical purposes; and it contains just the information which is needed. A long chapter is given to the *pauses*, in which the principles of the pause are discussed, each pause examined as to its effect, and statistics of its frequency given. The same method is adopted for the *Caesura*, the *Beginning and End of the Verse*, the *Meeting of Vowels and Elisions*, *Metrical Conveniences* (commonly called 'tips') *Rhythmical Structures*, and *Descriptive Verse*. Each chapter has a set of exercises, with references to the sections which they illustrate; and a key is to be published. I have used the book, and found that it is good for its practical purpose. From this point of view, the only criticism I would offer is, that it is long to work through as a whole, and it may be doubted whether a short selection from the exercises would be enough to make its lessons lasting except for the clever. In another respect the book is both useful and interesting. It does not confine itself to Virgil, but is in fact a history of the Latin Hexameter, whose development can be traced from the rude jingles of the pioneers to the monotonous echoes of Virgil's successors. It should be in the hands of every classical teacher, and would prove a stimulating study for anybody with taste for versifying. W. H. D. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DEVELOPMENT OF ZEUS.

THE view put forward by Miss Janet Case in the *C.R.* for March 1904 is one which I have long held and taught as I had opportunity. As scholars do not read translations I may refer to the Introduction to *Prometheus Bound* in my translation of Aeschylus, pub-

lished in 1890 (Kegan Paul). I am glad to learn from Miss Case that the hypothesis has the authority of Dissen.

L. CAMPBELL.

S. ANDREA, ALASSIO, ITALY.
March 16, 1904.

VERSION.

SHIRLEY'S
'NO ARMOUR AGAINST FATE.'

THE glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armour against Fate;
Death lays his icy hand on kings:
Sceptre and Crown
Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

Some men with swords may reap the field,
And plant fresh laurels where they kill;
But their strong nerves at last must yield;
They harm but one another still;
Early or late,
They stoop to fate,
And must give up their murmuring breath
When they pale captives creep to death.

The garlands wither on your brow,
Then boast no more your mighty deeds;
Upon Death's purple altar now
See where the victor-victim bleeds;
Your heads must come
To the cold tomb:
Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

Edinburgh.

SECUNDUM SCHEMA METRICUM
PINDARI *CARM. OLYMP. XII.*

Εὐρυτίμον τ' ἀγλαΐαι γενεῆς Στρ.
ὀλβίας τ' αἴσας ὄναρ ἀνεμόεν· Μοίρας δὲ βέλιγ
εὖστοχ' αἰεΐ· Κῆρ δὲ χεῖρα προσφέρει
τοῖς ὑπερθύμοις τυράννοις τὰν κρυερὰν
ἅ τε μίτρα σκάπτὰ τε χρύσεια μέλλει
εἰς χθόνα ῥιπθέετα λίστρῳ καὶ σκολιῷ ὀρεπάνα
λυγρὰν λαβεῖν κοινωνίαν.

τῶν δ' ἀμώντων καρπὸν Ἐνναλίον Ἀντ.
σὺν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ νεοθαλέα δάφναν ἐν φονίᾳ
γὰρ φυτευόντων χαλᾶται καρτερὰ
εἰς τέλος νέϋρ· ἔφθαρεν δ' ἀλλαλοφόνους
ἔγχεσιν· πάντως δ' ἀπὸρῳ μίγεν ἅτῃ·
αἰχμάλωτοι δ' ὥς προσώποις εἰς Ἀῖδα χθόνιον
πτώσονται σὺν λευκανθέσιν

γάρνος ἥδ' ἐρατᾶς ζωᾶς ἄμοιροι. Ἐπ.
φύλλα δὲ σαῖς ἐπὶ χαῖταις οὐνεκεν μαραίνεται
ἄβρὰ νίκας, μηκέτι ἔργ' ἀγέρωχα μάτην
κόμπει· θανάτου δ' ἐπὶ βωμοῖς αἶμ' ἰδε στάζοντ'
ἐρυσθοῖς
τὸν βίαιον ἀντιτυχόντα βίας
κρέσσονος· ῥῖγος τάφου μὲν χειμέριον
εἶλ' ἀλιτρούς· ἐν κόνι δ' ἀνδρῶν κεδνῶν ἔργα
μοῦν' εὐδομα θάλλει.

G. DUNN.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

DÖRPFELD'S TROY.

Troja und Ilion; Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion, 1870-1894. Von W. DÖRPFELD, unter Mitwirkung von A. Brückner, H. von Fritze, A. Götze, H.

Schmidt, W. Wilberg, H. Winnefeld. Pp. xviii., 652; 76 plates and 471 cuts in text. Athens: Beck and Barth, 1902. Mk. 40.

HERE we have, within the compass of two handy volumes, a complete and scientific

account of many years of excavations, and an adequate if concise discussion of their results. In these days we are so accustomed to the production of expensive and unwieldy folios for such a purpose that it is useful to notice how it has been possible to set so excellent an example; although the site is not an extensive one—the whole area is comprised in a space less than 200 metres square—the complication of its architectural remains and of its various strata call for all the resources of ingenuity to make them intelligible. Of the plans only one, the general plan on a scale 1 : 500, is folded more than once; all the rest, except the section, are comprised within the space of a two-page opening of the book. In the general plan the various strata are distinguished by special colours; but each of the more important strata is also accorded a special plan, on a scale 1 : 800, in which the walls belonging to it are coloured, and the rest left in outline. This admirable system makes it possible to realise at a glance all that belongs to any one stratum, while it is also possible, on the spot, to pick out any wall marked on the plan from among the earlier and later structures that surround it. The sections, which are so arranged as to show all the most characteristic buildings of the various levels, enable us to understand how the nine strata sloped up on the sides of the hill in parallel lines towards the central plateau, and how, when this central plateau was cut away to make room for the great precinct of Athena in Roman times, all above the fifth stratum was destroyed, while, on the sides of the hill, the magnificent walls of the sixth city remained intact. Incidentally, we see also why it was that the earlier excavations of Schliemann, which attacked the heart of the hill, could only come upon the Roman remains and the earlier strata beneath them, notably the walls of the second city; while the walls of the sixth city, that Mycenaean and Homeric Troy which it was the dream of Schliemann's life to discover, were reserved by a cruel irony of fate until after his death.

The first section of the book is the narrative of the excavations; this is very instructive, especially as a warning against the danger of trenching on a large scale before the nature of the site and of the buildings upon it has been thoroughly ascertained. The second section, which comprises about half of the whole work, is Prof. Dörpfeld's architectural description of the walls and buildings belonging to the various strata.

The clearness and completeness of this description leave nothing to be desired; some 120 detailed plans and photographs make it possible to follow every detail. In the illustrations an excellent device is adopted to assist the reader in identifying the various structures referred to in the text; small reference letters are actually printed on the photograph itself. Some prejudice may be felt against this on artistic grounds; but the effect of the pictures is hardly, if at all, impaired, while their usefulness is doubled. There are so many points of interest in these chapters that it is difficult to select; perhaps the most instructive is Prof. Dörpfeld's comment on the curious projections that occur in the town walls and terrace walls of the sixth city. It is satisfactory to note that he rejects the hypothesis that these, even in origin, have anything to do with defence. He regards them, at Troy at least, as a purely decorative feature, and suggests, after pointing out their occurrence, in a more primitive form, both at Tiryns and elsewhere in Greece and in mud-brick walls in Egypt, that they originally marked the junction of various stretches of wall built separately. As to the walls of the lower town, he remarks that the slope, often of 45° or so, was the only safe one for fortification walls built of small stones. It is true that one can walk up them; but this would not matter, as the upper part was a vertical wall of brick. But the whole of this section is invaluable, both as a record of facts and as a study in method. One feels throughout that, while no one but the author could have treated the material in so masterly a way, he has, by his clear exposition, made such work easier for all future archaeologists.

Dr. Schmidt's section on the pottery, which only occupies about 80 pages, naturally makes no claim to be exhaustive; this is the less necessary, as most of the objects have already been published and a complete catalogue—fully illustrated, it is to be hoped—is promised. Here we only have a summary of types, of forms of vases and of ornament. It is clear and satisfactory for its purpose, and will meet the needs of all except specialists. The same may be said of the section on the minor antiquities, of metal, stone, bone, clay, etc., which are treated by Dr. Götze: most of the objects have already been published; but this careful revision of the evidence as to their comparative date will be very useful. One naturally turns first to the famous 'treasure of Priam.' According to the latest views,

this must have been placed in a niche of the wall of the second city, in its third period. The key never existed; what looked like one was merely a bronze knife with a lump of metal attached to it; but the treasure may have been in a chest. It does not, however, belong to the remains of any house or palace.

The sections on sculptures in marble and terra-cotta, on the inscriptions, and on the coins of Ilium by Dr. Winnefeld, Dr. A. Brückner, and Dr. H. von Fritze respectively, deal entirely with Hellenistic or Roman times, and so have little relation to the rest of the book, though they contain a good deal that is of interest. Dr. Winnefeld's account of the various tumuli merely summarises the inconclusive results of earlier excavations. He does not include Choban Tepeli, described by Mr. Calvert in *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 319; it is one of the few in which we have any investigation of clandestine discoveries, made at the time by a competent authority. Dr. Brückner writes about the history of Troy; the question of the people to whom the intrusive 'boss-pottery' (Büchel-Keramik) of the seventh city belongs is treated in a special note by Dr. H. Schmidt. Apart from this, the matter most fully discussed is the temple of Athena and its curious relation to the Locrians.

The final section, on Homeric Troy, is written by Prof. Dörpfeld, and is the only part of the book which is likely to provoke much criticism. Even the most confirmed sceptic can no longer doubt that the magnificent walls of the sixth period, which belong to a city contemporary with the Mycenaean age in Greece, must represent the Troy of the Iliad. Yet we have a warning against the search for too literal confirmation of the poetical story in Schliemann's premature identification of the lowest walls and houses of the second city, which was a thousand years or so earlier, as dating from the time when Helen 'fired the topless towers of Ilium.' Again, no one who has been to Troy can fail to see the appropriateness of setting the gods to watch the combat from Ida and from Samothrace, the two snow mountains that dominate the horizon, one on either side. A familiar acquaintance with Troy and its neighbourhood has led Prof. Dörpfeld far beyond such general considerations, and has enabled him, with the greatest ingenuity to identify many of the features of the Homeric landscape, and the scene of many episodes of the Iliad. For example, he suggests that the place of the attack of Patroclus on the

walls, beside the wild fig-tree, is just where the wall is weakest in construction and most assailable, and where there is a hill outside the wall on the west. In this case indeed he admits that the coincidence may be accidental. But where he quotes the existence of houses within the walls of the sixth city, better built than we find in any other citadel of the Mycenaean age, as a confirmation of the local knowledge with which the poet describes houses such as those of Hector or Paris, it is difficult to follow his argument. He does not, surely, regard any part of the Iliad as contemporary with the sixth city; and tradition could hardly have recorded such details as this. Prof. Dörpfeld himself admits that the numbers of the attacking and defending forces must have been grossly exaggerated: the sixth city could not have held a tenth of the Trojan garrison. But why should other matters be taken more literally? Even apart from the inconsistencies in the various episodes of the Iliad and of other tales of Troy, there is surely no need to interpret Homeric topography with an exactness that cannot be attempted without difficulty even in the case of Thucydides, not to speak of Herodotus.

The book concludes with a list of 660 photographs recording every detail of the site, which may be obtained from the German Institute.

The work is dedicated to the Emperor of Germany, who with enlightened generosity provided the funds both for the completion of the excavations and for their publication. Alike in the Preface and throughout the work the most loyal acknowledgment is accorded to Schliemann, the dream of whose life it was to discover that Homeric Troy which he was never destined to see; the present volumes form a worthy memorial of his aspiration.

E. A. GARDNER.

SCOTT'S PORTRAITURES OF J. CAESAR.

Portraits of Julius Caesar. By F. J. SCOTT. Longmans Green & Co., London and New York. 1903. Pp. xii, 183. Thirty-seven plates and forty-nine cuts. 21s. net.

THIS book is an attempt by an American writer who is neither archaeologist, scholar, nor numismatist to deal with a question involving knowledge of all three subjects. Naturally therefore flaws of method are conspicuous, notably in the treatment of

numismatic evidence and the inclusion of modern portraits of Caesar as of real iconographic value. Though the coins 'issued near the end of his dictatorship bear the assumed effigy of his head in profile upon them,' and are 'not traditions but hard facts' (p. 11), they are described as 'a motley shabby lot' (p. 13), 'the miserable coins' (p. 73), and the author finds that some in the British Museum 'seem nearly duplicates of those in Paris and Naples,' and 'are well-preserved specimens of very old coins' (p. 170). The reason for including ideal portraits is given on p. 105: 'As we cannot find any authentic data to prove or disprove the antiquity of any of the busts,—that is, to prove them to be of Caesar's own time—I include all that are admirable in themselves.' Two heads by the author himself, reproduced on Pls. I and XXXVII, apparently come under this head, as does a '*carte-de-visite*' photograph found in a shop in Blois' (p. 74). This iconographic creed receives yet fuller expression on p. 68: 'Whether a bust or statue is made from life, or is a composite work made after death from portraits made during the life, modified and influenced by information to be gained from acquaintances of the subject, and from the literature of his time, is not so vital a difference as to insure the supreme value of the former, or to prove the inferior value of the latter.'

The author classifies the mass of existing portraits under three heads, the conventional-imperial, the executive, and the thinker, grouping the rest under the head of miscellaneous (pp. 77-8). Of these eighty-four portraits some twenty-three are admittedly modern, but 'the line of division is too shadowy to allow pedantry concerning the degrees of their antiquity to be authoritative to open-minded seekers for the semblance of our Julius' (p. 100). It is, however, of the greatest value to the archaeologist to find authentic portraits adequately figured, often for the first time, but a word of protest must be entered against the numerous charcoal sketches by the author, which for iconographic purposes are practically useless.

It is impossible to speak in detail of more than one or two portraits, but certain points call for notice. Mr. Scott is greatly to be congratulated on his discovery of the Caesar of the *Tresoria*, (Pl. XIX) the only one among his identifications of real importance. Its affinities with the Chiaramonti head (Pls. IV and XVI) are obvious, but it is infinitely the finer as a work of art, though the author apparently considers the latter the more

valuable. The bad taste of the remark on p. 112, that 'the titled custodian of the "*Tresoria*" in 1899 was as ignorant of it as a King of Congo' does not, unfortunately, stand alone, and is the more regrettable from the courtesy which the writer clearly received from the authorities at Florence. The Chiaramonti bust (Pl. X) has no claim to be considered a portrait of Caesar, still less the British Museum medallions, (pp. 168-9) which are not antique, nor do they represent the same person, nor, finally, is either of Caesarean character. Neither are the three gems figured on Pl. XXIV Caesarean; they have no relation to each other, still less to Julius Caesar. The Museum head is adequately dealt with, but the remark on p. 167 that the forehead is not Caesar's forehead, as proved by the coins, is not borne out by some of the best, that, for example, on Pl. III (*Æ* 1 of Octavius, struck in Gaul), which bears a striking resemblance to the Museum portrait hitherto apparently unnoticed.

The chapter on Caesar's life contains certain inaccuracies, apart from its inadequate character. Caesar received control of the Department of Woods and Forests, as Mr. Scott modernises this proconsular office, as consul-elect in B.C. 60, not as consul in 59, as stated on p. 27. The phrase First Consul (p. 51 *et saepe*) is meaningless; its duality was the essence of the consulship. Moreover, the story of his capture by pirates, told at length by Suetonius and Plutarch, is given without a word as to its probably apocryphal character.

The book is disfigured by glaring misprints of which '*equinus Caesaris*' (p. 55) for '*equus*,' '*parente*' for '*parenti*' (*ibid.*), '*Zeuxipos*' (p. 56), '*Plineus*' (p. 56), '*Dyrachium*' (p. 36), '*Ludivisi*' (*passim*), '*Townle*' (p. 169), are random examples. The sentences are often ungrammatical: 'One needs make no apology' (p. 1); 'The type...are found' (p. 62); 'The constant misconception . . . reverberate' (p. 51); while 'histrionic' obviously stands for 'historic' in the sentence (p. 4) 'a vast mass of histrionic study in modern museums.' Of the style a few specimens will suffice: 'an octopus-like (*sic*) oligarchy' (p. 48); 'Beginning by lawful efforts to remove its tumors and its barnacles from the republic' (p. 49); 'The Syrian King dallied with palaver' (p. 38); 'The Senate exuded with adulation' (p. 29).

The book is, on the whole, a failure, the more lamentable from the author's evident enthusiasm for his subject and the labour

of years ungrudgingly spent. With such opportunities of travel and research and some archaeological training a book of real importance might have been written, but ignorance of method and proportion—and, it may be added, of English—has greatly injured what might under other conditions have proved a valuable contribution to Caesarean literature.

KATHARINE A. McDOWALL.

BESNIER'S *ÎLE TIBÉRINE* AND
DE REGIONE PAELIGNORUM.

- (1) *L'Île Tibérine dans l'antiquité* par MAURICE BESNIER (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. lxxxvii. Paris: A. Fontemoing, Éditeur. 1902. Pp. iv, 358. 12 fr. 50 c.)
- (2) *De Regione Paelignorum*. Thesim Facultati Litterarum Parisiensi proponebat MAURICIUS BESNIER. Lutetiae Parisiorum, apud Fontemoing bibliopolam. 1902. Pp. 130.

THE first of these two books is almost the last volume which has appeared in the well-known series to which it belongs. It is the first monograph of any considerable length which deals with the island of the Tiber as a whole, and the treatment of the subject is careful and exhaustive. In fact, there is a certain amount of repetition in quotations and references, and, if anything, the book errs on the side of diffuseness. But it is more than a welcome contribution to the literature of an important subject, inasmuch as it summarizes and extracts the essence of all that has been written upon it previously; and Professor Lanciani hails it (*Athenaeum*, Feb. 7, 1903, p. 184) as ranking 'among the best and most perfect monographs published in recent years.' Of original topographical research there is, it is true, but little: for the island is covered with mediaeval and modern buildings, and the 'list of ruins and objects of antiquity still in situ on the island of the Tiber' which is given as Appendix III (p. 338) is (not through any fault of the author's) a very meagre one. The greatest part of the work thus consists in the collection and evaluation of the many passages in the classical authors which bear upon the subject, and of the observations of mediaeval and modern topographers.

Of the four books into which it is divided the first deals with the history of the island in antiquity—the legend of its formation

from the cornerop from the Ager Tarquiniorum, thenceforth the Campus Martius: in which M. Besnier sees this amount of truth (1) that the island, though not exclusively formed of river deposit, like the Isola Sacra at the mouth of the Tiber, has been in the past (and still is) much altered in conformation after every flood (2) that the island formed no part of the city until the period of the Republic. Then we come to the arrival of the serpent of Aesculapius in 293 B.C., and the decoration of the island so as to give it the form of a ship—though the date at which this was carried out is quite uncertain, and the completion of the representation by the erection of an obelisk to represent the mast dates from the Imperial period. The texts and inscriptions dealing with the island are next discussed in their historical reference: and finally we come to the difficult question of the mediaeval name of the island—*insula Lycaonia*. This first occurs in certain Acts of Martyrs which, according to Mgr. Duchesne, cannot be dated later than the 6th century. M. Besnier dismisses the various theories that have been suggested to account for the name, and conjectures that it came from a statue of Lycaonia on the Pons Cestius, which was reconstructed in 370 A.D., i.e. about the time at which the province of Lycaonia was formed.

The second book deals very fully with the two bridges—the Pons Fabricius and the Pons Cestius—which connect the island with the left and right banks of the river respectively. Mommsen's theory that the Pons Sublicius took advantage of the existence of the island is rightly rejected.

The third book deals with the temple of Aesculapius. No actual remains of it exist, but its site is fixed by the discovery of inscriptions and by considerations of space as identical with that of the church of S. Bartholommeo, which contains fourteen ancient columns of granite and marble, and other architectural fragments—notably two highly decorated Corinthian bases (supporting the third column on each side).

Further, in the course of the construction of the Tiber embankment at the north end of the Pons Fabricius in 1885-7, a large number of ex-votos in terracotta were discovered, which must have had some connexion with the temple. The *favissae* had evidently grown to such an extent that it was necessary to make an extension of them on the farther side of the Tiber: but, as M. Besnier complains, they were not systematically explored, and the lack of

proper supervision enabled the workmen to remove and sell a large number of the terracottas. It is true that five or six hundred representative specimens are preserved in the storerooms of the Museo delle Terme, and will probably be visible to the public before long: but it is not easy to understand why the Government should not have retained the rest, and itself sold the duplicates, thus making a welcome addition to the funds available for archaeological excavation.

The last book deals with the secondary cults which had a place upon the island—Jupiter Jurarius, Veiovis, Semo Sancus, Faunus, Tiberinus: and the book concludes with full appendices. There is no subject index, but its place is supplied by a full table of contents. It may appear ungracious to dwell on a certain number of errors—partly mistakes in detail, partly mere misprints and mis-quotations, which have not been noticed in the list of errata. Absolute accuracy seems almost unattainable in these matters, or at any rate is very rarely attained; but it is none the less the reviewer's duty to demand it. I therefore give a list of those I have noticed (besides those which figure in the author's list of Errata), which does not pretend to be exhaustive.

On p. iii. of the preface, M. Besnier states that the last great flood of the Tiber took place in summer 1901; the date was, as a matter of fact, the beginning of December 1900. Apropos of the debate which then arose, in which the possibility of suppressing the island altogether was discussed and actually recommended by a ministerial commission, it may be well to state that it has fortunately been found possible by dredging the left arm of the river, which had silted up owing to the mistaken direction given to the current by the modern embankment works, and correcting the course of the river by low walls, to keep both arms full of water¹: so that in the recent flood of December 1903 the left channel showed almost no signs of silting up.

With regard to the hypothetical restoration of the island given in pt. ii. of Boissard's *Topographia Urbis Romae* (the first edition of which, by the way, was published in 1597–1602; while the correct reference for the plate is not t. ii. p. 13, for the lettering on it is I. 3, the I being the signature of the folio), it does not seem to have been noticed (Besnier p. 38) that, whether it is due to Ligorio or no, it appears first in a plate after

Du Perac ('ego Stephanus Du Perac Parisiensis huius insulae descriptionem typis mandavi') which is no. 23 in the copy of the *Speculum Urbis Romae* which was in Mr. Quaritch's possession a few years ago, and has since been sold to an American collector.² There is too much difference in detail between this and the restoration given in Cod. lat. Vat. 3439 f. 42 for one to be inclined to attribute them to a common origin. Du Perac reproduces at the top of this engraving the inscription Kaibel *I.G.I.* 966 (cf. Besnier p. 214) adding 'reperta est in hac insula eo loci ubi nunc est templum diuo Bartholomaeo sacrum.'

On p. 81, n. 3, (as also on p. 292, n. 2) 42 should be 142; and it should have been added that vol. ii. of Venuti is being cited.

On p. 84 n. 2, Jordan *Topogr. d. St. Rom.* t. ii. p. 295, notes 12 et 13, is a wrong reference.

On p. 102, n. 1, *Vitellia* is a mistake for *Viselilia*.

On p. 125, notes 2, 4 Jordan *op. cit.* t. i. should be t. i. 1.

On p. 145, n. 3, Liv. ii. 31 is a wrong reference.

On p. 153, n. 1, *nullasdam* should be *nullasdum*.

On p. 165, n. 1, 23, 405; 23, 431 should be connected by a hyphen, for all the inscriptions between these two numbers belong to the gens Ogulnia.

On p. 217, n. 1, the reference to *Notizie degli Scavi* is incorrect.

On p. 221, n. 2, *adorendo* should be *adorando*.

On p. 233, n. 3 and 334, no. 52 *Weigeschenke* should be *Weihgeschenke*.

On p. 263, n. 3 *in arce* is twice repeated.

On p. 291, n. 7, a rather more definite reference than *C.I.L.* i. 2° ed. might have been given.

On p. 297, n. 4 the first two words of the quotation 'igneam defendit aestatem capellis' are unnecessarily transposed.

On p. 298, n. 6, 130 is a mistake for 136.

On p. 314, n. 3, *tres uentes orientales* is surely a misprint.

On p. 332 (Bibliography, Appendix I) W.-A. Becker's *Topographie* was published in 1843; and on p. 333 the references to the *Bullettino Comunale* numbered 20, 21 are both incorrect, while, in the fourth line from the bottom, *un mano votivo* is a solecism (which has already occurred on p. 231, n. 4) which could be more easily excused in an English author.

¹ See L. Beltrami, *Per la Sistemazione definitiva del Tevere Urbano* (in *Nuova Antologia*, 1 Feb. 1902).

² Bernard Quaritch's *Rough List*, No. 135, p. 119 sq.

On p. 336 the reference to the folio (34') of the volume of drawings of Giuliano da San Gallo (M. Besnier does not seem to realize that there were several San Gallo's,¹ and that it is therefore necessary to distinguish them) should have been given. The volume, which bore the number xlix. 33, has (since the purchase of the Barberini library by the Vatican in 1902) become Cod. Barb. Lat., no. 4424.

On p. 341, in the last paragraph, it is difficult to see how Ficoroni, in a book dated 1730, could state that a discovery had occurred in 1749. The reference should be, as a fact, to no. 97 of the *Notizie d' Antichità* taken from Ficoroni's works printed in Fea's *Miscellanea*, vol. i. p. 165, where the date is given as 1750.

The second book is a good deal shorter, and is unfortunately, being a Thesis, written in Latin: the result being that the author is obliged, in order to express certain ideas without circumlocution, to make use of such utterly unclassical adjectives as 'praeromanus', 'prae-historicus' and 'dialecticus' (in the sense of 'written in a dialect'). 'Incultus' as the past participle of 'incolo' seems to lack authority, and as an adjective would mean the opposite of what the author intends (p. 36, fourth line from bottom). Such words as 'chilometra,' 'grammata,' etc., can only be excused by the necessities of the case.

The present work is, it appears from the preface, only the forerunner of a more detailed work. Here the history of the Paeligni (in such small measure as they had a history which was distinct from that of the neighbouring tribes) is dealt with. Their territory comprised the middle part of the course of the Aternus and the valleys of its tributaries, the Sagittario, Gizio, etc., which are mostly mere torrents. The Aternus itself, though it is the largest and longest of the rivers that flow from the Apennines into the Adriatic, varies in volume with the different seasons of the year from 18 cubic metres per second to no less than 2790. The district is shut in by high mountains on all sides, except on the northeast, where the Aternus makes its way to the sea. The plain in which the two chief towns, Corfinium and Sulmo (now Solmona) were situated, is fairly fertile, but cold and rainy in winter: the mountain tops are covered with snow for the greater part of the year. They were once clothed with forests, but, as

has been the case in so many parts of Italy, the trees have been cut down ruthlessly without any provision being made for re-forestation.

The district has been inhabited from the stone age downwards, and some interesting palaeolithic finds have been made in it: but the Paeligni are not mentioned until 343 B.C. when according to Livy (vii. 38) the Latins suddenly turned their arms against them instead of joining the Samnites against Rome—a story which Mommsen (*History of Rome*, i. 459 n.) refuses to accept. Ovid and Silius Italicus repeat the fable that Solymus, a comrade of Aeneas, founded Sulmo: but there is no truth in it, as far as we can tell. Festus tells us that they were Illyrians, but is probably misled by the similarity between Pēlasgi and Paeligni. As far as we can tell, they belonged to the same Italic stock as their neighbours the Marsi (on the west) Vestini (on the northwest) Marrucini and Frentani (on the north and northeast) all of whom are called Sabelli, while on the south were the Samnites, and on the north the Sabines—all branches of the same stock.

We find among the Paeligni tombs of the iron age of the same character as those discovered in the surrounding districts, and scanty remains of 'Cyclopean' ring walls which served as strongholds in time of war. The language also indicates this affinity: no less than 36 inscriptions in it have been found, which have been dealt with by Von Planta and Conway, from whose investigations it results that the language stands between Oscan and Umbrian. None of them however belong to a date earlier than 200 B.C. (except one, the only one which is written in non-Latin characters, and which has not so far been interpreted) and most of them date from the last century of the Republic. In fact, so slowly did Roman influence spread in this mountainous and remote district even after it had become subject to Rome that, although Latin characters were used by the Paeligni from about 200 B.C., the Latin language rarely occurs before the Imperial period. Their life was simple, their towns only three in number—Corfinium, Sulmo, Superaequum—and of their institutions and government we know little.

As we have seen, the first recorded episode in regard to the Paeligni must be treated as unhistorical: but in any case they seem to have come under the dominion of Rome at the end of the fourth century

¹ Six members of the family are enumerated by Ferri, *Disegni di Architettura nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi*, pp. xi. sq.

B.C., and to have served so faithfully in her various wars that their valour became renowned. They joined, however, in the Social War—Corfinium, in fact, under the name of Italica, became the capital of the allies—and seem to have shared in the conspiracy of Catiline. In the war between Caesar and Pompey, Corfinium, which was held by Domitius Ahenobarbus, had to stand a siege from the former, but after a time surrendered, while Sulmo declared for him at once. In the Imperial period we hear little of the Paeligni from classical writers, except in so far as Sulmo figures as the birthplace of Ovid (whose gentile name is, in its termination, characteristic of the central Apennines), and inscriptions give us more information. We learn for instance that the first Paelignian who sat in the senate was Q. Varius Geminus, under Augustus. S. Pelinus, whose martyrdom is said to have occurred in 363 A.D., and to whom the church at Corfinium (near Pentima) is dedicated, is an eponymous saint whose existence M. Besnier rightly doubts.

With regard to the topography of the district there is little to be said. The boundaries of the territory are difficult to fix exactly. Its extension beyond its natural limits to Interpromium is proved by epigraphic evidence. It is doubtful whether the high-road from Rome (the Via Valeria) went beyond Cerfennia, on the eastern extremity of the territory of the Marsi, before the time of Claudius, who extended it to the mouth of the Aternus (for M. Besnier is probably right in preferring the authority of one of Claudius' milestones (*C.I.L.* ix. 5973) to that of Strabo, who asserts that it already ran to Corfinium in his own time). Near Popoli it was joined by the Via Claudia Nova, which was also constructed by Claudius to connect the Via Valeria with the Via Salaria, which it left at Foruli (Civitatomassa) near Amiternum.

Another road ran from Corfinium to Sulmo and thence to Beneventum.

With regard to the three towns of the Paeligni, and the smaller villages which are known to us—Statulae, Betifulum, Lavernae, Interpromium and others whose sites are fixed but whose ancient names are as yet undiscovered, there is little to be said. The remains that are visible are scanty, though various discoveries have been made especially at Corfinium and Solmona: and it seems a pity that M. Besnier has not given more of a résumé of what has been found, instead of contenting himself with references to the

Notizie degli Scavi. A short article by the same author on Sulmo, *Patrie d' Ovide*, in the *Mélanges Boissier*, p. 57, does not altogether supply this want.

There are in this work too various errors in detail, of which many are noticed in the Errata, but others have escaped detection. I give some specimens.

On p. 42, n. 9, 167 should be 371.

On p. 70, n. 2, Am. iii. 8 should be Am. iii. 15. 8.

On p. 79, n. 3, Cic. *Ad. Att.* 8. 15 'ambulando bellum fecerunt' appears to be a wrong reference (cf. viii. 14. 1).

On p. 102, l. 7. ἐποννυμον should be ἐπόννυμον and l. 10. ὀρίζων should be ὀρίζων.

On p. 110, l. 5. dubidantum is an obvious misprint.

On p. 123, n. 3, *Ibid.* 1887 p. 159 does not of course refer to Plin. *Hist. Nat.* but to the *Notizie degli Scavi* cited in note 1.

An unpublished plan of the excavations at Corfinium in 1879 is given on p. 119, and there is a map of the district at the end, adapted from Kiepert's map in *C.I.L.* ix. A larger one, with the heights of the chief mountains marked upon it, might have been given with advantage. It is also unfortunate that in the map Aufdena is placed at Castel di Sangro, whereas in the text Mariani's view, that it is to be placed at the modern Alfedena,¹ is accepted (pp. 42, 112).

The book is, however, a useful summary of what little is known with regard to the Paeligni, and a more detailed work on the subject from the same author would be welcome.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Pergamon.—On the 6th November 1903 a Herm of white marble, with bearded head, was found, broken in many fragments. The figure has since been restored, and is in all essentials complete. The head, which has three rows of formal curls over the forehead, is a Roman copy of a Greek work. It is over life size. On the shaft is an inscription as follows:

εἰδήσεις Ἀλκαμένεος περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα,
Ἑρμῶν τὸν πρὸ πυλῶν εἶσατο Περγᾶμιος.

¹ So spelt in the text: this is the usual spelling of the modern name, but in the map we find Alfedena.

The letters are of about the time of Hadrian. It is probable that this is a copy of the Hermes Propylaeos mentioned by Pausanias (i. 22. 8): *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξοδὸν αὐτὴν τὴν ἐς ἀκρόπολιν Ἑρμῆν, ὃν Προπύλαιον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Χάριτας Σωκράτην ποιῆσαι τὸν Σωφρονίσκου λέγουσι*. We learn from the above inscription that the Herm was a work of Alkamenes. Conze thinks that the inscription is trustworthy. The sculpture certainly has the character of a copy of a good 5th century work.¹

Cos.—The excavations were resumed in August 1903. The chief objects in view were the clearance of the middle terrace and the smaller temples and the examination of the lower terrace. Some work was, however, done on the site of the large temple and the upper terrace.

On the W. side of the large temple further excavation brought to light architectural fragments and some important inscriptions. Remains of an Ionic portico were found.

In one of the smaller temples a cavity was discovered in the floor of the *naos*, closed with a stone cover. It contained potsherds, bones of animals, and a late Doric capital. Its purpose is explained by an inscription (date about 300 B. C.) found in a Roman building near this temple: *δεδοῦσθαι τῇ ἐκκλη[σίᾳ ἰδρύσ]ασθαι θησ[αυρὸν] τῷ Ἀσκληπίῳ τὰ μὲν πόλιν ἐν τῷ να[ῶ]ι τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου*. The cavity therefore served as Asklepios' strong room. In the inscription directions are given for keeping an account of the money deposited in the treasury. The expenses of the Festival of Asklepios are to be paid from this fund. Directions are further given for the safe-keeping of the treasury. The inscription confirms the view that this smaller temple was the older temple of Asklepios.

The Roman building above mentioned was cleared, but there is nothing to fix its character. It must, however, have had some close connection with the temple.

Near the altar was found an inscription, which perhaps belonged to an older altar. It reads:

ΑΛΙΟ:ΑΜΕΡΑΣ ΜΑΧΑΟΝΟΣ ΕΚΑΤΑΣ

It is to be dated about 400 B. C. An inscription of the 4th century B. C., discovered in the Asklepieion, which records a decision of Coan arbitrators as to affairs of Telos, speaks of the restoration of this altar.

¹ Conze in *Sitzungsber. d. berl. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1904, pp. 69 ff.

The fountain of Asklepios, which issued from a semicircular niche, was discovered. The water must have been very calcareous, for the wall was overlaid with a thick incrustation.

In the W. half of the middle terrace wall was found a niche with remains of Ionic columns. Evidently a small chapel was situated here. On either side of this chapel were benches of stone; on one is an inscription in honour of Queen Pythodoris of Pontos (cf. Strabo, xii. 556-569), on another the following:

Ἀσκληπίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ Ὑγίᾳ
καὶ Ἡπίονηι ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτῶν διὰ βίου
Γάιος Στερτίνιος Ἱρακλείτου
νίδος Κορινθίου Ξενοφῶν φιλό-
ρώμιος [φιλονέρων] φιλό-
καισαρ φιλοσέβαστος φιλό-
πατρις δάμουν νίδος εὐσεβῆς
εὐεργέτας τῆς πατρίδος ἡρώς
ἀνέθηκεν

C. Stertinus Xenophon was physician to the Emperor Claudius. After the murder of the latter, he must have returned to Cos, and founded this chapel in honour of Nero. Another inscription refers to a dedication by this same person.

Beyond the temples northwards lay a large open promenade, surrounded on three sides by porticoes decorated with statues. This was doubtless connected with the hydro-pathic institution. The porticoes, which were originally built in Hellenistic times, had evidently been restored, probably for the last time after the earthquake of 155 after Christ. Behind the porticoes were remains of houses of the early and late Roman periods.

In the course of the excavations a fine female head of Greek work, a head of Asklepios, and several good torsos were found. The number of terracotta statuettes, mostly in a fragmentary condition, was very large; they range from the sixth century B. C. to Roman times. The inscriptions are, however, of the greatest importance. A fourth century inscription, mentioned above, records a decision of Coan arbitrators as to affairs of the neighbouring island of Telos. Another (about 300 B. C.) directs that, on the motion of the *ἐξαγῆται*, the ancient laws relating to rites of purification be collected, and published in the Asklepieion and other sanctuaries, and also in the physicians' quarter. A long inscription of the beginning of the second century B. C. deals with sacrifices to Aphrodite Pontia and Pandamos (cf. Michel, *Recueil*, 720). The most note-

worthy inscription is a fully preserved decree about celebrations in honour of the victory over the Gauls in 279 B.C. Others throw further light upon the expansion of the sanctuary, the importance of the Coan school of physicians, and the festivals in honour of Asklepios. Several answers to invitations to the Great Festival are preserved, and honours granted by foreign states to Coan doctors are recorded.²

² *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1903, part 4.

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARIES.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, xxiii. (1903), Part 2.

1. K. T. Frost, The Statues from Cerigotto. (Two plates; four cuts.)

Assigns the bronze Hermes to the Hellenistic period, being inspired by Praxiteles, and not Scopas; discusses two other bronzes, one a Polycleitan athlete in type, but not older than the Roman period, the other a third-century Hermes, not reproducing any particular style; the marble statue he derives from a group of ἀστραγάλιζοντες of Graeco-Roman date; also discusses a bronze head reproducing a third-century philosophic type.

2. E. J. Goodspeed, Alexandrian Hexameter Fragments. (Plate.)

A papyrus with fragments of hexameters, probably from a poem of the Alexandrine school.

3. R. M. Dawkins, Pottery from Zakro. (37 cuts.)

Publishes pottery from Mr. Hogarth's excavations in 1902 (cf. *Brit. Sch. Annual*, vii., and *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 333); examples of Kamaraes and Mycenaean painted wares, which seem to be contemporary; found partly in pits, partly in houses.

4. E. N. Gardiner, Notes on the Greek Foot-Race. (15 cuts.)

(1) Arrangement of Stadium, on evidence of recent discoveries; methods of starting in foot-race, and manner of running. (2) Evidence of vase-paintings: attitude of starter, style of running, and manner of turning in δίαυλος; the armed foot-race and methods of running it; the lighter side of Greek athletics.

5. J. E. Harrison, Mystica Vannus Iacchi. (18 cuts.)

Nature of the *vannus* or winnowing-fan (λίκνον), its shape and use; sense in which called 'mystic'; connection with cult of Iacchos. It was used as a cradle (e.g. for Dionysos) and a basket for first-fruits, as well as for winnowing, and must be distinguished from the πύλον (shovel) and κόσκινον (sieve); it was mystic in the double sense of purifying and promoting fertility (hence appearing in marriage-processions); being used in making cereal intoxicants, it was associated with Dionysos, and so with Iacchos.

6. G. Dickinson, Some points with regard to the Homeric House. (7 cuts.)

Deals with difficulties in *Od.* xxii. 126-177, especially the internal arrangement of the μέγαρον, and proposes to place the women's quarters adjoining the men's. The ὀρσοθύρη led from the μέγαρον to the θάλαμοι, across the λαύρη, from which a narrow passage (ῥώγες) led to the θάλαμος ὕπλων beyond the other θάλαμοι.

7. A. J. B. Wace, Recent Excavations in Asia Minor. (22 cuts.)

(1) Pergamum: German exploration of Agora and surrounding parts. (2) Ephesus: Austrian excavations on site of theatre, road to harbour, and Roman forum: interesting finds of bronzes and marble sculpture. (3) Miletus: exploration of site of theatre by Dr. Wiegand, and of great south gate leading to Branchidae.

8. E. Strong, Three Sculptured Stelai at Lyme Park. (3 plates.)

All three brought from Athens in 1812: (1) stele of Melisto and Epigenes, a beautiful example of the fifth-century sepulchral stele; (2) stele of Arkesis, about 400 B.C.; (3) stele of actor represented as studying a mask.

9. Notices of Books. Rules, Proceedings, etc.

American Journal of Archaeology, 2nd Ser. vii. No. 4. Oct.-Dec. 1903.

1. F. W. Shipley: Certain sources of corruption in Latin MSS (concluded).

Deals with errors of conscious emendation, with spelling and pronunciation of Latin as result of phonetic changes of Middle Ages, and gives miscellaneous examples of cumulative growth of error.

2. M. L. Earle: The supplementary signs of the Greek Alphabet.

Deals with φ, χ, and ψ, and the question of their Eastern or Western origin, their arrangement in the alphabet, and equivalence, based on evidence collected since Kirchhoff wrote; agrees with Prof. E. Gardner in regarding them as introduced from the East (sc. Miletus) into the West.

3. E. von Mach: Hermes Diskobolos. (One cut.)

Points out errors in Habich's conclusions drawn from Vatican statue (Friederichs-Wolters 465), though agrees with him in identifying as Hermes Diskobolos; publishes a R. F. vaso in Boston with figure resembling the statue.

4. Archaeological discussions (J. M. Paton).

Also a supplementary part with Annual Reports, 1902-03.

Athenische Mittheilungen, xxviii. (1903). Parts 1-2.

The whole two parts, with the exception of a preliminary obituary notice of Hans von Prott by H. Schrader, are devoted to an account of the recent excavations in the tombs on the Acropolis of Thera, by E. Pfuhl, illustrated by forty-five plates and eighty-three cuts. The subject is treated under four heads: (1) Description of cemetery and diary of excavations; (2) Account of the finds; (3) Positions and forms of tombs, and their evidence on burial-customs and tomb-cults; (4) origin and chronology of finds.

For the general reader the most interesting sections are (2) and (4), which are here briefly summarised. The finds consisted almost entirely of archaic pottery, painted and unpainted, the latter including a new type of *pithoi* and amphorae, the *pithoi* being probably of Cretan origin, and various cooking-vessels. Local wares may be recognised by uniformity of clay and technique; they are more important for forms than decoration, including a new metallic type of amphora; the imitation of metal is general, the decoration confined to simple geometrical patterns, but nearly all the pottery is of late date. A large proportion is of Cretan origin, of coarse granular clay with thin slip and the same kind of decoration as the local ware, but sometimes shewing Mycenaean

influence. Among other fabrics are various Ionic wares, 'Rhodian' and 'Samian,' Euboean and Attic (ranging from Dipylon to B. P.), 'Proto-Corinthian' and Corinthian, also some of uncertain origin. The other finds include archaic terracotta vases and figures but are mostly unimportant.

About one-fifth of the whole is local ware, about one-fifteenth Cretan, and the same proportion Ionic. Dipylon vases, which the local potters imitated, number twenty; oil-vases from Argos and Corinth are common, but there are no Melian vases. The results generally support Dragendorff's conclusions put forward in his *Thera*. The pottery ranges from the end of the eighth century (Dipylon and early Proto-Corinthian) to the middle of the sixth (Attic B. F.), and the greater part belongs to the seventh century. Attic imports during the seventh century are non-existent, being ousted by Ionic from the East.

Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst. xviii. (1903). Part 3.

1. L. Borchardt: The temple of Augustus at Philae. (Three plates, 23 cuts.)

Describes exploration of temple, with attempted reconstruction, and account of architectural details. The temple is prostyle, with large paved platform in front, extending to the gate in the city wall. An inscription was found with dedication to Augustus as Saviour and Benefactor by the people of Philae and Dodekasehinos. The time of its destruction is unknown. A list is appended of isolated fragments now collected round the temple.

2. R. von Schneider: Marble reliefs in Berlin. (Two plates, one cut.)

Describes three fifth-century reliefs acquired in 1897, all of same origin, proportion, material, and style; they must have been placed together like a frieze on a building. The subject of the first seems to be the rape of the Leukippidae; the other two have only standing and seated figures.

3. E. Bethé: Ancient illustrations of Terence. (Seven cuts.)

Discusses origin and age of illustrations in MSS with reference to recent publication of Codex Ambrosianus by de Vries at Leyden. Copies also exist in the Vatican, Bibliothèque Nationale, and Bodleian. The subjects discussed relate to the *Eunuchus* and *Hautontimorumenos*. A representation of a door sideways in the middle of a scene

from the *Eunuchus* throws light on the staging of the plays, and seems to denote that the vestibule of the house is thereby shewn, the door being the outer one, not that of the house. Aristophanes adopts a similar arrangement in the *Acharnians*. *Anzeiger*.—Conze on Burlington Club Exhibition. Von Bissing on Graeco-Roman antiquities in Cairo Museum (five cuts). Acquisitions of Louvre, Ashmolean, and Boston Museums. Proceedings of Anthropologische Gesellschaft. Gillieron's imitations of Mycenaean antiquities. Bibliography, etc.

Part 4.

1. W. Amelung: A Greek Sepulchral Relief. (Plate; two cuts.)

Traces the earlier history of a relief recently discovered in the church of San Lorenzo in the fish-market at Rome, now in the Vatican; it was originally published by M. Fabius Calvus in 1532, and also appeared in Pierre Jacques' *Album* (recently edited by S. Reinach) in 1572-77, but disappeared in the seventeenth century. The subject is an athlete about to anoint himself, with a boy holding his oil-flask and strigil; the date is not later than 450 B.C. In the older illustrations it was more complete, but may have been restored.

2. P. Stengel: On Greek Sacrificial Ritual. (Six cuts.)

A further discussion of the theories put forward by Von Fritze (*ibid.* p. 59 ff.) as to the meaning of *καταστρέφειν* and *ἀλφειναι*; does not altogether agree with his conclusions.

3. M. P. Nilsson: Attic vases decorated with friezes of animals. (Plate and fourteen cuts.)

Discusses the *Vurva* group of vases, an early Attic fabric with animal friezes; they cover the period 650-550 B.C., and represent the influence (through Euboea) of Ionic ideas; they form the prototypes of the Corintho-Attic or Tyrrhenian class, and are distinguished from Corinthian by the absence of accessory colours.

Anzeiger.—Obituary notices of Mommsen, U. Köhler, H. von Prott, and A. Milchhoefer. Petersen on *Ara Pacis Augustae*. Herzog on exploration of Kos in 1903. Forty-seventh meeting of German philologists at Halle. Berlin Archäologische Gesellschaft. Acquisitions of Brit. Mus. (1902). Miscellanea. Bibliography.

H. B. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 59. 1. 1904.

Groeger, *Der Einfluss des Ω auf die Composition der Odyssee*. In numerous passages of the *Odyssey* where resemblance to passages of Ω is found (esp. the Telemachus episodes), examination shews that the matter has been more or less violently forced into the context and was probably borrowed from Ω. F. Buecheler, *De idiotismis quibusdam Latinis*. A. Ludwig, *Zu Dorotheos von Sidon*. Emendations, largely on metrical grounds. E. Ritterling, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte*. *Aera* (= *stipendia*) on gravestones at Carnuntum belonging to 10th legion proves recent connection of it with Spain. Such connection ceased in 70 A. D. The service in Pannonia probably began in 63: the

legion was not in Spain with Galba in the spring of 68, but was back there by Apr. 69. F. Jacoby, *Ueber das Marmor Parium*. Text, authorship, method of reckoning, sources and object of the work, with an examination of its language, mainly to prove that it was not written by an Athenian. A. Océ, *Zur älteren Nomenklatur der römischen Sklaven*. The form generally assumed for the Republic is *Pilemo Helui(i) A(uli) s(er)vos*. But no certain ex. is found older than 100 B.C. Anterior to this a form with the nomen in the nominative can be proved, and many inscriptions in which the other form is assumed really belong here—the nominative being given in the abbreviated pre-Sullan form. Six other forms are examined and assigned dates as far as possible—mainly by the aid of inscriptions on

works from ancient potteries. In *Miscellen*, V. Szeliński has a continuation *Zu den Sprichwörtern der Römer*.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xiii. 1. 1904.

E. Bethe, *Die trojanischen Ausgrabungen und die Homerkritik*. The Ajax episodes form the kernel of the Iliad. Coming from Greece he seized Rhoiteion and with this for a base attacked Troia, slew Hector, and destroyed the city. To the small settlement built on its ruins (the 7th city) was given the name Ilion from the father of Ajax (Ileus = Oileus). Henceforward the Ajax dynasty ruled the Troad from their city at Rhoiteion. O. Kern, *Die Landschaft Thessalien und die Geschichte Griechenlands*. The theory that the Phthian Achaeans came from the North and spoke Aeolic in the 6th century is maintained and attention drawn to the signs of Mycenaean culture near Iolkos. C. Hülsen, *Die Neuen Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum*. The Necropolis, Lapis Niger, Diocletian's Curia, the Basilica Aemilia and the early Christian church on the supposed site of the Templum Augusti are handled, with two maps and eighteen illustrations. F. Vollmer, *Vom Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. R. Petsch, *Chor und Volk im antiken und modernen Drama*. An examination of the use of the chorus by the three great tragic poets of Greece, Aristophanes, and Seneca, followed by an account of its survival in modern drama. The development of the chorus into *dramatis personae* as 'citizens,' etc. is due to Shakspeare, though Aretino, Grévin and Lope de Vega to some extent anticipated him. Goethe and Schiller first elaborated the characters of the individual members. Their attempts to revive the classical chorus in certain plays lack completeness and consistency. Meyer's *Über die Modi im Griechischen* is unfavourably reviewed by H. Lattman.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 32. 1. 1904.

S. A. Naber, *Observationes criticae ad Demosthenem* (cont.). Relate to speeches 34-59. J. J. Hartman, *De lepida quadam apud Pollucem fabula in integrum restituenda*. In 1, 30 read δὸ δ' ἐπέθεσαν ἀλλὰ . . . καὶ κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν. J. van Wageningen, *De Mercurio qui Ψυχοπομπὴς dicitur*. In Verg. A. 4, 242 sqq. the word *somnos* refers to sleep, not death, and the words *lumina morte resignat* simply ascribe to Mercury the task of opening the dead man's eyes on the funeral pyre—a Roman custom attested by the elder Pliny. J. J. Hartman, *Tacitea* (cont.). On passages of the Annals. J. C. Naber, *Observationum de iure Romano* (cont.). Lex Commissoria. H. van Herwerden, *Ad Tacitum et Velleium Paternulum*. On passages from the Histories only of Tac. M. Valetton, *De Thorace apud Homerum*. The word in E 99 sq., 189, 282; Δ 152 sqq.; A 234 sq., denotes a linen tunic, and so also in Γ 357-360 (=H 251-254) and A 436, unless here we omit the lines containing the word. In other cases the word in itself may be interpreted to mean either this or a bronze breastplate. There are also three brief notes, each on a passage of Plutarch by J. J. H.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1904.

6 Jan. P. Barth, *Die Stoa* (A. Bonhöffer), favourable. C. Morawski, *Ovidiana* (K. P. Schulze),

favourable. A. Gellii *Noctium Atticarum libri xx*, post M. Hertz ed. C. Hosius (P. Wessner), favourable. J. P. Postgate, *On some papyrus fragments of Isidore at Zurich* (K. Wolke). 'P. deserves thanks for having directed our attention again to Isidore.' A. Torp, *Etruskische Beiträge*. 2. Heft (E. Lattes), favourable.

13 Jan. T. Stickney, *Les sentences dans la poésie grecque d'Homère à Euripide* (J. Sitzler), favourable on the whole. A. Mein, *De optativi obliqui usu Homero* (J. Sitzler), favourable. *Œuvres d'Horace*, publ. par F. Plessis et P. Lejay (P.), favourable. J. P. Postgate, *Selections from Tibullus and others* (K. P. Schulze). 'Deserves full consideration and recognition.' V. Ussani, *L'ultima voce di Lucano* (G. Andresen), favourable. F. F. Abbott, *The Toledo Manuscript of the Germania of Tacitus* (Ed. Wolff).

20 Jan. K. Moeller, *Die Medizin im Herodot* (R. Fuchs), favourable. *Xenophontis quae fertur Apologia Socratis*, rec. L. Tretter (W. Vollbrecht), favourable. *The Commentariolum petitionis* attributed to Quintus Cicero, by G. L. Hendrickson (Th. Schiche). S. Consoli, *La 'Germania' comparata con la Naturalis Historia di Plinio e con le opere di Tacito* (J. Müller), favourable. L. Valmaggi, *Forum Alieni* (G. Andresen).

27 Jan. W. Passow, *Studien zum Parthenon* (B. Sauer), 'Much in little.' S. Consoli, *L'autore del libro de origine et situ Germanorum* (C. John), unfavourable. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*. II. From the end of the 2nd cent. to the beginning of the 4th. (J. Dräseke) I.

3 Feb. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, griechisch und deutsch von H. Diels (K. Praechter), very favourable. A. Th. Christ, *Beiträge zur Kritik des Platonischen Laches* (H. Draheim), favourable. M. Voigt, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*. III. (E. Grupe), favourable. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*. II. From the end of the 2nd cent. to the beginning of the 4th. (J. Dräseke) II. 'May be most cordially recommended.'

10 Feb. W. Spiegelberg, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Kunst im Abriss dargestellt* (A. Wiedemann), favourable. L. Wülher, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Prodigenwesens bei den Römern*, *Studien zur Geschichte und Ueberlieferung der Staatsprodigien* (F. Luterbacher), very favourable. W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms in seinem Übergange von der republikanischen zur monarchischen Verfassung*. 2. Aufl. von P. Grobe. II. (O. E. Schmidt), deprecates this second edition. R. Dienel, *Beiträge zur Textkritik des Taciteischen Rednerdialogs* (C. John), unfavourable.

17 Feb. S. Schlossmann, *Alt Römisches Schuldrecht und Schuldverfahren* (B. Kübler) I. *Taciti Opera quae supersunt*, rec. J. Mueller. Ed. Minor I. ed. alt. (Th. Opitz). F. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*. Deutsche Ausgabe von G. Gehrich (R. Asmus), favourable.

24 Feb. *Demetrius on Style*. The Greek text of Demetrius de elocutione ed. by W. Rhys Roberts (H. v. Arnim) I. S. Schlossmann, *Alt Römisches Schuldrecht und Schuldverfahren* (B. Kübler) II., unfavourable on the whole. Ovid, *Metamorphosen*, Buch I—VII, erkl. von M. Haupt, 8. Aufl. von R. Ehwald (H. W.). J. Sorn, *Weitere Beiträge zur Syntax des M. Junianus Justinus* (tz.), favourable.

The Classical Review

MAY 1904.

THE *Classical Association of England and Wales* holds its first regular meeting at Oxford on Saturday, May 28. The serious business of the Saturday will be preceded by a *réunion* on the Friday evening, for which we understand the Schools have been secured. As the meeting takes place in the middle of the academical term, and as the heavy-witted railway corporation which controls the passage to the north-west persists in treating our two leading university towns as a couple of villages, it is to be feared that Cambridge will be but sparsely represented. But apart from this there is every reason to hope for a gathering which will repay the energetic and self-sacrificing efforts of the Oxford Secretary and Committee. Future meetings are, it would appear, most likely to be held in January: if, that is to say, the vote of the Oxford meeting confirms the preferences expressed by the members of the Association on the rival claims of January, July, and September, January being easily first and July easily last in the estimation of the majority of voters. *Apropos* of the Classical Association we take the opportunity to ask our readers to correct a misprint in the report of the meeting on Dec. 19, *C.R.* Feb., p. 67 fin., where Landor is alleged to have said that Euripides contained 'more parchment than poetry' instead of 'preachment.'

NO. CLIX. VOL. XVIII.

The next volume of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* will be published early in June and will be the most interesting that has yet appeared. Among 'plums' may be mentioned the *Παρθένειον* of Pindar, the argument of Cratinus' *Διονυσιαλέξανδρος*, the new fragment of Aristotle's *Προτρεπτικός*, the 'New Sayings of Jesus' and the 'Fragment of a lost gospel.' It will also contain a fragment of one of the *Epitomes* of Livy upon which Prof. J. S. Reid will contribute an article to the July number of the *Classical Review*.

We learn from a note in the last number of the *American Journal of Philology* that the cause of its late appearance was a fire at the press which produces it. This reminds us only too painfully of the recent terrible loss to Italy and learning at Turin. It is the duty of every government to see that all precious MSS. are deposited in fire-proof buildings and the duty of scholars to support the photographic reproductions of such treasures to the utmost of their power.

We are asked to state that Prof. A. Gudeman has been appointed on the permanent staff of the Latin *Thesaurus* and has removed from Cornell University to Munich.

FURTHER ADVERSARIA UPON THE FRAGMENTS OF EURIPIDES.

(The numeration is Nauck's 1889.)

Euripides *fr.* 118 :

προσαίδονσσαι τὰς ἐν ἄντροις,
 †ἀπόπασον, ἔασον Ἄ-
 χοῖ με σὺν φίλαισιν
 γούου πόθον λαβεῖν.

The first line is excellently emended by Seidler to πρὸς Αἰδοῦς σὲ τὰν ἐν ἄντροις, but his ἀπόπασον cannot be accepted. Read σιῶπασον, which (after the preceding -ς) is very near in minuscules.

Fr. 188 :

ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ·
 παῦσαι δ' ἐλέγχων. †πολέμων δ' εὐμουσίαν
 ἄσκει τοιαῦτ' †αἶδε καὶ δόξεις φρονεῖν,
 σκάπτων, ἄρῶν γῆν, ποιμνίοις ἐπιστατῶν κ.τ.λ.

Zethus thus exhorts Amphion. πολέμων, which we have on the word of the copyist of Olympiodorus, is not only unmetrical, but also, as the context shews, quite alien to the sense. Valckenaer's πολεμίων therefore does not mend matters. ποιμένων (Iernstedt) is too narrow, in view of v. 4. The sense is best met by

πενόμενον δ' εὐμουσίαν.

For τοιαῦτ' αἶδε various suggestions have been offered. To them I venture to add τοιαῦτ' ἔρεϊδε.

Fr. 206, 4-6 :

Words, says the speaker, are deceptive :—

ὃς δ' εὐγλωσσία
 νικᾷ, σοφὸς μὲν, ἀλλὰ †γὰρ τὰ πράγματα
 κρείσσω νομίζω τῶν λόγων αἰέ ποτε.

For ἀλλὰ γὰρ τά of Stobaeus, Clem. Alex. has ἀλλά γε τά. The best sense and best account of the errors may be obtained from

ἀλλά γ' αὐτὰ πράγματα
 κρείσσω νόμιζε κ.τ.λ.

i.e. 'always deem facts, in their nakedness, worth more than words.' For ἀλλά γε see Adam on Plat. *Rep.* 331 b.

Fr. 221 :

εἰ δέ που τύχοι
 πέριξ ἑλίκας εἰλκε... ὁμοῦ λαβῶν
 γυναῖκα πέτρην ὀρὺν μεταλλάσσω αἰέ.

The most likely word to be lost is σὺρμ' (i.e. from the group of letters—K E C Y P - M O M O Y). The word is actually suggested by the context of Longinus (c. 40. 4).

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συρομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύρου
 Δίρκης.

[By the way I regret to see that Prof. Mahaffy, in *Cunningham Memoirs*, No. viii. p. 29 prints this fragment thus

εἰ δέ που
 τύχοι πέριξ ἑλίκας εἰλχ' ὁμοῦ λαβῶν κ.τ.λ.]

Fr. 243 :

ὀλίγον ἄλκιμον δόρυ
 κρείσσον †στρατηγῶ μυρίου στρατεύματος.

Even στρατηγῶ is no improvement. The adj. antithetic to ἄλκιμον is still to seek, and the statement is manifestly false. To Matthiae's κακάνδρου and Schmidt's ταπεινοῦ I prefer κατηφούς ('despondent').

Fr. 266 :

σκύλα μὲν βροτόφθορα
 χαίρεις †ὀρώσα ἀπὸ καὶ νεκρῶν ἐρείπια,
 κοῦ μιὰρά σοι ταῦτ' ἐστίν· εἰ δ' ἐγὼ 'τεκον,
 δεινὸν τόδ' ἡγή ;

Simply to omit ἀπό and read ὀρώσα is unconvincing. Read

χαίρεις ὀρώσά πο νεκρῶν τ' ἐρείπια,
 where που is helpful to the tone.

Fr. 303, 3-5 :

ὁ γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἐκφῦς
 χρόνος δικαίους ἐπάγων κανόνας
 δείκνυσιν ἀνθρώπων κακότητος †ἔμοι.

The metaphor in ἐπάγων κανόνας directs to the emendation

κακότητος ἁρμοῦ ('faults of joining')

(cf. *fr.* 472, 8 ἀτρεκεῖς ἁρμοὺς κυπαρίσσου). The development of error was ἁρμον > αἶμον > εἶμον and thence ἐμοί by adaptation to δείκνυσιν.

Fr. 319 :

συμμαρτυρῶ σοι· πανταχοῦ λελεήμεθα
 πᾶσαι γυναῖκες ἀρσένων †αἰεὶ δίχα.

Read ἐς τᾶνδικα, and for εἰδικα applied to the behaviour of women cf. *fr.* 1061, Apollonides *fr.* 1, 5 sq. etc.

Fr. 346 :

εἷς γάρ τις ἔστι κοινὸς ἀνθρώποις νόμος,
 καὶ θεοῖσι τοῦτο δόξαν †ὁ σαφῶς λέγω
 θηρσὶν τε πᾶσι, τέκνα τίκτουςιν φιλεῖν.

The usual reading is the almost meaningless ὡς σαφῶς λέγω of Grotius. The corruption

was not very likely, and one may rather suggest, for both construction and sense,

καὶ θεοῖσι τοῦτο δόξαν οἷσθα πωσλόγω

Fr. 354 :

† τὴς οὐσίας γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τὴς ἀρπαγῆς[†]
τιμῶν δίκαιον· οὕτε γὰρ πλοῦτός ποτε
βέβαιος αἰδικός...

Nauck rightly observes of v. 1 that 'graviter laborat.' Nevertheless the actual amount of alteration required is not great, viz.

τὰ δι' ὅσας γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἀρπα-
γῆς
τιμῶν δίκαιον, κ.τ.λ.

Fr. 360 :

τὰς χάριτας ὅστις εὐγενῶς χαρίζεται,
ἥδιον ἐν βροτοῖσιν· οἱ δὲ δρῶσι μὲν,
† χρόνῳ δὲ δρῶσι, δυσγενέστερον†.
ἐγὼ δὲ δώσω παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν κταεῖν.

The thought is *bis dat qui cito dat*, and the defective third line may be emended almost with certainty to

χρόνῳ δὲ <δ α ρ ω> δρῶσι, δυσγενέστερον.

Fr. 361 :

ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς καλῶς τεληγκότας
ζῆν φημὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ βλέπειν τοὺς μὴ καλῶς.

It can hardly be called a change if we read

ζῆν φημὶ, μᾶλλον τ' οὐ βλέπειν κ.τ.λ.

[Of course μᾶλλον δ' is quite different. The sense is not 'or rather,' but 'and also I say that rather those do not live who live dishonourably.']

Fr. 378 :

νῦν δ' ἦν τις τοῖκων πλουσίαν ἔχῃ φάτιν,
πρῶτος γέγραπται τῶν τ' ἀμεινόνων κρατεῖ.

One of the three MSS. has ὄκων, and this, together with the sense and the frequency of the corruption, leads to ὄγκω.

Fr. 405 :

τὴν εὐγένειαν, κἂν ἄμορφος ἢ γάμος,
† τιμῶσι πολλοὶ προσλαβεῖν τέκνων χάριν.

Suggestions are *θηρῶσι* (Herwerden) and *φιλοῦσι* (O. Hense). I believe that here, as in several other places, the rarer verb *διφῶσι* is correct. So in *fr.* 21, 6 ἂ δ' οἱ πλουτοῦντες οὐ κεκτήμεθα, | τοῖσιν πένησι χρώμενοι † τιμώμεθα (*πειθώμεθα* one MS), Bergler and Nauck offer *θηρώμεθα*, but *διφώμεθα* better accounts for the two readings. Similarly in *Solon fr.* 12, 11 (Hiller) *ὄν* (sc. *πλοῦτον*) δ' *ἄνδρες* † τιμῶσιν ἰφ' ὕβριος I prefer *διφῶσιν* to *μετίωσιν*. It is at least strange that *τιμῶν* should be

suspicious or practically impossible in all these places, and the only reasonable conclusion is that it has ousted a less familiar word.

Fr. 518 :

τοῦ μὲν (sc. *πλούτου*) ὥκεῖα πτέρνῃ,
παῖδες δὲ χρηστοί, † κἂν θάνωσι, δώματι
καλόν τι θησαύρισμα.

Heath suggests *κἂν στενοῖσι* or *κἂν πίνῃσι*. In the same sense, but nearer is

παῖδες δὲ χρηστοί καὶ σθενούσι δώματι
ε.τ.λ.

(where *ασθενούσι*, like *ασθενέσι*, = 'poor').

fr. 521 :

ἔνδον μένονσαν τὴν γυναῖκ' εἶναι χρεὼν
ἔσθλῃν, θύρασι δ' ἀξίαν τοῦ μηδεῖος.

The weakness of *εἶναι* is palpable. Two of the three MSS. of Stobaeus write *γυναῖκα εἶναι*, and, though such filling in of elided vowels is common enough, it rarely occurs in two of the MSS. together. I have long been of opinion that the idiomatic construction and meaning of *κλύειν*, *ἀκούειν* with adjectives extended also to *αἰεῖν* and that the form *αἶεν* (found in *ἐπαἶεν*) is as interchangeable with *αἶεν* as *αἶω* with *αἰῶω*, *ἄσσω* with *αἰσσω*. I have noted several places in which *αἶεν* or its parts could be read for *εἶναι* or its parts with advantage, and here I gather from *γυναικαεῖναι* that *τὴν γυναῖκ' αἶεν χρεὼν* | *ἔσθλῃν* is the true reading.

[In *fr.* 617 occur the lines

οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποισι τοιοῦτον σκότος
οὐ δῶμα γαῖας κληστόν, ἐνθα τὴν φύσιν
ὁ δυσγενὴς κρύψας ἂν τεῖη σοφός.

I am disposed to suggest *αἰοῖ* there, although I still hesitate between that reading and <εἴτ' > *εἴη*.]

Fr. 527 :

† μόνον δ' ἂν αὐτὰ χρημάτων οὐκ ἂν λάβοις
γενναϊότητα κἀρετήν.

Nauck adopts *ἀντί* for *αὐτά* from Jacobs. But there is a peculiar idiom of *αὐτός* with *μόνος* which demands recognition. Thus in *Agathon fr.* 5 :

μόνον γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται,
(viz.) ἀγέννητα ποιεῖν ἄσσω ἂν ἢ πεπραγμένα.

In such a case *αὐτοῦ* is anticipatory of the notion in the following line. Here also the sense is met by

μόνω δ' ἂν αὐτὸν χρημάτων οὐκ ἂν λάβοις,
(viz.) γενναϊότητα κἀρετήν.

The feminine form αὐτή is, of course, certain, but either μόνω or μόνα may stand for the dual adj., and it is probable that the corruption arose from

μόνα δ' ἂν αὐτή

which would naturally lead to μόνα δ' ἂν αὐτά (regarded as neuter plur.) and hence (for metre) to μόνον.

Fr. 550 :

ἐκ τῶν ἀέλπτων ἢ χαρὰ μείζων βροτοῖς
φανείσα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ προσδοκώμενον.

Possibly this is right, but more probable seems

μᾶλλον ἢ 'πὸ προσδοκώμενον.

[The double comparative is, of course, free from suspicion.]

Fr. 567 :

Photius and Suidas say (on Ἡρακλείαν λίθον) ἢ δὲ Μαγνήτις ἀργύρῳ ὁμοία ἐστίν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης Οἰνεί

τὰς βροτῶν

γνώμας †σκοπῶν ὥστε Μαγνήτις λίθος
τὴν δόξαν ἔλκει καὶ μεθίστησιν πάλιν.

(μεθίστησιν Herwerden.) Surely it is clear that ἀργυρος ought to play some part in this quotation,¹ and one may suggest

τὰς βροτῶν < γὰρ ἄργυρος >

γνώμας παρασπῶν, ὥστε Μαγνήτις λίθος,
τὴν δόξαν ἔλκει καὶ μεθίστησιν πάλιν.

For σπᾶν of the magnet cf. Hesych. Ἡρακλεία λίθος· αὕτη τὸν σίδηρον ἐπισπᾶται. I do not pretend to be sure of the particular compound of σπῶν disguised in σκοπῶν, but παρασπῶν strikes me as most likely.

Fr. 580 :

Ἀγάμεμνον, ἀνθρώποισι πᾶσιν αἱ τύχαι
μορφὴν ἔχουσι, συντρέχει δ' εἰς ἓν τόδε

(viz. that χρημάτων ὑπερ μοχθοῦσιν).

It is very true, but not very profound, to say that 'in the case of all men fortunes have a shape,' nor has this much to do with the fact that they all labour for money. Matthiae's παντοίαν for πᾶσιν αἱ aims at one obvious requirement of the sense. Two of the MSS. of Stobaeus give a variant πᾶσι χρήματα for πᾶσιν αἱ τύχαι and the discrepancy is worth noting. Whether or not Agamemnon is really concerned in the speech is a matter for some scepticism. If μορφὴν is the right word, and not μομφήν ('all men's fortunes are open to dissatisfac-

tion'), the sense required is ἄλλην ἄλλοις μορφὴν τύχαι ἔχουσι. Since a common way of writing ἀνθρώποις was ἀνoίς, with which ἄλλοις is not seldom confused, and since a grave accent may represent the syllable -ον, it is not so far a cry as it might seem to convert Ἀγάμεμνον ἀνθρώποις into ἄλλην μὲν ἄλλοις; i.e. ΑΛΛΗΝΜΕΝΑΛΛΟΙC was read as ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝ'ΑΝΟΙC. The variants πᾶσιν αἱ τύχαι and πᾶσι χρήματα suggest that here we have another trace of those derivatives of πάσμαι which, if they had their rights, ought to appear in many places in tragedy. Thus in fr. 578 παισὶν θ' ἅπαν θνήσκοντα γραμμάτων μέτρον | γράψαντά τ' εἰπεῖν κ.τ.λ., Scaliger's χρημάτων is less good than would be παμμάτων. In fr. 659 χρημάτων | πολλῶν κεκλῆσθαι βούλεται πατήρ δόμοις Dindorf rightly emends with πάτωρ. It seems to me that πᾶσι χρήματα and πᾶσιν αἱ τύχαι between them suggest an original πασι-χρήματαοι τύχαι, i.e. 'conditions in regard to the acquiring of χρήματα.' The compound adj. is the more poetical form of κτησιβίος. The lines then read

ἄλλην μὲν ἄλλοις πασιχρήματαοι
τύχαι
μορφὴν ἔχουσι, συντρέχει δ' εἰς ἓν τόδε κ.τ.λ.

[I suspect the same confusion of ἀνoίς with ἄλλοις in fr. 204 (monostich)]

πόλλ' ἔστιν ἀνθρώποισιν, ᾧ ξένοι, κακά.

This singularly Tupperian line is quoted alone as if worth something in itself. It seems to possess a little more point if we read

πόλλ' ἔστιν, ἄλλ' ἄλλοισιν, ᾧ ξένοι,
κακά,

i.e. 'there are many troubles, different for different persons.']

Fr. 608 :

ἐν τοῖσι μὲν δεινοῖσιν ὡς φίλοι †φίλων
ὅταν δὲ πράξωσ' εὖ, διωθοῦνται χάριν κ.τ.λ.

To attempts to correct the former line I would add the exclamatory

ἐν τοῖσι μὲν δεινοῖσιν ὡς φίλοι φίλοι

i.e. 'How friendly are friends when they are in trouble!'

Fr. 618 :

τὸν ὄλβον οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ κρίνω βροτοῖς
ὄν γ' ἐξαλείφει ῥᾶον ἢ ἡ γράφει θεός.

The word γράφει can hardly be correct, even if the statement were entirely complimentary to the divine powers. Hence γραφήν

¹ Mr. W. Headlam has already proposed ἀργυρος εἰ τὰς βροτῶν, C.R. xiii. 4.—ED. C.R.

Meineke and Nauck. Nearer to γράφει and to the sense would be

ὃν γ' ἐξαλείφει ῥῆον ἢ γ' ἄφ' ἡ θεός.

Fr. 644 :

ὅταν κακός τις ἐν πόλει πῦρ σὺν καλῶς,
 ῥοσὲν τιθῇσι τῶν ἀμεινόνων φρένας
 παρὰ δειγμ' ἔχοντας τῶν κακῶν ἐξουσίαν.

Cobet, followed by Nauck, alters in three places, reading

- τὰς ἀμεινόνων φρένας
 παρὰ δειγμ' ἔχοντων τὴν κ. ἐξουσίαν

Probably one change is sufficient, viz. τινάς for φρένας. This will account for ἔχοντας as well as establish τῶν ἀμεινόνων. [Not, of course, that τὰς ἀμεινόνων would be needed in any case.] The statement is also truer with τινάς.

Fr. 650 :

πολλ' ἐλπιδες ψεύδουσι καὶ ἄλογοι βροτούς.

I can see no objection to a natural correction καὶ ἄλογοι ('hopes, even when absurd').

Fr. 714 :

τί γάρ με πλοῦτος ὠφελεῖ νόσον;
 σμίκρ' ἂν θέλοιμι καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἔχων
 ἄλπος οἰκίην μᾶλλον ἢ πλουτῶν ῥοσέν.

Construction and metre may be restored with

τί γάρ με < ποιῶν > πλοῦτος ὠφελεῖ νόσον;
 [ὠφελεῖν νόσον is good Greek for 'helping,' i.e. 'easing,' a malady. The dictionaries might quote this place and also *fr.* 274 τὸ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς ὠφελεῖ τὰς ξυμφοράς and *Soph. fr.* 197 ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν ἐλπίς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. These passages support each other and render the usual changes worse than unnecessary.]

Fr. 717 :

τί δ', ὦ τάλας; σὺ τῷδε πείθεσθαι ἔμέλλεις;

Almost identical with ΜΕΛΛΙΣ (= μέλλεις) is ΜΕΛΛΙΣ i.e. μ' ἐλάττω; [Nauck suggests με λῆς].

Fr. 754 :

ἔτερον ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ ταῖς αἰρούμενος (αἰ. ἰώμενος)
 ἄγρευμ' ἀνθρώπων ἡδομένην ψυχῇ.

Read θηρώμενος. This is practically proved by Chaeremon *fr.* 10 εἰς ἀπείρονα στρατὸν | ἀνθρώπων ἄλογχον ἐστράτευσαν, ἡδοναῖς | θηρώμεναι < θάλλ > οντα λειμώνων τέκνα.

Fr. 773 :

μνησθεῖς ὃ μοί ποτ' εἶπ' ὅτ' ἡννάσθη θεὸς
 αὐτοῦ τί χρῆζεις.

For this impossible Greek I suggest the idiomatic

αὐτοῦ τὸ χροῖον (cf. *Eur. I. A.* 1017).

Rau's λέγ' εἰ τι χρῆζεις seems rather too remote from αὐτοῦ.

Fr. 774 :

γαῖν τοι μὲν ἄγκυρ' οὐδαμῶς σῶζεν φιλῆ
 ὥς τρεῖς ἀφέντι πρὸς τῆς θ' ἀπλοῦς πόλει
 σφαλερός, ἐπὶ δὲ κάλλος οὐ κακὸν πόλει.

[v. 1 οὐχ ὁμῶς Badham, plausibly. v. 3 πέλει Barnes.] There seems to be a better correspondence in sense, as well as more force in καὶ ἄλλος, if we write

ἐπὶ δὲ κάλλος οὐκ ἀρκῶν πέλει
 ('and even if there be another in reserve he is not enough'). Among participles which act as adjectives ἀρκῶν is conspicuous. Cf. *Carcin. fr.* 3 ἀρκῶν ἂν εἴη.

Fr. 781, 52-54 :

MEP. πῶς φῆς; ὅρα μὴ θυμῶν πυρρῶν
 κατ' οἶκον ἀτμῶν κείῳ ἀποσταλάντ' ἴδης.
 ΘΕΡ. ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἡθροσεκανπωτοῦτοσεχεῖ.

From this I elicit

ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἡθροσ', εἰ ἂν χοῦτος ἔχη.
 i.e. 'I looked into all that, to see if it may be (perchance) even so.'

[In passing I should like to note the resemblance, accidental or not, between v. 46 καπνοῦ μέλαν' ἡσθις ἐνδοθεν στέγης and Tennyson's 'the warm blue breathings of a hidden hearth'.]

Fr. 795, 4 sq. :

After expressing distrust of the oracular powers of men—

ὅστις γὰρ ἀνχεῖ θεῶν ἐπίστασθαι περὶ,
 οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον οἶδεν ἢ πείθει λέγων.

I suggest

οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον οἶδε καὶ Πυθοῖ Λέγων
 ('even if he speaks at Delphi'). Not only are καὶ and ἡ frequently confused, but μᾶλλον would at once suggest ἡ.

Fr. 842 :

ἡγνώμη σοφός μοι καὶ χέρ' ἀνδρείαν ἔχειν
 δῶσμορφος εἶην μᾶλλον ἢ καλὸς κακός.

The infinitive may be sound. It is tolerably simple to read

γνώμη ἡν σοφὸς φῦς κ.τ.λ.
 i.e. φῦς σοφὸς γνώμην καὶ (φῦς) ἔχειν κ.τ.λ.

Fr. 853, 2 :

θεοὺς τε τιμᾶν τοὺς τε φύσαντας ἡγονεῖς...
 The form γονεῖς is not allowable for the

accus. in Euripides, and γοιῆς can hardly be accepted. Read

... τοὺς τε φέσαντας γοιῆς.

Fr. 890 :

λόγον δίκαιον μισθὸν ἂν λόγου εἰσφέρεις,
ἔργον δ' ἐκείνους ἔργα παρέσχετο.

The former line has been emended by Bothe with λόγων δίκαιον μισθὸν ἂν λόγους φέροις. In the second Musgrave corrected to ἐκείνους. For the rest read

ἔργων δ' ἐκείνους ἔργ' ἂν <π ε ρ> παρέσχετο.

Fr. 900 :

ᾧφειλεν τῇδεν, εἴπερ ἔστ' ἐν οὐρανῷ
Ζεὺς, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν δυστυχή καθιστάναι.

I propose

ᾧφειλε δὴ Ζεὺς, εἴπερ ἔστ' ἐν οὐρανῷ
Ζεὺς, μὴ τὸν ἀγνὸν δυστυχή καθιστάναι.

[This use of ᾧφειλε is, of course, not to be confused with that of ᾧφειλε.]

Fr. 919 :

κορυφῇ δὲ θεῶν ὁ περὶ χθον' ἔχων
τῆφαινδὸς αἰθήρη.

The anapaests demand φανὸς ὅδ'.

Fr. 930 :

οἶμοι, δράκων μου γίγνεται τὸ ἥμισυ.
τέκνον, τῆ περιπλάκηθι τῷ λοιπῷ πατρί.

It is little wonder that Hermogenes thought the former line 'paltry' and rather foolish, though we may be surprised at his thinking that the following line redeemed it. Bad as the verse is, it should at least be metrical, and we should read

δράκων μου γέγονε τοῦτο θῆμισυ.

In support of this may be adduced the schol. on Hermog. (quoted by Nauck), ἀσυνεσία γάρ τις τὸ λέγειν τὸν Κέκροπα ὅτι δράκων μου γέγονε τὸ ἥμισυ.

In the second line we may emend with τέκνον, <σὺ> περιπλάκηθι.

Fr. 982 :

πολλοὺς δὲ βροντῆς πνεῦμ' ἀναιμον ὤλεσεν.

So Plutarch, but Theo Smyrnaeus has τραῦμ'. In such cases the real word is often neither, and here I suspect it was τύμμ' ('the bloodless stroke').

Fr. 986 :

πλούτῳ χλιδῶσα θνητὰ δ', ὧ γύναι, φρόνει.

Read

πλούτῳ χλιδάσθω

Fr. 1032 :

τὸ δ' ὠκὺ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ λαυψήρὸν φρενῶν
εἰς συμφορὰν τῆ καθίστησι πολλὴν δὴ βροτούς.

A variant καθῆκε is offered in one MS. The common source is probably καθίσσε. The obvious correction πολλά is found with the variant.

Fr. 1054 :

ἔρωτα δεινὸν τῆ ἔχωμεν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν λόγων
ἐλοῦ τὰ βέλτισθ'· τῷστ' ἄπιστόν ἐστ' ἔρως
κὰν τῷ κακίστῳ τῶν φρενῶν οἰκεῖν φιλεῖ.

In the last line of the three MSS of Stobaeus all offer different readings, viz. οἰκεῖν, ἀκεῖν, ταρκεῖν (the τ coming from the final of φρενῶν). Also A gives καί for κὰν. For τῷστ' in v. 2 Pierson corrected with ὡς. In the first line editors give ἔχομεν and ἐκ δ' ἐμῶν. But I think we should read with less change

ἔρωτα δεινὸν σχωμεν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν λόγων
ἐλοῦ τὰ βέλτισθ'· ὡς ἄπιστόν ἐστ' ἔρως
καὶ τῷ κακίστῳ τῶν φρενῶν εἴκειν φιλεῖ.

'Let us check overmastering passion, and from the (various) arguments of reason choose the best course. For passionate desire cannot be trusted, but is wont to obey the worst part of the mind.'

Fr. 1066 :

τῇ τοῖς ἐν οἴκῳ χρήμασιν λελεῖμμεθα,
ἢ δ' εὐγένεια καὶ τὸ γενναῖον μένει.

(al. ἢ τοῖς, ἢν τοῖς). Read κτητοῖς and (probably) μέν for ἐν.

Fr. 1115 :

τῆδονῇ πανταχοῦ ἐστι καὶ πάντα δι' ἡδονῆς
γίνεται†

The sentence is manifestly much corrupted. A clue to the correction is to be discerned in the accompanying words in Anecd. Oxon. iv. p. 316, 15 λιγυρῶς δὲ οὐ λέγω ἡδέως κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην 'ἡδονή—γίνεται', ἀλλὰ λιγὺ τὸ ὀξύ. But there is nothing about λιγυρός or λιγύς in the quotation, nor has it any suitability there. If the writer found any part of λιγύς or λιγυρός, it must have been a corruption of the same word of which γίνεται also is a corruption. That word was λιχνα, and the best sense and metre is made by ἡδονῆς <τὰ> πάντα ἀκούει, πάντα δ' ἡδονῆς λιχνα.

T. G. TUCKER.

NUCES THUCYDIDEAE.

I. 2, § 6. The argument of the chapter is: Greece in past ages could not have undertaken great enterprises, for the country was not settled, men readily migrated (§ 1). For they had little but bare sustenance, and therefore the towns were poor and readily forsaken (§ 2). The richest soil most often changed hands (§ 3), for internal quarrels arose and besides neighbours were tempted to attack (§ 4). At any rate this may be inferred from the contrary example of Attica—a poor soil whose inhabitants did not change (§ 5). In § 6 the following considerations naturally occur to the mind as antecedent conditions to the right determination of its gist: (1) παράδειγμα τόδε is according to Thucydidean usage likely to find its explanation in the subsequent γάρ clause, not in διὰ . . . ἀξέθῃναι; (2) τοῦ λόγου = 'this theory' seems to need some explanation: (3) the γάρ clause amounts to the statement that Athens grew so populous from the influx of wealthy exiles from elsewhere who regarded her as a safe and stable dwelling-place that she colonized Ionia: (4) this statement taken in conjunction with § 5 will give a reason—again *a contrario*—for believing that a rich soil did not make a country powerful, because migrations interfered with its natural development. Our conclusion must be then that διὰ τὰς μετακίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως ἀξέθῃναι expresses this theory, that owing to the migrations from which they suffered the more fertile parts of Greece did not grow proportionately to their fertility in population and accumulated wealth. We must then regard § 5 as a parenthesis or digression, take § 6 as a return to the main subject of discussion, which is therefore restated clearly in one sentence after the digression, and regard this main theory as

established by an argument from the opposite fortunes of Attica. The subject to ἀξέθῃναι will be 'the Greeks in the fertile parts of the country,' and ἐς τὰ ἄλλα = 'in other respects than in the wealth derived from the soil.'

10, §§ 1–3. The nexus of thought seems most reasonably to be: ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν . . . οὐκ ἀκριβεῖς ἂν τις σημειῶν χρόμενος ἀπιστοῖ μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον . . . | οὐκ οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν εἰκὸς οὐδὲ τὰς ὄψεις τῶν πόλεων μάλλον σκοπεῖν, repeating the sense of this opening μὲν-clause not furnishing its apodosis] ῥομίζειν δὲ (εἰκὸς) τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς λειπομένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, i.e. that Mycenae was a small place would be no sound warrant for believing that Agamemnon's armament was unimportant; rather we should regard it as the greatest in those early ages, though insignificant when measured by the standard of to-day.

II. 11, § 7. πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες ὀργή προσπίπτει. All the editors find difficulty in the syntax. But the true solution seems to be that the sentence is only a distinctively Thucydidean arrangement of πᾶσι γὰρ (ἐν τῷ) ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι (ὁρᾶν) καὶ ἐν τῷ παραντίκα ὁρᾶν κ.τ.λ. Thus παραντίκα balances ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι, both phrases qualify ὁρᾶν, ἐν τῷ goes with ὁρᾶν (=at the sight), while πᾶσι follows προσπίπτει. For the collocation of words, avoiding the sequence ἐν τῷ ἐν τοῖς, cf. ii. 18 § 3, ἐπειδὴ τε (and) ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατός, ἡ τε ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἡ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτὸν, a Thucydidean arrangement—avoiding τε τε—of (ἡ) τε (τε) ἐπειδὴ ξυνε. ὁ στρατ. (γενομένη ἐπιμονὴ) ἡ ἐν τ. ἰ. γ. ἐ. καὶ ἡ κ. τ. ἄλλην π. σχολ.

T. NICKLIN.

PLATONICA I.

THE 'REPUBLIC.'

THESE notes refer chiefly, as is natural, to things in which I cannot agree with Mr. Adam; but I should be very sorry to leave the impression that I do not recognise the value of his work. As a matter of fact,

the agreement between us is far greater than the difference, though on one question I fear that our divergence is fundamental, I mean that of the use to be made of MSS. other than A. In the Introduction to his text of 1897, Mr. Adam gave grounds for refusing to eliminate all MSS. but A and II

(Schanz's D) from the *apparatus criticus*, and he says quite truly: 'there is strong reason for believing that the right readings of some of these MSS. do not rest on conjecture, but represent a tradition which is independent of both A and Π.' It is, therefore, not a little surprising to find him adopting as his first canon the rule 'Follow A wherever possible,' especially as this means in practice the total suppression of the admittedly independent testimony in such cases. Surely, where Π(D) agrees with other independent witnesses against A, a very serious problem arises; for the assumption that A is right then means that the text has been twice at least independently corrupted in the very same way by different scribes. This happens, of course; but it cannot be regarded as normal, and no presumption of the trustworthiness of A can rebut the inherent improbability of its happening very often. To say that the reading of A is 'possible' is not to the point; for we are not entitled to assume that, wherever A erred, the result was an impossible reading; indeed, the presumption is quite the other way, and there are certainly cases where the consensus of independent evidence against A is so remarkable, that, to use Mr. Adam's words in another connexion, we are entitled to ask for proof that A 'not only may, but must' be right, or, at the very least, for an explanation of the other witnesses' agreement in error.¹

¹ Two examples, taken at random from Book I, will show what I mean. At 328 d, 5 Mr. Adam, with most recent editors, writes τοῖς τοῖς νεαρίαις (so A) with no hint of a variant in his critical note. In his commentary he says: 'There is no sufficient reason for reading νεαρίαις with Π and other MSS.,' which implies that the one word is as good as the other, and that the use of νεαρίαις is quite normal. As it is, however, we require some proof that the word νεαρίαις was ever used by any Attic writer simply for 'young man.' So far as I know, it never occurs except with the shade of meaning which comes out explicitly in νεαρίκος and νεαριέσθαι. That being so, it is surely important for us to know that, in this case, Π(D) is confirmed by two quite independent witnesses, F and Stobaeus. When Π(D) goes over to the enemy like this, the easiest assumption surely is that the other reading is due solely to the archetype of AM. The same thing applies to the omission of γε after καὶ μὴν χαίρω two lines below. Mr. Adam says only: 'γε need not be added (with Π and other MSS.) after χαίρω.' Certainly not, if we look merely at what is 'possible' Greek; but, if we look at the evidence, it certainly must. For here again Π(D) goes over to the enemy, Stobaeus having γε, and F having τε, which means that its original had γε. Is it likely that νεαρίαις was changed to νεαρίκοις by at least three different persons at very different dates, or that the idiomatic γε was similarly interpolated at a time when the Attic καὶ

Still less can I agree with the way in which Mr. Adam uses other MSS. when he is compelled to use them. He arranges them in a sort of order of merit according to their serviceableness in 'correcting the errors and supplying the omissions' of A, according to the number of times, as he puts it, that they 'come to the rescue' when A 'breaks down.' Now this is a procedure which could only pass muster if our aim were to produce a readable rather than an authentic text, and it leads in practice to the free use of MSS. which have really no more authority than the early printed editions. Next to Π(D), Mr. Adam relies mainly upon Ξ and γ, as to which it is at least doubtful whether they embody any tradition unknown to us from other sources, and which, on his own admission, 'show manifest signs of editing.'² He thus exposes himself to the danger of deserting A for specious conjectures of Gemistos Plethon and Bessarion in passages where the really independent MSS. show that A, if not right, is at least not seriously wrong. If we are to proceed in this way, why trouble about MSS. at all? The Aldine and Ficinus 'come to the rescue' far oftener than any of them, and there is surely no difference between the authority of a written book and a printed one of practically the same period.

Of course we must admit the possibility that, even in the latest MSS., there may be stray fragments of genuine tradition; but it

μὴν...γε had long been obsolete (cf. Lucian, *Lexiphr.* c. 10)? Surely it makes less demand upon our faith to believe that the archetype of AM is alone responsible for readings of which there is no trace in any MS. independent of it.

² Bessarion's codex (Ξ) is really a recension and draws upon many sources of information (O. Immisch, *Philol. Stud.* p. 13, n. 3), but it is not probable that he had access to any tradition unknown to us. The argument from the supposed agreement of certain peculiar readings of Ξ in the *Phaedo* with the Petrie papyrus is quite illusory. When the papyrus was published, Ven. T and Vind. W had not been collated in the *Phaedo*, and it now appears that these readings are not peculiar to Ξ, but come from the regular tradition. Ven. T is also the chief source of Ξ in the *Republic* as far as 389 d, where the old part of the MS. comes to an end, and the text of T, though not directly derived from A, as will be shown later, is practically the same. From 389 d onwards, the groundwork of the text of Ξ is derived from a MS. akin to Vind. F, as will appear. The relation of γ, through certain intermediaries, to Π is still clearer, and it is far more probable that its peculiar readings are all due to conjecture than that they represent an otherwise unknown tradition. I say nothing of Aug. v, a MS. of the sixteenth century, which Mr. Adam found most 'useful' next to ΠΞγ; for he has already admitted that Vind. F should have been quoted instead of it.

is the negation of all critical method to rely exclusively upon the evidence of such MSS. when older and better testimony can easily be had. To take a typical instance, at 388 e, 6 Mr. Adam rightly reads ἐφίη, but he quotes only the ἐφίη of Ξ in its support. Cardinal Bessarion was, of course, quite equal to an emendation like that, if he had found ἔφην (A) or ἔφη (Π) in his text; but what is really important, and what Mr. Adam does not tell us, is that the reading ἐφίη is proved to be far older even than A by the consensus of F and Stobaeus. Surely a critical apparatus from which we can only infer that a reading may *possibly* be due to genuine tradition, when all the time it is quite certain that it is so, is not constructed on a sound method. It is dangerous, too. The amateur 'emender' will not be deterred by Ξ q from exercising his art; and if we are anxious, as Mr. Adam rightly is, to defend the integrity of Plato's text, it is playing into the hands of the enemy to represent readings, which can be shown to be earlier than 500 A.D., as based solely on fifteenth century testimony. And the fact is that, when we have deducted from Mr. Adam's Ξ q readings all that are otherwise known to be ancient, the remainder is of a character which we may very well credit to the learning and ingenuity of the great Renaissance Platonists.¹

It will make my meaning clearer if I follow Mr. Adam's example and lay down the canons on which I think a sound text of the *Republic* must be based.

I. By reason of its age and excellence, Parisinus A is the primary authority for the text of the *Republic*.

II. The frequent agreement of the text of Caesenas M with the additions and corrections made by A himself when he revised

his work gives that MS. great weight as a subsidiary witness to the tradition represented by A.²

III. Only such other MSS. need, as a rule, be quoted as can be shown to be derived from an original anterior to A. As A is one of the very earliest minuscule MSS., direct proof can be furnished of this by showing that a given MS. is derived from an original written in uncials, either directly or through an intermediary other than A.³

IV. The quotations from Plato in early writers are of great value when they agree with other independent testimony. Where, however, these readings may be due to carelessness or lapse of memory, they must be used with caution.⁴

V. Readings which cannot be quoted from MSS. anterior to the Renaissance should be allowed, provisionally at least, exactly the same weight as conjectures made by scholars whose names are known.

VI. Emendations which presuppose a confusion of minuscule letters are inadmissible

² Here it becomes very important to notice that the oldest and most numerous marginal corrections in A were written by the same hand that wrote the text and scholia. This can be shown from the way in which the minuscule hand of the corrections and supplements is, in certain places, made to alternate with the semi-uncial writing of the scholia, and especially by a comparison of Par. 1962, a MS. of Maximus Tyrius written by the same hand (cf. T. W. Allen in *Journal of Philology*, vol. xxi). These readings, then, represent the deliberate intention of the scribe, and should not be confused under the common symbol A² with corrections of a later date. They form a valuable collection of instances of the sort of error to which A was liable, and M is useful as showing that many of these were made by himself, and do not come from the common source of AM.

³ This can be shown of Π (D) by such errors as the following: 394 c, 1 δ δὴ for ὅλη; 398 d, 5 διδομένου for αἰδομένου; 399 c, 5 νῦν ἂν for νῦν δὴ; 401 a, 7 κακονόας for κακοθηλάας; 401 c, 8 λύρα for ἀβρα; 559 d, 10 πουσίου for που οἶου; 581 a, 10 δεῖ for ἀεῖ; 581 c, 1 ὅππῃ ἴσχει for ὅππῃ ἔχει. I have proved the same thing for F (*C.R.* vol. xvi. 98 sq., xvii. 12 sq.) to the satisfaction of Professor Hermann Diels (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Dec. 5, 1903, p. 3006), and need not repeat my argument here. It is to be observed that we can only get a direct proof of the value of a MS. by studying its errors. The occurrence of correct readings proves nothing; for they may have got into the MS. in all sorts of ways,—from marginal notes, scholia, commentaries, and mere conjecture. Errors, on the other hand, can often be made to tell their own tale.

⁴ It is important to remember that the MS. of Proclus's Commentary on the *Republic* was written by the same scribe as Par. A and must, therefore, be credited with similar excellences. We have also a MS. of Eusebius written, like the Clarkianus, for Arethas, though by a different scribe. These at least can hardly have been interpolated from inferior MSS. of Plato, nor is such interpolation at all probable in the case of Iamblichus or Stobaeus.

¹ In the Introduction to his text of 1897 (p. x, n. 1), Mr. Adam gives a list of twenty-one places where Ξ and q must, in his opinion, represent a tradition 'independent of both A and Π.' In the great majority of these cases they certainly do, but we know the independent tradition from other sources not mentioned by Mr. Adam. Some of them are in F (e.g. 388 c ἐφίη, 532 a περαινέι, 522 d διέλωμεν, 604 c αἰρεῖ), some are in M (e.g. 425 d λήξεως), some are in the testimonia (e.g. 540 c ξυνανταρῇ Aristides, 544 c διαφέρουσα Stobaeus, 590 c βούλεται Iamblichus, Stobaeus). If we deduct these and also the places where the reading of Ξ q is not universally accepted, we are practically left with the following: 407 c τινὰς for τινος Ξ q, 411 d γενόμενον for γενομένου q, 431 b οὐ for οὗν Ξ q, 580 d οὐν. λογιστικὸν Ξ, 606 c ἀνίησ for ἀν εἴη q. We cannot think so meanly of Plethon and Bessarion as to suppose them incapable of making these corrections, and, till further evidence is forthcoming, that is the hypothesis on which we should proceed.

when A agrees with D or any other MS. independently derived from an original written in uncials.

The following notes on the *Republic* deal mainly with points of interpretation, but they will also illustrate incidentally the critical principles just laid down. I give Mr. Adam's recent text in all cases.

BOOK I.

330 c οἱ δὲ κτησάμενοι διπλῇ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀσπάζονται αὐτά. ὥσπερ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. . . ταύτη τε δὴ . . . σπονδάζουσιν ὡς ἔργον ἑαυτῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν, ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι.

Mr. Adam says that, if διπλῇ meant simply 'on two grounds,' it could not be followed by ἢ. He himself says the meaning 'simply' is 'twice as much as the others.' But are not both views too 'simple'? Mr. Adam sees, of course, that διπλῇ is resolved into ταύτη τε δὴ (= ὡς ἔργον ἑαυτῶν) and καὶ ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι (= κατὰ τὴν χρείαν), which are certainly 'grounds.' He therefore attributes 'looseness of expression' to Kephalos. Now, we shall see presently that Mr. Adam holds very narrow views as to the meaning of ἢ, and that there is no reason to doubt that, even if διπλῇ did mean 'on two grounds,' it could quite well be followed by ἢ. But, in the present case, there is no need to raise that point. Even on Mr. Adam's view of the meaning of ἢ, it is surely legitimate to render 'they prize wealth on twice as many grounds as other people,' that is, as we should put it, 'they have one ground more for their love of wealth than other people.'

330 e καὶ αὐτὸς ἦτοι ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ γήρως ἀσθενείας ἢ καὶ ὥσπερ ἡδὴ ἐγγυτέρω ὢν τῶν ἐκεί μᾶλλον τι καθορᾷ αὐτά. ὑποψίας δ' οὖν καὶ δέϊματος μεστὸς γίγνεται κ.τ.λ.

So Mr. Adam punctuates, and, to avoid making Kephalos ascribe greater clearness of vision to the infirmity of old age, he says: 'The verb' (what verb?) 'is to be supplied by a kind of zeugma from μᾶλλον τι καθορᾷ αὐτά (i.e. τὰ ἐκεί); or rather the predicate is accommodated to the second alternative.' Now, before we are asked to accept this strained construction as Plato's, we ought to be told why the punctuation in Jowett and Campbell is wrong. It must, I should think, have commended itself to most scholars, and yet it is not even mentioned. If we take the words ἦτοι . . . καθορᾷ αὐτά as a parenthesis, after which the main sentence is resumed as usual by δ' οὖν, we get a perfectly clear sense, and the

infirmity of old age appears, not as a cause of clear vision, but as a possible explanation of ὑποψία and δέϊμα. In the parenthesis two alternative explanations are given, (1) the infirmity of old age, (2) a nearer vision of τὰ ἐκεί, and the expression of the second by the main verb καθορᾷ is far more Greek than what would seem to us the more logical καθορῶν. In expressing two ideas which are logically dependent, Greek tends to revert to the independent form in expressing the second, and the rule that 'the relative passes into a demonstrative in the second half of the sentence' (duly laid down by Mr. Adam in his note on 357 b καὶ μηδὲν κ.τ.λ.) is only one application among others of this great principle.

331 d Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ὁ Πολέμαρχος τῶν γε σὼν κληρονόμος.

Mr. Adam very rightly keeps ἔφη and gives the speech to Polemarchos, and his remark that the words σὺ ὁ τοῦ λόγου κληρονόμος are 'more appropriate if the title was self-chosen' is just and illuminating. But, though Polemarchos is certainly 'a vivacious person,' his assertion of his position as heir in the arrogant formula ἐγὼ ὁ Πολέμαρχος is displeasing, and, in view of the fact that the subject of discussion has been his father's approaching death, it passes the bounds of permissible vivacity. The passage can be healed by putting a comma, not only after ἔφη, but also after ἐγὼ and Πολέμαρχος. We then get the fairly common intercalated order,¹ and the meaning is simply Οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ, ἔφη ὁ Πολέμαρχος, τῶν γε σὼν κληρονόμος; 'So I am left heir to your argument, am I?'

333 b 'Ἄλλ' εἰς τίνα δὴ κοινωνίαν ὁ δίκαιος ἀμείνων κοινωνὸς τοῦ καθαριστικοῦ, ὥσπερ ὁ καθαριστικὸς τοῦ δικαίου εἰς κρουμάτων;

True to his method, Mr. Adam here suppresses altogether the fact that a considerable number of MSS.² have the words οἰκοδομικοῦ τε καὶ before καθαριστικοῦ. Schneider said of this phrase 'interpolatio fuit hominis paullo diligentioris subita citharistae commemoratione offensi et Socratem Platonium ita solere ignorantis.' He may be right; but I think there is something to be said on the other side. First of all, such an interpolation, though

¹ *Phil.* 71 c ἐγὼ σοι, ἔφη, ἐρῶ, ὦ Σώκρατες. *Sympr.* 214 c ἀλλὰ, φάναι, ὦ Ἐρυξίμαχε, τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. *Riddell, Dig.* § 288.

² Only one MS. on my view, but Mr. Adam does not, I understand, admit the affiliation of Par. DK, Mon. g, Flor. β, and Vind. D to Ven. Π (=D), and he has, therefore, a more difficult problem to solve.

quite in the style of *q*, cannot be paralleled in II. Secondly, a certain suspicion always attaches to omissions of 16 letters (more or less); for we have many good reasons for believing that to have been the length of the line in the archetype, at least of A and Ven. T.¹ Thirdly, if we read the passage in the context, I do not think we shall feel Schneider's explanation to be quite adequate. The words *οικοδομικοῦ τε καὶ* seem almost necessary in a connected argument, and what is in Plato's manner is really the avoidance of formal symmetry by the omission of *καὶ ὁ οἰκοδομικὸς εἰς οἰκοδομίας* at the end of the sentence. In any case, I do not think that questions like this should be passed over in silence.

335 a *προσθεῖναι τῷ δικαίῳ ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέγχεται*.

Mr. Adam once more falls foul of *ἢ* here. In App. iii. he says 'Schneider takes *ἢ* as "than," and *προσθεῖναι* as equivalent to a comparative with a verb,' and he remarks that this is 'exceedingly harsh.' But Schneider was far too cautious to say anything of the sort. What he does say is '*προσθεῖναι τῷ δικαίῳ* est definitionem iusti auctiorem reddere, cui *ἢ* haud aliter subiicitur, quam verbo *διαφέρειν* quum alibi, tum Phaedro p. 228 D: *ἀπάντων, οἷς ἔφη διαφέρειν τὰ τοῦ ἐρώντος ἢ τὰ τοῦ μῆ*.' The fact is, that the harshness which Mr. Adam feels depends on the translation 'than,' and is not in the Greek at all. I do not know how he takes Gorg. 481 c *ἀλλὰ τις ἡμῶν ἰδιὸν τι ἐπασχεν πάθος ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι*. Certainly 'peculiar than' is even worse than 'to add than'; but the whole difficulty is an imaginary one. The conjunction *ἢ*, which we translate now 'or,' now 'than' or 'as,' according to circumstances, is purely adversative, and its use with the comparative is secondary. In the verse *βούλομαι ἐγὼ λαὸν σὸν ἐμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι*, it means 'and not' (*ἀλλ' οὐκ*), and Plato can still say (*Phileb.* 63 b) *οὐκ ἂν δέξαισθε οἰκεῖν μετὰ φρονήσεως πύσης ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ φρονεῖν*.' Schneider's

quotation of the fairly common *διαφέρειν ἢ* is strictly to the point here; for *πρόσθεσις* is one way of making a *διωφορά* (in the arithmetical sense), *ἀφαίρεσις* being the other. In all such cases, we must be careful not to make the Greek responsible for 'harshnesses' due to our makeshift translations.

With regard to Mr. Adam's own version. I will only say that he has not shown that *ἢ* can mean 'in other words.' It certainly does not mean that in the two passages he quotes. In *Rep.* 349 c *πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ ἀξιοῦν πλέον ἔχειν*, the two ideas are alternative and not equivalent, and so too in *Phaed.* 85 d, where it is not on this ground that *ἢ* is 'cancelled by many editors.' Nor does *Φαίδων ἢ περὶ ψυχῆς* mean 'Phaedo, or in other words, on the Soul,' any more than 'Twelfth Night, or What you Will' means 'Twelfth Night, or in other words, What you Will.' In all cases, it is an alternative, not an equivalent, that is given, and when Greek was put to it to express an 'alias' it did not use *ἢ*, but *καί*.

337 c *Πῶς γὰρ ἂν, . . . τις ἀποκρίναιτο, πρῶτον μὲν μὴ εἰδὼς μηδὲ φάσκων εἰδέναι, ἔπειτα, εἰ τι καὶ οἶται περὶ τούτων, ἀπειρημένον αὐτῷ [εἶη], ὅπως μηδὲν ἐρεῖ ὃν ἡγέται*.

Here all MSS. have *εἶη*. Mr. Adam says the retention of *εἶη* can only be defended 'by regarding *μὴ εἰδὼς μηδὲ φάσκων* as equivalent to *εἰ μὴ εἰδείη μηδὲ φάσκοι* and carrying on the *εἰ*.' This is hardly fair to the student, who ought to be told that Schneider and Campbell, the two editors who retain *εἶη*, give quite a different account of the matter. The rendering 'if' is not appropriate; for the meaning is 'who, firstly, does not know or claim to know, and, secondly, has been forbidden,' the participles being equivalent to *ὅς μὴ εἰδείη μηδὲ φαίη* (not *φάσκοι*, an un-Platonic form) *εἰδέναι*. The second clause reverts to the independent structure as usual.² What else could Plato have said than *ἔπειτα αὐτῷ ἀπειρημένον εἶη* if he wished to express this meaning? He could not say *ἔπειτα ᾧ*, for the reason given by Mr. Adam in his note on 357 b, and he could not use *ἀπειρημένους* personally in the passive.

² Schneider (*ad loc.*), speaking of Bremi and Faesi, 'qui, si pro participiis optativos non cum particula *εἰ*, sed cum relativo *ὅς* supposuissent: *ὅς πρῶτον μὲν μὴ εἰδείη μηδὲ φάσκοι (sic) εἰδέναι*, minus, credo, offendissent in mutatione structuræ pene legitima.' It is true that *εἰ μὴ εἰδείη* has been allowed to stand in Jowett's note *ad loc.*, but the official defence of the text of J. and C. must be taken to be Campbell's *Essay on Syntax*, § 56, where we read '*μὴ εἰδὼς = ὅς μὴ εἰδείη*.'

¹ Cf. the following omissions in A: 358 a *ἀδικία δ' ἐπαίνεται* (17 letters), 360 a *τῶν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα* (17 letters), 364 a *τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη* (15 letters), 366 a *αὐτὰ μέγα δύνανται* (14 letters), 373 a *καὶ τὴν ποικιλίαν* (15 letters). These all occur in one part of the *Republic*, but the same remark will be found to apply elsewhere. It appears that the archetype of A and Ven. T was written in double columns like those MSS. themselves, while Π, like the Clarkianus, goes back to an original in which the line went right across the page and contained about 45 letters.

² Cf. O. Schwab, *Hist. Synt. der griechischen Composition* (Schanz, *Beitr.* Heft 11), pp. 23 sqq. and pp. 96-99.

But the sentence is not right even yet. All the editors take οἶται περὶ τούτων together, which is, to say the least of it, very odd Greek, and leaves τούτων without anything to refer to. Stallbaum saw that οἶται περὶ τούτων would not do, and he tells us to 'understand' εἰδέναι. That is clearly right, and gives us the proper antithesis of φάναι εἰδέναι and οἶσθαι εἰδέναι, but it surely makes it necessary to punctuate after οἶται, not after τούτων. If we do this, the sentence becomes quite luminous; for τούτων will refer to τὴ with the shift from singular to plural which is almost normal after εἰ τις.

346 b διὰ τὸ ξυμφέρειν αὐτῷ πλεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ.

The reading ξυμφέρειν is better attested than Mr. Adam tells us; for it is in F, and is therefore an old reading, not a Renaissance conjecture, as we should suppose from the note ξυμφέρειν Ξ² γ. It is a type of conjectural emendation common enough in F, but it is unnecessary, and we ought to keep the ξυμφέρων of the best MSS. The construction surely is διὰ τὸ πλεῖν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ 'thanks to his being at sea,' ξυμφέρων αὐτῷ, 'when it is good for him to be so' (accusative absolute).

JOHN BURNET.

NOTES ON XENOPHON.

DE RE EQUESTRI.

1. 9 καὶ μὴν τὸ ἐξόφθαλμον εἶναι ἐγρηγορὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλοφθάμου.

It is plain that ἐγρηγορός is not a proper predicate of τὸ εἶναι nor τοῦ κ. without εἶναι properly opposed to it. I would read τὸ ἐξόφθαλμον εἶναι ἐγρηγορότος μᾶλλον φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλόφθαμου.

16 ὅτον γὰρ ἂν ὦσιν αἱ κνήμαι εὐθὺς γιγνομένου ἐψηλόταται, οὗτος μέγιστος γίγνεται.

εὐθὺς γενομένου would be better both intrinsically and in view of γίγνεται following.

6. 2 ἦν δὲ ἀντία τῷ ἵππῳ ὀρῶν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ σκέλους, ὅταν καθαίρῃ, κατὰ τὴν ὠμοπλάτην καθίζων ἀποτρίβῃ, κ.τ.λ.

But can the groom be sitting down to rub when the horse is presumably standing up? or might we for καθίζων read βαδίζων, as in Aelian V. II. 9. 3 I have suggested (16. 395) the reverse change? Cf. προσιέναι and προσιών further on.

8. 3 διάλλεται ought perhaps rather to be διάλῃται.

9. 8 τοῦ δὲ δὴ παραβάλλειν ἵππῳ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι (χρή).

'Match him with a horse' should surely be 'match him with another horse,' i.e. ἄλλῳ has been lost, perhaps after β-άλλειν.

10. 1 ἦν δὲ τίς ποτε βουληθῇ χρῆσθαι τῷ χρησίμῳ εἰς πόλεμον ἵππῳ ὡς μεγαλοπρεπεστέρῳ τε καὶ περιβλεπτοτέρῳ ἱππάζεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

Turn the comparative adjectives into adverbs, μεγαλοπρεπεστέρως and περιβλεπτο-

τέρως, which are good Xenophontean forms. The confusion of ω, ως, ὦν is familiar. Adverbs are distinctly wanted. ὡς of course = ὥστε.

2 ἐκπλήττουσι (τοὺς ἵππους) ὥστε τεταράχθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν.

The last word can hardly be right as it stands, and Madvig suggested ἰδίειν for it. I should say that another infinitive has been lost, dependent on κινδυνεύειν. The horses lose their heads and are in danger of —.

11 τὰδε γε πάντα < κατὰ > ταῦτα ποιητέον?

11. 8 ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ εἶδει (τῶν τοιούτων ἤδη δὲ most MSS.) ἱππαζομένων ἵππων καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες γράφονται, καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ καλῶς χρώμενοι αὐτοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς φαίνονται.

I would suggest that εἶδει and ἤδη stand for εἰ δὴ, and would read εἰ δὴ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἱππαζόμενοι ἵππων.

HIPPARCHICUS.

1. 15 ἀνάγκη . . ὑστάτους ἂν αὐτοὺς ἔσεσθαι.

ἂν is of course impossible. It may have arisen from the first letters of αὐτοῦς, but after the superlative we might restore δὴ, which exchanges with ἂν.

4. 3 ἀγαθὸν γὰρ καὶ μελέτης ἔνεκα ταῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῦθ' ἥδιον διαπερᾶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ποικίλλοντας ἱππικαῖς τάξεσι τὰς πορείας.

καὶ οὕτως ἥδιον Dindorf: καὶ ἥδιον Hartman: τοῦ θ' ἥδιον Cerocchi. The last is much the best; but why not rather καὶ τοῦ

ἡδίων, taking τοῦ ἡδίων διαπερᾶν (as I presume Ceroechi means) to be governed by ἕνεκα!

CYNEGETICS.

5. 13 ἰππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ λαβόντα πεζοὺς <εὔ> αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι!

Some adverb or adverbial phrase seems indispensable.

The writer goes on ἔστι δὲ πεζοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐν τούτοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπισθεν ἰππέων ἀποκρύψασθαι, where there is nothing for ταύτοις to refer to, and where accordingly ἐν ἵπποις, ἐν μέσοις, and ἐντός have been conjectured. Perhaps, as in 4. 3 above and elsewhere, parts of οὗτος and of the article have been confused and we should read ἐν τοῖς <ἰππέεσιν>. I think Stephanus was right in suggesting τούτους for τοὺς in 7. 8 δὲ δὲ . . . τοὺς παρσκευασμένους ἀεὶ ἔχοντα ὡς ποιεῖν τι μὴ καταφαιῇ ὄντα φυλάττειν κ.τ.λ., where see L. and S. s.v. παρασκευάζω for the ὡς.

7. 10 The comma, if we use one, should follow προνοοῦντα, not ποιήσαντα.

The latter goes pretty closely with φθάσαι: *when he has done it, get away before etc.*

14 ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἤδη καλῶς φυλάττωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, καλὸν ἔστι σὺν θεῷ λαθόντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν μεμεληκότα πόσοι τε ἑκάσταχού καὶ ποῦ τῆς χώρας προφυλάττουσιν.

The MSS. have μεμεληκότως οἱ, μεμεληκότως οἱ, μεμεληκότως οἱ. μεμεληκότα πόσοι is Cobet's modification of the older conjecture μ. ὅσοι (μεμεληκότα ὅσοι Stephanus). It is however most unlikely that Xenophon used the personal construction of μέλω, which seems unknown in good prose, since *Timaeus* 71a need not be so taken, to say nothing of the difference in style. Should we read μὴ ἡμεληκότα? I cannot cite an indirect question after ἀμελῶ, but it seems unobjectionable.

8. 4 οἱ εὐωχοίμενοι <μὲν> ἵπποι, ἐκπεπονημένοι δέ?

9. μεμνησθαι δὲ κακῆναι χρή, μήποτε ἐπὶ τοὺς κρείττους ἐλαύνειν ὅπισθεν ἵπποις δύσβατον ποιοῦμενον.

Read τοῦπισθεν as object of ποιοῦμενον.

14. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἱππῆς δυνατοὶ καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν (or αὐτῶν) διαφεύγειν.

There is no sense in αὐτῶν or αὐτῶν. Read ἐκ πάντων, comparing note in *Class. Rev.* 17. 146 on Dem. *Ol.* 2. 2.

5. 15 ἐπάγοντα τὰς κύνας.

ἐπάγειν is the regular word. Cf. 6. 25 τὰς κύνας ἐπαγόμενον: 10. 19 τὰς κύνας ἐπάγουσι: Arr. *Cyn.* 20. 3 εἰ πλείους κύνας ἐπαγόμενοιτο: *Od.* 19. 445 τὸν δ' ἀνδρῶν τε κυνῶν τε περὶ κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῦν, ὡς ἐπάγοντες ἐπήσαν, and the noun ἐπακτήρ *ib.* 435.

20 ὑπ' αὐτά, παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν... ἀποχωροῦσι.

Here too ὑπό seems an error for ἐπί. Read ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτά. In 6. 17 on the other hand I have suggested ὑπ' αὐτῶν for ἐφ' αὐτόν.

25 κυνηγέται δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰς ἐρήμους (νῆσους) ὀλιγάκις ἀφικνοῦνται, ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκουμέναις ὀλίγοι ὄντες καὶ οὐ φιλόθηροι οἱ πολλοί.

Here ὀλίγοι ὄντες has neither sense nor construction, and Radermacher's ἀλείοντες would certainly lack the latter without being strong in the former. ὀλίγοι may be due to ὀλιγάκις, in which case it is vain to ask for what word it stands, but some verb must be missing. On the other hand some part of ὀλιγωρεῖν would not seem out of place here. Possibly we should read ὀλιγοροῦσι—ὄντες καὶ οὐ φιλόθηροι, the blank standing for an adjective.

7. 11 ἐπιμέλειαν γὰρ ποιεῖσονται!

γάρ and δέ get exchanged.

9. 5 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἴδῃ αὐτὸν (the fawn), προσεῖναι ἐγγύς. ὁ δ' ἔξει ἀτρέμα πείσας ὡς ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ ἔσει ἀνελέσθαι.

Such a use of πείσας is unique and not intelligible. Read πτήξας.

10. 4 ἐλθόντας ὅπου ἂν οἴωνται εἶναι ἐπάγειν τὸ κυνηγέσιον.

Read εἶναι ἐπάγον is *lurking*.

6 ἢ δὲ κύων <ὡς> ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀφίξεται <εἰς> τόπον ὑλῶδη ἰχνεύουσα.

Is there any passage in prose where the preposition is omitted with the verb of motion? The other loss is an easy one after ὦν.

13. 6 οὐ λανθάνει δέ με ὅτι καλῶς καὶ ἐξῆς γεγραμμένα φήσει τις ἴσως τῶν τοιούτων οὐ καλῶς οὐδ' ἐξῆς γεγράφθαι· ῥᾶδιον γὰρ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ταχὺ μὴ ὀρθῶς μέμψασθαι. καίτοι γέγραπται γε οὕτως, ἵνα ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ καὶ μὴ σοφιστικούς ποιῇ ἀλλὰ σοφοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς· οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν αὐτὰ βούλομαι μᾶλλον ἢ εἶναι χρήσιμα.

In the two last sentences the author

clearly means that he has not tried to write *καλῶς*, at any rate not as sophists would reckon τὸ καλόν. It is therefore impossible that the first sentence can be right. I would suggest that *καλῶς καὶ ἐξῆς γεγραμμένα* should be transferred to the second sentence

and there inserted between *μή* and *ὀρθῶς*, thus indicating that there would be ground for finding fault with *μή καλῶς καὶ ἐξῆς γεγραμμένα*.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

I.—*Epistolary Tenses in Greek.*

AN 'Epistolary Aorist' should certainly be added to our grammars in the case of the word *ἐπεμψα*, cp. Thuc. 1. 129. 3, μετ' Ἀρταβάζου . . . , ὃν σοι ἐπεμψα, πρίσσε. Here Artabazus is the bearer of the letter, and *ἐπεμψα* can only be a past tense from the point of view of Pausanias the recipient. Lightfoot on Galatians 6. 11, has already cited the *ἐπεμψα* of Xen. An. 1. 9. 25, but the very presence of *καὶ δέεται* (a present tense), which follows at once, suggests that the use was confined to *πέμπω*, at least in Classical times. In the Septuagint Ezra 4. 14, the text runs διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψαμεν καὶ ἐγνωρίσαμεν, but the last word looks back to the preceding verses.

We must also admit an 'Epistolary Perfect' with the verb ἀποστέλλω (= πέμπω). Lightfoot quotes Isocr. *Ad Dem.* 1. 10, ἀπέσταλκά σοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον, and we may add Plato *Ad Archylam*, 1B ἀπέσταλκά σοι.

In all other cases which I have found—I do not include the Greek Testament—the Aorist can always be made to refer to a time more or less antecedent from the writer's point of view. Often, of course, it is a 'momentary' or 'instantaneous' Aorist, but still antecedence is not excluded.

The closest parallel I know to the frequent *ἔγραψα* = *γράφω* of Greek Testament is Isocr. *Epist.* vi where in l. 28 (the letter contains about one hundred lines) he writes μηδὲν δ' ὑπολάβητε τοιοῦτον, ὅς ἄρ' ἐγὼ ταύτην ἔγραψα τὴν ἐπιστολήν κ.τ.λ. But here the first three words make all the difference, referring *ἔγραψα* to the point of view of those who receive the letter, as ἴδετε may do in Gal. 6. 11, ἴδετε πηλίκους ἡμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ.

I may be permitted to give references for certain cases which might be allowed to bear the name 'Epistolary Aorist,' although all may be taken as more or less past tenses to the writer: *ἡγρώμην* Thuc. 7. 14. 3, Lucian, *Epist. Saturn.* 1 § 19, (followed in § 21 by *ἡγοίμεθα*), and Isocr. *Evagor.* 1. 5; for which

cp. Philippians 2. 28. Other instances are Isocr. *Epist.* i, ἐπήρθην μὲν οὖν ἐπιστέλλειν; ii, ἔλαθον ἐμαντόν; iii, ἐβουλήθη γράψαι; iv, γράψαι πρὸς σε εἰλόμην; vi, l. 41, ἐπραγματευσάμην; vii, ἐνεθυμήθη δὲ μεταξὺ γράφων; ix, εἰλόμην and ταύτην δὲ ἐποίησάμην τὴν αἴρεσιν; Bonsiris l. 13, ταῦτα δ' ᾤθηθην δεῖν σοὶ μὲν ἐπιστεῖλαι, and Orat. *ad Philip.* 1. 17, ὑπεθέμην γράφειν.

In Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* x I find at the close of a letter ταῦτά σοι μόλις ἔγραψα, and in Isocr. *Epist.* iv.—last line but three—καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης, μήτ' εἰ μακροτέραν γέγραφα τὴν ἐπιστολήν, but both are obviously past tenses referring to what has already been written. Lucian, however, *Epist. Saturn.* 1 § 19, l. 1, has ἐγεγράφειν μὲν ἤδη σοι καὶ πρότερον—a tense which reminds one of the frequent 'Epistolary Pluperfect' in Latin.

Thus, with the exception of *ἐπεμψα*, there is no certainty that any 'Epistolary Aorist' exists in Classical Greek. Is there any need to assume it in the Greek Testament?

II.—*Relative Attraction in Livy.*

I wish to deal with those cases of attracted relative which occur with what are called 'verbs of indeterminate meaning.'

Whatever be the rule in Cicero, Caesar, etc. (see *Madvig's Grammar*, § 316), there can be no doubt of Livy's practice in this matter. His rule is (A) to attract the relative to the case, number, and gender of the 'determining' word if the antecedent be of different number, e.g., 3. 54. 15, 'in pratis Flaminiiis . . . quem nunc circum Flaminium appellat,' and 3. 26. 8, 'agrum, quae prata Quinctia vocantur.' Compare 2. 13. 15., 2. 35. 1., 3. 34. 6., 4. 59. 4., 5. 8. 4., 5. 32. 8., 5. 34. 1., 6. 21. 2., 33. 1. 1., 42. 44. 3.

The only possible exception I find is 1. 26. 10, 'loco qui nunc pila Horatia vocatur,' where few will wish to take *pila* as nominative feminine.

On the other hand (B) when the number of the antecedent and the 'determining'

word is not different, Livy's almost invariable method is to make the relative agree with the antecedent in number and gender, e.g. 1. 21. 5., 4. 28. 5., 5. 25. 10., 6. 33. 4., 21. 61. 6., 22. 20. 7., 33. 7. 3.

Here again there is only one exception, viz. 23. 11. 11, 'Capuam. quod caput sit.' In other authors the practice does not seem to be so well defined. The conditions of rule (A) occur in Varro *R.R.* 1. 7. 6. 'Subari, qui nunc Thurii dicuntur,' and Livy's usage is followed. No parallel cases appear till Nepos and Curtius, but both of them break the rule, viz. Nepos 4. 3. 6, 'genus quod Helotae vocatur,' and Curtius 3. 20. 'locum, quem Amanicas Pylas vocant.'

Rule (B) is obeyed in Cic. *N.D.* 2. 5. 14., *De Off.* 2. 5., and Caes. *B.G.* 5. 11. 8., but

broken in Cic. *Phil.* 5. 14., *Pis.* 24., *Legg.* 1. 7., *Tusc.* 4. 10., and Caes. *B.G.* 4. 1.

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[On I compare Gildersleeve *Syntax of Classical Greek*, §§ 297, sq., where 'Plato' *Ep.* 15 Κρήνης ὃ ἐδῶκα τὴν ἐπιστολήν is also cited. It is said there 'As there are few genuine Greek letters of the Classical period, we have not the material to determine whether there ever was such an extensive permutation of tenses as we find in Cicero's letters. The aorist in the N.T. is clearly due to Roman influence, and is not to be cited.'—Ed. *C.R.*]

SOME GREEK COGNATES OF THE SANSKRIT ROOT *twiṣ-*.

(1) τετιμημένος.

The 'etymological lexica (Prellwitz and Leo Meyer) give no satisfactory explanation¹ of Homeric τετιμημένος 'sore (at heart)'. It seems to me, however, that, minor flexional differences apart, we may compare it directly with the Vedic pf. ptc. *ti-twiṣ-āṇās* 'leidenschaftlich bewegt,' assuming of course that the primitive root *twiṣ-* had a by-form *tis-*; cf. Skr. *tākṣati* / *tvākṣati* and the Homeric doublet τοῖ / σοῖ, from primitive **toi* / **twoi*.

(2) τίριος.

In Sanskrit the root *twiṣ-* also means 'to sparkle, flame, glow,' a sense found in Greek *σειρός* 'hot' and in *Ξείριος* 'the shining (star)', from **twiṣ-ros*. Here would belong Hesychian *τίριος*· *θέρον*, if we may interpret the gloss (cited by Leo Meyer, *Griechische Etymologie*, iv. 50) either as *τίριος*· *θέρον* or as *τίριος*· *θέρος*, deriving *τίριος* from *t(w)is-rios*. From the same root also we may derive Skr. *tiṣṭhās*, name of a constellation, and Avestan *tiṣ-tryō* 'Sirius.' Here most naturally falls Homeric *τείρεα* (from **t(w)eis-resa*) 'twinklers.'

(3) σίλλος.

A further cognate of *twiṣ-* is probably to be recognized in *σίλλος* (1) 'squint-eyed';

(2) 'a lampoon,' a correlation of senses adumbrated in *squint-eyed* and German *schielend* both of which mean 'malignant.' In the Aeolic dialect, at least, *σίλλος* would be the normal sequent of **twiṣ-los*. True, I can quote no literary evidence to prove that *σίλλος* is of Aeolic provenance, but forms with one λ (and ι?) are attested by *σιληπορδῆ* (correctly explained by Leo Meyer, *l.c.* iv. 62) and Hesychian *σιλαίνει*· *σκόπτει*, *ὑβρίζει*. However, the orthography of *σίλλος* may be due to association with *ἱλλός* 'squinting.'

Böhtlingk and Grassmann, in their lexica, both give to *twiṣ-* the definition 'in heftiger Bewegung sein' = 'to shake' (intrans.). That this is the primary meaning rather than the sense 'to sparkle' seems to be confirmed by Latin *micat* (1) 'shakes' (intrans.), (2) 'flashes, sparkles.' Greek *σεῖ-ει* 'shakes' (from **twiṣ-*) is transitive. The sense 'squinting, blinking, the quick half-shutting (of the eyes)' is of easy derivation from the sense 'shaking.'

(4) σιμός.

In respect of Greek *σιμός* (1) 'snub-nosed, flat-nosed'; (2) 'bent upwards,' I take it that the definition 'bent upwards,' while the more original of the two, was itself secondary; and accordingly I derive *σιμός* from **twiṣ-mos* 'shaky' = 'tottering,' whence 'leaning, sloping, bent upwards.' This is to derive *σιμός* from the intransitive 'shakes.' If we connect *σιμός* with *σεῖει*

¹ Neither is the explanation of de Saussure, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 7. 86, satisfying on the semantic side. Brugmann's comparison with Lat. *cura* (from *cōisa*) lacks any precise morphological confirmation.

'shakes' (trans.), then its signification derived from some earthquake phenomenon of 'up-turning, tilting.'

In the following locutions, cited from the *Anthologia Palatina* by Liddell and Scott, viz. *σμά γελᾶν* 'to laugh scornfully,' *σμά σαρπηρὸς μεχθίζεις* 'scornfully upturning (thy lips) thou sneerest' we may see the correlation of meaning between *σμός* and *σίλλου* 'scornful poems.'

This throws light on Latin *sīlus* 'snub-nosed' (with *-īl-* not *-ill-*; cf. *σιληπορδεῖ* etc. cited above). Whether *sīlus* is borrowed from *σίλλος* as Stowasser (*Latein.-Deutsch. Woert.*), with extreme hesitation, suggests, may well be questioned. In view, however, of the name *Silenus* (*Σειληνός*) 'simus socius Bacchi,' we might credit the Italici, who, as early as Livius Andronicus, had borrowed *σμός*, with initiative enough to fashion, under the influence of the name *Silenus*, *sīlus* as a byform of *simus*.

(5) *Σειληνός*.

It is in entire accord with the character of this god to derive his name also from the root **twēis-*, defining it as (1) Boisterous (cf. Vedic *twes-in-*) or (2) Snub-nosed (cf. *σμός*); provided always the name is genuine Greek.

(6) *σίνεταί*.

There seems no decisive reason, also, against deriving Homeric *σίνεταί*, Aeolic *σίνεταί* 'hurts, does violence to' from **twis-netai* 'shakes' (whence 'does violence to, hurts'). Derivatives like *Σίμων* 'the mischief-maker,' *σίνος* 'hurt' [cf. *σινίον* 'sieve' with *σιεύς*, *σίσιων* 'bean-shaker'] present difficulties. We might, with Leo Meyer (*l.c.* iv. p. 35), assume that the *ν* of *σίνεταί* was the verbal suffix carried over into noun derivatives, but there remains the

further difficulty of the quantity (*ī*). I venture to raise the question whether there were no circumstances under which *-isn-*, which normally yielded *-iv-* or *-ū-* in Greek, might yield *-ī-*?¹ So far as the Greek grammars of Brugmann and Hirt inform us my query is already answered in the negative, *ex silentio*.

I put this question particularly from an interest in the name *Σίμων*, the vulgate interpretation of which as Mr. Snub-nose (see e.g. the *Century Dictionary of Proper Names*) I am fain to adhere to, in view of the common use of the name upon the comic stage for the senes *Comici* (in the *Mostellaria* and *Pseudolus* of Plautus, e.g.), coupled with the common use of the snub-nosed mask. Besides, the name *Σίμων* (cf. Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*) was used proverbially for 'a confederate in evil.' This raises a wonder whether on the stage *Σίνων* 'mischief-maker' was not shifted to *Σίμων* 'man of the upturned nose (*σμός*), sneerer.' For punning purposes the difference of quantity would be quite immaterial. If the name *Σίνων* is a properly fashioned cognate of *σίνεταί*, *Σίμων*, the tell-tale stage name, might be regarded as a proper derivative of *σμός* (cf. for the formation *Στράβων*: *στραβός*). Questions of significance apart, the name *Σίμων* might be regarded as a short form of the name *Σιμωνίδης* (? son of *Σίμων*); or who shall say it is not ultimately of Hebrew origin?

E. W. FAY.

¹ As further material for the examination of the question whether *-iv-* is ever a normal sequent of *-isn-*, the words *τι-ν-θός* 'hot,' *τι-ν-τόν* 'εφθόν' and *τι-ν-άσσει* 'shakes' might all be referred to a root **t(w)is-*, extended in Greek by a suffixed *-ν-*. But this material is all elusive, for back of the root **t(w)is-* we may set up a root **t(w)ei-*, citing for it Latin *tilio* 'fire-brand,' *tilubat* 'shakes, totters' (! from **ti-twi-dhā-*), and possibly *tilillat* 'tickles' (? 'causes to shake'); *σί-νεταί*, *σί-νος*, *τι-νάσσει* are liable to interpretation on the same lines.

EMENDATIONS OF CICERO'S *VERRINES*.

(Concluded from p. 26.)

Books IV—V.

P. 365, 20 (Müller)—*ex altera parte Heracles egregie factus ex aere. Is dicebatur esse Myronis, ut opinor, et certe. Item ante hos deos erant arulae*, etc. This passage may be

made to illustrate the vagaries of the higher criticism. Many editors have assumed a lacuna after *et certe*, as though Cicero might have gone on to say 'et certe item artificio est singulari' (Zingerle). But immediately following *egregie factus ex aere* anything like

this would be somewhat redundant. The easy emendation *et recte* (or *et recte quidem*. *Ante hos* etc. A. Eberhard) is not admissible, in view of Cicero's well-known diffidence in expressing himself about art matters. The same objection lies against the reading of the Richter-Eberhard edition, *et certe ita est*,—though this is good enough Latin, and actually appears in the text as far back as the editio Basileensis altera, or Hervagiana (1534).

The fact is that a somewhat infrequent idiom has been well-nigh emended out of existence in this place. The passages referred to by Müller in his critical appendix, if quoted in full, will suffice to make this plain. Take first ad Att. vi. 3. 8 Q. Cicero puer legit, ut opinor, et certe, epistolam inscriptam patri suo. Here Boot's note is very apposite to the passage in our text: 'primo dubitanter ponit, statim se corrigit et pro certo affirmat.' Cicero is not vouching for the accuracy of the attribution to Myro, as would be the case if we were to read *et recte* sc. dicebatur. All the length he goes is to say 'the statue in question was said to be the work, I think, of Myro: yes, I am quite sure I am right about the name.' This puts the reference to Myro on the same level with that to Praxiteles in what precedes, and with that to Polyclitus in what follows. A parallel passage, illustrating this use of *et certe*, is the quotation from Cn. Matius in Gellius x, 24:—

Nuper die quarto, ut recordor, et certe,
Aquarium urceum unicum domi fregit,

i.e. 'if my memory serves me aright, indeed I am sure of it.'

The next point is, what is to be done with *item*. It does not appear in the tradition represented by Par. 7776 (p) and Lg. 29, and has been deleted by Kayser and Nohl. The view of these editors, and also of those who print the text *et certe item*, with a lacuna following, must probably have been that to begin the next sentence with *Item* would be to make the altars, quite improperly, an 'item' in the enumeration, whereas Cicero is speaking only of the four statues. But how natural the sequence is, when it is carefully considered! Cicero has disposed of two of the four statues those of the 'gods' Cupid and Hercules; and as an added description of the chapel (*sacrarium*) which contained them, he says that there was in front of either statue a small altar,—quite sufficient as an indication of the sanctity of the place. This done, he goes on to speak of the two Canephore of Polyclitus, which

had of course no altars in front of them: *erant aenea duo praeterea signa non maxima* etc. So far from being a stumbling-block, the little word *Item*, at the head of the sentence, is really an element in Cicero's description of the *sacrarium*. For the three-fold enumeration *signum erat hoc quod dico Cupidinis . . . ex altera parte Hercules: item ante hos deos erant arulae: erant aenea duo praeterea signa*, we may compare pro Fonteio §3, *est in eadem provincia Narbo Marcius: est item urbs Massilia: est praeterea numerus civium Romanorum*.

P. 365, 28. *Canephorae ipsae vocabantur; sed earum artificem quem? quemnam? Recte admones, Polyclitum esse dicebant*.

Editors are unanimous in exhibiting this passage as above,—it might almost seem as though with a view to obscuring the grammatical construction. Surely it should be printed thus: *sed earum artificem—quem? quemnam? recte admones—Polyclitum esse dicebant*.

P. 365, 36. It may seem a small matter here whether we read, with editors, *cum esset hospes Heiorum*, or preferably *cum hospes esset Heiorum*. But the variation may be made to illustrate what I conceive to be the most important point in the criticism of Books iv–v. *Esset hospes* is the reading of the Regius 7774a, to which has long been conceded, for this portion of the Verrines, the same primacy as is now being claimed for the *Cluniacensis* in respect of Books ii–iii.¹ On the other hand the Vatican palimpsest gives *hospes esset*, and this variation is supported by the Paris ms. 7775, which contains an independent version of the same tradition as is given in the better known Regius. Detailed proof would occupy too much space, but I may here repeat what I have indicated in previous

¹ The identity of the 9th century codex now at Holkham with No. 498 in the old catalogue of Cluni (A.D. 1158–1161) may now be taken as fully established (see vol. xvii pp. 162–4, vol. xviii, p. 23, note). Mr. A. C. Clark's forthcoming edition of the Catilines will no doubt recognize the supremacy of the *Cluniacensis* over all the other extant MSS. of these speeches. For the 'Caesarian' orations, the Holkham codex also takes first rank, and my contention that Harl. 2682 was directly derived from it seems to be borne out by the facts. Lastly, for the criticism of the Second and Third Books of the Verrines the emergence of this manuscript is of primary importance, as will shortly appear on the publication of the volume of the Oxford Classical Texts series containing these speeches. The extent to which the *Cluniacensis* appears to have been used by scholars of the fifteenth century (Nannius, Fabricius, Metellus) will be found duly set forth in my contribution to the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* series, Part ix (1901).

papers (cp. e.g. Vol. xvii. p. 198, with note) viz. that Par. 7775 must be elevated to the very first rank among mss. of the Verrines, and that where it fails, in its now mutilated condition, we have an absolutely faithful transcript in the somewhat better known Par. 7823.

P. 367, 10. *Videte maiorum diligentiam qui . . . ea quae parvis in rebus accidere poterant providebant.* Here again the text ought to be adhered to. If Cicero had meant to say that the old Romans took precautions against what might happen in more degenerate days, he would have used *possent* instead of *poterant*. This consideration is enough to dispose of such emendations as *pravis temporibus* (Schwabe, Eberhard), *pravis* or *depravatis moribus* (Wirz), etc. The meaning is simply that they foresaw the sort of thing that was likely to happen even before their empire had grown great.

P. 368, 33. *Numquam enim si denariis CCCC Cupidinem illum putasset, commisisset ut etc.* I give here the reading of Par. 7776, Lg. 29, and the dett. The presence[?] or absence of *enim* in such a context should of course be determined according to the authority of the MSS., and with the present passage comparison may be made of pp. 469, 2 : 475, 27 : and 481, 31. But here the Regius and Par. 7775 omit not only *enim* but also *si*, and it is therefore not improbable that the true tradition is to be sought for in the MSS. of the other family. On the other hand in two of the three parallel passages above cited (469, 2 and 481, 31) the *enim* is best away, and I have noted that the Regius again omits *si* before HS at 374, 23.

P. 371, 11.—*ut quam minimum dem illis temporis etc.* Here *dem* is the reading of the Regius, with *idem* s.l.: on the other hand most other codd. have *sit* (Par. 7775, 7823, G¹, G², Ld., Harl. 4852, 4105). This is one of the passages which prove that later tradition was dominated by Par. 7775 rather than by the Regius: I may add that Nohl cites more than one reading as from G³ 'e coniectura' which I have found in Par. 7775. The question is whether the Regius or Par. 7775 is the more faithful representation of the archetype. In this passage the divergence between *sit* and *dem* points to some confusion: possibly *ut quam minimum iudices sit illis temporis etc.*

P. 373, 34. *Vestrane urbs electa est ad quam cum adirent ex Italia crucem civis Romani prius quam quemquam amicam populi Romani viderent?* Recent editors accept

Müller's emendation *quicumque adirent* for *cum adirent*. Lambinus gives *qui adirent*. Some change is necessary unless we spoil the passage by reading *cives Romani*: it may be interesting to record that this easy emendation (by Luterbacher) is found in Harl. 4852 (fifteenth cent.), a generally accurate and highly trustworthy codex. A better line of emendation would be to insert the required nominative after *ex Italia* and read *ad quam cum adirent ex Italia cives crucem civis Romani*, etc. The disappearance of *cives* from the text before *crucem*, with a similar form following *crucem*, might then be traced to the same cause as that which has produced confusion at p. 436, 3 *honestissimae civitatis honestissimum*: 470, 21, where I propose to read *non posse Verrem testes interficiendo testimonium exstinguere*.

P. 391, 19.—*id ab se C. Verrem abstulisse.* A wrong citation from the Regius 7774 made first by Jordan and repeated by Nohl, is probably the reason why recent edd. give *id ab se* instead of *id sibi*. Hirschfelder indeed goes so far as to say that the latter reading has no MS. authority. On the contrary it occurs not only in the Regius but also in Par. 7775 and 7823, as well as in Mr. Clark's Harl. 2682: also in the rival family, of which the oldest extant member is Par. 7776. *Id ad se* in G² and Ld. is a mere aberration, which may be cited here by way of preparation for my thesis that with Par. 7775 and 7823 before us, all other MSS. of this class (G¹, G², Ld., etc.) may be practically disregarded.

P. 395, 16. *Iste tum petere ab illis, tum minari, tum spem, tum metum ostendere.* Instead of the first *tum* (7776, Lg. 29), the Regius and Par. 7775, with other MSS. of that family, agree in showing *cum*. Perhaps the true reading may be *Iste cum petere ab illis tum minari, cum spem tum metum ostendere*.

P. 397, 21. *Quisnam . . . tuebitur . . . si tu ea relinques aut deseres, nec solum spoliata illa patieris sed eorum etiam spoliatorem vexatoremque defendes?* In this passage, I replace the futures throughout, on the authority of the best MSS., and in opposition to Halm and recent edd. But it is cited mainly with the wish to restore *etiam eorum* in place of *eorum etiam*. Editors have accepted the latter sequence on the sole authority of the Regius (R). But Par. 7775, which contains an independent version of the same tradition as R, gives *etiam eorum*, and is followed, as usual, by G¹, G², Ld., and the dett. It is interesting to note that in the rival family (Par. 7776, Lg. 29)

etiam does not appear at all: in the archotype of R. and Par. 7775 it may have been *suprà lineam*.

P. 402, 21. *Dedit igitur tibi nunc fortuna Siculorum C. Marcellum iudicem ut, cuius ad statuum Siculi te praetore alligabantur, eius religione te *isti devinctum adscriptumque dedamus.* The latter part of this sentence has been variously emended. *Isti* cannot possibly be interpreted as = *isti iudici Marcello*. What is given above is the reading of the Regius and Par. 7775: the rival tradition (7776 and *dett.*) shows *eius religioni te eundem vinctum*. On the whole, if the collocation can be adjusted, *religione* seems preferable to *religioni*: *religione devinctus* has a more familiar sound than the alternative phrase *alicuius religioni aliquem dedere*. This is the main objection to Lehmann's otherwise tempting emendation *eius religioni te testibus istis devinctum*: as well as to Nohl's more simple *te ipsum devinctum*, alongside of which may still be placed Zumpt's *te istis* (sc. *Siculis*) *devinctum*. Kayser went further in suggesting *eius religioni te ipsi dev. adscr. dedant*. Retaining the ablative *religione* Müller in his school edition (1898) reads *te isdem devinctum*. Perhaps some formula of abbreviation has been misinterpreted: I would suggest *eius religione* to his iudicibus <de> *vinctum*, (is iud. *vinctum*) or possibly *huic iudicio*. Most edd. read *adstrictumque* with the *dett.*: Par. 7776 gives *abstrictumque*: whereas *adscriptumque* is the reading of the Regius, and also (*asscriptumque*) of Par. 7775.

P. 416, 6. *Ac videte quanto tætrior hic tyrannus Syracusanis fuerit quam quisquam superiorum unquam; illi tamen ornarunt templa deorum immortalium, hic etiam illorum monumenta atque ornamenta sustulit.* In this passage *unquam* is Orelli's emendation, and it is somewhat astonishing that editors have acquiesced in it. Cicero simply could not have written the sentence as we now have it in our texts. *Ornarunt* occurs in no MS.: the family represented by the Regius and Par. 7775 gives *ornarint*: the rival tradition (Par. 7776) is *ornarent*. More significant is it that Reg. 7774 gives *superiorum quam illi* (and so Harl. 2682): whereas Par. 7775 diverges into *quia illi*, while the tradition of the rival class is *cum illi* (Par. 7776, 4588, Lg. 29). Combining the two, we ought surely to restore the period by reading . . . *quam quisquam superiorum, quia cum illi tamen ornarint . . . hic etiam . . . sustulit*.

P. 417, 24. *Atque haec Sappho sublata*

. *si unam litteram Graecam scisset, certe una sustulisset.* Conservative criticism here will probably return to the MS. tradition and read *certe non sustulisset* (sc. *Sappho*): indeed the word is chosen with the intention of resuming *haec Sappho sublata* at the beginning of the period. *Una* is the emendation made by Herelius, and accepted by Zumpt and all editors. But Cicero's grammar does not stand in need of any such correction. The intervening words *quod* (sc. *epigramma*) . . . *si unam litteram Graecam scisset* are really equivalent to *quod . . . si intellexisset: quod* is to be construed formally as = 'in regard to which inscription.' Mr. Long is the only commentator who has understood this: but his note is not a short one. It has always interested me to know that there are classical analogies for Mrs. Gamp's unlettered utterances, and for more recent parodies like 'which I believe there never was a North Pole!' (*Punch*): cp. p. 425, 35.

P. 424, 10 *Atque etiam hoc me docent eiusmodi sese fecisse laudationem ut omnes intellegere possent, etc.* This is Müller's reading taken over (with the change of *se* to *sese*) from Richter-Eberhard. Other varieties are *eiusmodi senatus consultum sese fecisse* Nohl: *eiusmodi se consulto fecisse laudationem* Koch. The best codd. (Reg. 7774, 7775, 7823) agree in giving *eiusmodi s.c. fecisse laudationes* (or *-onis*): the rival tradition (Par. 7776) is *eiusmodi Siciliam sese fecisse laudationes*. Probably *senatus consultum fecisse* is right: cp. p. 425, 23-4. If then we alter *laudationes* to *laudatores* all will be well: *eiusmodi senatus consultum fecisse laudatores ut etc.* For similar confusion in terminations cp. *pactores*—*pactiones* 449, 2: *faeneratores*—*faenerationis* 338, 3: and more frequently *aratores*—*arationes*, e.g. 280, 15: 298, 19.

P. 434, 27 *excogitavit nescio quid, attulit; profecto homo dives repente a Verre non sine causa citatur.* This is the reading of the Regius and the other members of the same family, and may be right: Par. 7776, Lg. 29 on the other hand give *Attulit profecto excogitavit nescio quid*,—a reading which Thomas adopts, with the elimination of *excogitavit* as a gloss on *attulit*. Perhaps the text should run *excogitavit nescio quid, nescio quid attulit; profecto, etc.*

P. 436, 3 *in hominem maximae civitatis honestissimum.* Müller has withdrawn this reading in his school edition (1898), and has rightly substituted the traditional *in hom. honestissimae civitatis honestissimum*. This is the reading of Par. 7775 and its copy 7823:

the gloss *maximas* appears in RG³ (*honestissimae maximae civ. hon.*): while the rival family (7776) has *honestissimum civitatis honestissimae*. That the reading of Par. 7775 is correct may be seen also from the analogy of p. 292, 7: cp. 471, 29 and 473, 25.

P. 463, 6 *Non enim, sicut erat antea semper consuetudo*, etc. Here the first hand in the Regius (R) gives *anper.* which Halm and succeeding editors have made into *antea semper*. The passage may be made an epitome of the whole criticism of Books iv–v. R¹ is the only MS. which gives *anper.* The second hand in R, with which 7775 is generally (but not always) in agreement, gives *nuper*, and this is the reading of all the MSS. of this family, except R¹ (i.e. Par. 7775, 7823 G³, A, Harl. 4105, 4852). On this evidence, *nuper* would seem just as probable as Halm's emendation. But Thomas points out that words are sometimes abridged in R, i.e. *excogit*, *adulentes*, and that in Pro Sestio § 107 editors now read *ut semper* for *et per* of the MSS. And *antea* is made probable by the reading of the rival family *sicut antea consuetudo erat* Par. 7776, 4588, and the dett. On the other hand the transposition of *erat* is suspicious, and suggests that a corrector has been at work.

P. 465, 18. *O spectaculum miserum . . . ludibrio esse urbis gloriam, populi Romani nomen, hominum conventum atque multitudinem piratico myoparoni!* Here Müller proposes *tantum hominum conventum*, and Eberhard (comparing § 107) would read *hominum honestissimorum conventum*. Perhaps *omnium hominum conventum*.

P. 470, 18. *illud . . . quod . . . non falso ille de vobis iam in morte ipsa praedicavit, non posse Verrem testes interficiendo *ius extinguere; graviolem apud sapientes iudices se fore ab inferis testem quam si vivus in*

iudicium produceretur. For *ius* the R family has *nos*: while the rival tradition (Par. 7776 and dett.) gives *crimina sua*. This divergence is enough to indicate that an omission in the text had been detected, and had been supplied in different ways. Among the numerous other conjectures are *scelus* (Halm, Nohl), *facinus* (Kornitzer), *eos* (Lutembacher), *noxiam* (Heraeus), *voces*, *homines*, *conscios*, etc., etc. My emendation shall be simpler than any of the above: it is based on the supposition that the word which has been dropped was like in form to *testes* (cp. *honestissimae civitatis honestissimum* p. 436, 3; *cives crucem civis* 373, 34). Such a word we have in *testimonium*: in a contracted form this may have appeared as *test'*, and the scribe who had already written *testes* may easily have passed it over. When it fell out of the text its place was supplied by *nos*, and *crimina sua*, as stated above. Read therefore *non posse Verrem testes interficiendo testimonium extinguere*.

P. 471, 7. *Nam si cum aliorum improbitate certet, longe omnes multumque superabit; secum ipse certat, id agit ut semper superius suum facinus novo scelere vincat*. Here the two best MSS., Reg. 7774, and 7775 agree in *sed cum ipse*: the rival tradition is *sed secum ipse*, while the Vatican palimpsest gives *secum ipse*. Surely here again the true reading is to be obtained by a combination: I propose *sed secum cum ipse certat, id agit ut*, etc.—Since this suggestion occurred to me, I have noted in Jordan's app. cr. the citation, given doubtfully as from a codex of Ursinius: '*sed cum secum ipse certet* cod. Urs. (?)'

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REVIEWS.

VERRALL'S *AGAMEMNON* (Ed. 2).

The Agamemnon of Aeschylus. With an Introduction, Commentary, and Translation, by A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Hon. Litt.D. in the University of Dublin. London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. Second Edition. Pp. lxii.+252. 12s.

THE first edition of this Commentary was

published fifteen years ago, and the great attention which has been given to the *Agamemnon* during this period by English scholars has been largely due to it.

The second edition differs but little from the first, which was marked by a freshness of view, and attracted attention from the new and ingenious reading of the plot. This view, now well known, is in outline as

follows: Aegisthus, who is lurking in Mount Arachnaeus, and scheming for revenge, has arranged to signal to Clytemnestra when Agamemnon reaches Argos, and the plot is carried out with the aid of their accomplices in the palace and the state. The chorus is composed partly of loyal friends of Agamemnon, and partly of conspirators; and the novelty is, that here and there in the play, lines are given to this second party. Only one beacon really was lit; the others are a lie invented by Clytemnestra on the spur of the moment in reply to awkward questions. This bold view is worked out by a close and rigorous argument, to which justice cannot be done by a bare summary.

The difficulties which the editor finds in the current interpretation of the play, are: that the sudden arrival of Agamemnon is an impossible illusion; that the remarkable action of the first part has no particular bearing upon the second; that the remarks of the Chorus in places of the dialogue are difficult to understand, if they are assigned to the same company of loyal elders; that the storm and wreck and arrival are inconsistent with the episode of the beacons, amongst other reasons, because the Athenians of the day knew too much about the Aegean to tolerate such an illusion; and that the important question is, how Clytemnestra got her chance.

The editor has rendered a real service in pointing out the glaring improbabilities which this example of an early dramatist's work displays; but in the face of so plausible an argument, a few general considerations are necessary.

I.—The genius of Aeschylus, as Mr. Tucker has said, shows itself, not in his plots, but in spite of them. Even in the *Prometheus Vinculus*, one of his later plays brought out not long before the Trilogy, the episode of Io, although it has its place in the economy of the play, is out of proportion to its importance. Close-knit plots are not Aeschylus' strong point. Further, to regard the plot of the Agamemnon as primary, is both to alter the balance of the play and to obscure the fact that the Agamemnon is but one play in a Trilogy.

The importance of the plot is secondary. The murder of Agamemnon is not the consummation of the tragic story; it is only one link in the chain of moral events, of which the beginning and the end are alike unseen; as the Chorus say at the end of the *Choephoroi*:—

ποῖ δῆτα κραεῖ, ποῖ καταλήξει;

'nothing stands alone:

the chain holds on, and where it ends unknown.'

Cardinal Newman in his penetrating way has exactly touched the secret of the *Agamemnon* (*Essays*, vol. i.) 'The expression of their (*i.e.* the Chorus') anxiety forms the stream in which the plot flows.' The story advances by means of the Chorus; the plot no doubt must have incidents, but it is through the Chorus that the moral bearing of the incidents appears; there appear the principles of the eternal powers and the working of the eternal laws. This is primary; the incidents are secondary, and the story is hewn in the rough, with bold strong strokes. Aeschylus is a Hebrew prophet first, a playwright afterwards. It is the Choral Odes, not the incidents, that are the ψυχή τῆς τραγωδίας.

Contrast this with the *Oedipus Rex*. There the plot is paramount and absorbing to the reader because the play leads up to a crisis, the blinding of Oedipus; and the play is complete in itself.

Now, what Dr. Verrall does, is to change the balance of the play. By forcing the plot into prominence, and by keeping the minds of the spectators upon the stretch in following its intricacy, he disturbs the march of the moral teaching. Instead of making Clytemnestra and her deed the pivot on which the play works, he makes Aegisthus and his intrigue; to him the process is more important than the result, the episodes than the general effect. For his view requires us to believe that the action of the play from the opening speech of the Watchman, Aegisthus' tool, is leading up to the appearance of Aegisthus in the last scene as its climax; in short, the title of the play should be, not 'Agamemnon' but, 'Aegisthus, or the Revolution at Argos.' But really this last act is episodic, like the appearance of Io, and winds the play off. Technically, Dr. Verrall reverts to the Homeric position of Aegisthus, where he plays the important part; whereas by Pindar's time, Clytemnestra had become the principal figure; ethically, his plot appeals to the head of the audience, while Aeschylus' drama appeals to their conscience; the play becomes more sensational than moral; the drama has become a novel; it is the hand of Euripides, not Aeschylus.

II.—To quote Newman again: Aristotle prefers 'skilful intricacy and ingenious workmanship, and a gratification of the

reasoning faculty, to imaginative power.' That is just the charge we bring against Dr. Verrall.

He satisfies our logical faculty, but leaves no room for the imagination; he is a critic, as Matthew Arnold would say, 'of much vigour and rigour'; he allows nothing to illusion, and lets his logical faculty run away with him. Thus (*Pref.* xxix.) the democratic Athenian would think 'what would become of Agamemnon's government upon the flight of the imperial Regent? How would a state and the people be affected and behave?' This is fine-drawn, and we do not bring our politics in this way into the theatre. Again: 'What are we to say to the useless and impossible mystery with which the beacons are surrounded? The Athenians were to suppose that there had been maintained on a hill close to Argos, night after night, a beacon forming part of a system of communication with the absent army, and that all this while, so strictly had the secret been kept, the elders of the city had not the least notion of it.' Exactly. That is just what a tragedian requires of us. And so with the appearance of Agamemnon. There is a remarkable parallel to this in the plot of the *Persae*, worked out by Mr. Prickard in the *Oxford Magazine* of March 2, 1904; the queen-regent of great force of character, the feeble elders, the army and king away on a distant expedition, 'a growing estrangement between those at home and those on service, a message passed between Europe and Asia, and, closely following upon the arrival of the message, the return of the king.' The principle of Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 52) is sound. εἰ μὲν ἐδύναντο πάσας διαφύγειν τὰς ἀλογίας ἐν ταῖς τραγωδαίαις, ἴσως ἂν εἶχε λόγον μηδὲ τοῦτο παραπέμψαι· νῦν δὲ πολλάκις ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ παραγινομένους ποιοῦσι τοὺς κήρυκας πλειόνων ἡμερῶν ὁδόν. Or, as Mr. Butcher puts it, (*Poetics*, 277) 'It is part of the poet's art to make us forget all time, and we can hardly place any limit on the demands to which the imagination will respond, if only those demands are made by one who knows how.'

If Aeschylus elsewhere showed power in creating plots, we might accept such a masterpiece of plot as Dr. Verrall gives us here; but it is in this respect that Aeschylus' taste is unsophisticated and his power imperfect. Had he lived in a later age, when tragedians had won greater experience, 'there is little doubt,' to quote Mr. Tucker (*Choeph.* *Pref.* lxiv), 'that his genius would have revealed itself in mere constructiveness with the same power as it

displays in other dramatic qualities more difficult of attainment.' And we may be sure it would have been quoted as a typical example of a well-constructed play in the way that Aristotle finds his ideal in the *Oedipus Rex*.

It has been said that the two most ingenious plots in literature are the *Oedipus Rex* and the *Moonstone*. If Dr. Verrall writes a play, he will run these two classics hard; but Aeschylus had better not be entered for the race. Οἷον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγωδίας, says Aristotle; yet even the *Oedipus Rex*, which he admired for this reason, has its weakness, in that the past silence of Oedipus concerning his past life, 'exceeds the limit of verisimilitude' so that 'the true defence of the improbability consists in frankly recognising it' (Jebb, *O.T.* *pref.* xxv).

The editor makes much of the difficulty in one passage l. 1645-6 (*pref.* xxxii), and argues that σὺν γυνὴ ἔκτεινε could not reasonably be addressed to one (*i.e.* Aegisthus), who had merely lain by, while the wife directed and performed the whole.' What is the meaning of σὺν? he asks. It need, however, mean no more than 'was the murderer in complicity with you.' It appears to be a reminiscence of the earliest form of the Homeric story; *Od.* 3. 194 Αἰγισθος ἐμήσατο, 4. 529 Αἰγισθος δολὴν ἐφράσσατο τέχνην, 11. 410 Αἰγισθος τεύξας θανάτον τε μόρον τε | ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένη ἀλόχῳ. And μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας may quite well mean 'the sinister plot,' not the 'hard plot' as the editor translates it, and would suit Aegisthus' temper of triumph in wickedness.

That different bodies of the Chorus take part in the dialogue may well be the case, just as they do in the last scene; but they need not be regarded as 'chorus of Loyalists,' and 'chorus of Conspirators.' The passage of Pollux which he quotes may refer to the closing scene, which exhibits traces of mutilation; but the text has been suspected. Pollux' authority is sometimes questioned. Thus in iii. 152 he quotes Xenophon for Thucydides (iv. 121 ἐταίριον); in i. 26 he says: Θουκυδίδης δ' αὐτὰ εἰρηκεν ἀγὰ θύματα, which some editors, as Hude and Stuart Jones, have admitted into the text of Thucyd. i. 126; but Mr. Forbes thinks that Plato, *Laws* 782c ἀγὰ θύματα may be referred to, and that Pollux has put Thucydides by a mistake for Plato. [Forbes on Thuc. i. 126]

To turn to special passages. From an edition which bristles with controversial matter, new renderings, new forms, (as

κλάβας 'eye-sores,' προσέβατο, πένθεια 'kins-woman,' ἐπίαναν 'gladdened,' from ἐπιαίνω, ἡμερόφατος,) one can only select passages where excellence or defect seems clear.—3. 'lulled in the embrace of the roof' would require στεγῶν ἀγκαθεν; there is no objection to στέγαις in a locative sense.—50. ὑπατοὶ λεχέων 'highest-nested.' But ὑπατος apparently has not a superlative force, but is an adjectival -τος formation, the adjective of ὑπέρ; it is not possible to get a superlative meaning out of 89, θεῶν ὑπάτων χθονίων, nor is it required in 55 ὑπατος δ' αἰὼν ἢ τις 'Ἀπόλλων, nor in 509. ὑπατος χώρας.—192. βιαίως ἡμένων 'who came by struggle to his seat' would require an aorist.—422. πάρεστι σιγᾶς. The whole view of the passage is perverted. To keep ἀδιστος ἀφεμένων of M, he assumes that the whole passage is one of ironical and malicious mockery, and thus destroys the most affecting passage in the play. This reading of the passage makes ἀνστένον of 417, unmeaning; 'mocked' is what this interpretation would require. Nor can ἰώ be translated 'aha'; and 435 ἄχη repeats the note of pathos which marks the whole passage.—478. μή... μήτε is almost certainly a solecism, and should not be kept.—484. 'ἦ τοι θεῖόν ἐστι, μὴ ψίθος' 'it is indeed miraculous, if not false' sounds harsh Greek.—516. ἦλθ' ἀνάρσιος, By keeping this, the editor gives the awkward construction of a third person inserted between two second persons.—525. ἦ που πάλαι. 'And oh! how long ye have looked,' seems an impossible translation of ἦ που. These particles could only mean 'you have looked a long time, I think.' 'I reckon they are very antique' is what an American would say at the first sight of Stonehenge.—854. The remedy κληδόνας is simpler than the far-fetched argument by which ἡδονάς is supported; the same is true of νηπίους, as against ἡπίους in 1631.—1009. The editor throws the MSS. over with the improbable suggestion that Ζεὺς αὐτὸ ἔπανσε is an explanatory note.—1039. θυραία 'gadding' is one of his new words; he supports it by the equations τροπαία=τροπή; εὐναία=εὐνή. Then θυραία=θύρα.—1215. He keeps the objectionable ἦ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπεις.—1565. κεκόλληται γένος προσάψαι. 'It is a sort that sticketh fast.' This feeble προσάψαι is retained; πρὸς ἅπα, a brilliant correction, is dismissed.

It is curious how brilliant emendations

become temporarily eclipsed; Conington's λέοντος ἔνιν has indeed reasserted itself; but Porson's διοσδότω γάνει is still not without its critics: so, 1327 σκιά τις ἂν πρέψειεν is under a cloud; 266 σίνορθρον αἰγᾶις is dropped, and, in a cold fit, the editor does not print his convincing πεσόντα δ' ὧδ' ἀμείβομαι 1266. And sometimes where simple correction would cure, his nerve seems to desert him.—298. ὑπερτελής τε. The construction is harsh and crabbed, and βίον κτείνοντες 1361 is harsh.—861. If 'mantle' means 'the earth laid upon him when dead,' then Clytemnestra has not disarmed the reference to burial at all. So in 239, if αἰὼν generally has the meaning of 'life-breath,' where 'life' shows that 'breath' is an important thing, how can 'mere life-breath' be a consistent translation?—1171. The desperate θερμόνους passage is treated with a desperate remedy.—1227. He has not solved the riddle of μισητὴ κύων.

Better suggestions are the following: 309. Ὁρώπου given by Turnebus, for Ἀσωποῦ.—386. ἐγγονοῦσα 'pregnant pride,' which helps the interpretation of the passage forward, just as παιδικὰ πάχνα does in 1512.—867. He rightly accepts the conjecture λελιμμένης.—937. ἀλουργίσιν (in the note) for ἀλογεῖσιν.—973. ψαμμὶ ἀκτᾶς is the best conjecture so far.—997. σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου 'from the duly-weighted loading-scale' is justified by an inscription lately discovered.—1040. τὰ μὲν γάρ 'as to the central hearth' is an improvement; and 1077 παιδιορραντήριον and 1098 χεῖρ' ἐκ χερὸς ὀρεγομένα.—1146. γλυκύν τ' ἀγῶνα, M 'a sweet passage' i.e. death, and 1192 τηρῶ, MSS. he may be right in keeping; and his conjecture 1254, δυσπυθῆ, is good.

These are hardly a tithe of the valuable suggestions made in this edition, which, whether its main thesis and its interpretations be right or not, must always remain a landmark in the history of Aeschylean criticism.

There are the following misprints: p. xxxix. (note) C.R. ii. should be C.R. iv: p. lvi. (middle) C.R. vi. should be vii.—1. 1273. note: C.R. ii. should be iv.—p. 178 note: should be θηγάναισιν.—1. 623. σεσφωμένους should not be kept, in spite of Kühner.

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STUART JONES'S *THUCYDIDES*.

Thucydidis Historiae. Edited, with short critical notes, by H. STUART JONES. Two Vols. (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis.) 7s.

A FEW words of welcome must be given, *χρόνῳ μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως*, to Mr. Stuart Jones's edition of Thucydides. Executed with admirable judgment, it has met the need, that before its appearance was severely felt, for a popular text based on the results of modern scholarship and equipped with a compendious critical apparatus.

In his preface, before reviewing the relations of the seven chief MSS., the editor acknowledges his obligations to Bekker and Hude, whose materials he has supplemented by himself collating most of M and a part of C. That the MSS. of Thucydides are excessively corrupt he refuses to believe, concluding from an examination of places where one of two variant readings is unquestionably wrong, (1) that the errors fall into certain definite classes, and (2) that we are rarely to depart very far from the traditional text. He rejects the theory of extensive interpolation, appealing to the Oxyrhynchus fragment, which, while showing that single words like *οἷ, εἰ, τις* have been readily lost or inserted, lends no support to suspicions of longer interpolations. At the same time, it is pointed out, the papyrus justifies our distrusting the MSS. on points that hardly, if at all, affect the sense, as when it gives *εἰ βούλονται* for *εἰ βούλονται*.

Applying these principles the editor freely accepts such corrections—to take examples at random—as *καταθήσεσθε* for *κατάθησθε*, i. 33. 1, *ὑπὸ <τριῶν> τῶν μεγίστων νικηθέντες* *ib.* 76. 2, *ἀποκτενύν* for *ἀποκτείναι*, *ἀποκτείνεν* viii. 5. 5; and among them makes the following contributions of his own: *οἱ τῶν ἀργυρολόγων νεῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοί* for *Ἀθηναῖοι νεῶν E, Ἀθηναίων* cett. iv. 75. 1, *ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις* for *πολεμίοις* *ib.* 80. 3, *ἀπροσδοκίτοις προσπесών* for *ἀπροσδόκητος* *ib.* 103. 5, *ἐνυμαχίδα* for *ἐνυμαχίαν* v. 33. 1, *προδιαλαβόντας* for *διαλαβόντας*, *προφθάσαντας* vii. 73. 1. Other suggestions are: *οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὅπλοις ἑτοιμούμενοι*, 'fort. ἀναπανόμενοι' vii. 28. 2, *οὐκέτι . . . ἀλλ' ἄπορα νομίσαντες*, 'post οὐκέτι pauca excidisse censeo' viii. 56. 5, and *ib.* 68. 2, *ἐπειδὴ* † *μετέστη ἡ δημοκρατία καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνας*

κατέστη † *τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο* †, 'duas recensiones conflatas esse censeo.'

On the question of interpolation, Mr. Jones is perhaps not quite so conservative as his preface seems to imply. His words there are 'Quod autem quidam affirmant, codices Thucydideos maxima emblemata copia esse foedatos, id nullo modo factum arbitror, nec multa eorum, quae in contextu leguntur, uncis seclusi, nisi forte ex scholiastae interpretatione apparet eum ista non legisse.' In his text I have counted (though I cannot claim precise accuracy for these figures) 10 places where words (other than particles and the like) are bracketed on the evidence of a scholium¹ or of Valla's translation, as against 32 cases of words bracketed on the conjecture of previous editors, besides a probably larger number of similar conjectures thought worthy of mention in the notes. It must be admitted that a scrap of papyrus was sufficient to repulse the interpolation-theory from the times of the Byzantines and of Suidas (v. Rutherford's *Fourth Book of Thucydides*, pp. xxxii f., xl) to within five centuries of Thucydides' life-time; nor am I aware that its champions have yet rallied to defend the new position. Yet that the common tradition contains a considerable number of interpolated annotations, the present text concedes, and few will be found to deny. Where precisely to draw the line, it is almost impossible that any two critics should exactly agree. Mr. Jones retains τοῦ Πειραιῶς τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ii. 93. 1, with expressed suspicion, and Ἀμόργην τῶν Πισσοῦθνον νῆον νόθον viii. 5. 5, without. His moderation is justified by the object that he set before him, 'ut ea quae anti quitus tradita erant potius quam ea quae Thucydides scribere potuit assequeretur,'—which, though it need not content the Thucydidean enthusiast, is no doubt the proper aim for the editor of a standard text. That position Mr. Jones's work is well qualified to occupy.

It is to be regretted that these volumes, like others of their series, lack the convenience of numbered pages.

H. RACKHAM.

¹ A good instance is a suggestion of Mr. Jones's own, i. 134, 4 ἐς τὸν Καῖδαν[ι], οὐπὲρ τοὺς κακούργους,] ἐσβάλλειν, 'ut uidetur, non legit schol., seclusi.'

DIELS' *PRE-SOCRATICS*.

Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Griechisch und Deutsch. Von HERMANN DIELS. Berlin: Weidmann, 1903. Pp. x. 601. Mk. 15.

This book will be indispensable to all serious students of Greek Philosophy. The author is recognised as one of the greatest living authorities on his subject; no one has a more intimate acquaintance with the sources from which our knowledge of the early philosophers is derived; and by his separate editions of Parmenides (1897) and Heraclitus (1901) as well as by that of the *Poetae Philosophi* (1902) he has prepared the way for the comprehensive collection of fragments now published.

The general plan by which the authorities for the life and teaching of the various philosophers are separated from the actual fragments of their writings is identical with that of the *Poetae Philosophi*, but the present book differs by the omission of a critical apparatus and the addition of a German translation of the fragments. Some twenty years ago Diels formed the plan of preparing a critical edition of the pre-Socratics, but his expectation that the main sources, such as Plutarch Galen Clement etc., would shortly appear in trustworthy editions has been disappointed. Thus forced to abandon the complete fulfilment of his design, the editor claims merely to have consulted the practical needs of students, but promises a supplementary volume to contain critical and explanatory matter with full indexes.

The absence of any critical information (except in very rare cases) is unfortunate, and I cannot help thinking that by the addition of short footnotes the usefulness of the present volume would have been materially increased. The necessary space might have been saved by the postponement of the translation: thus in Parmen. *fr.* 1, 14 the rendering of *κλήιδας ἀμοιβούς* as 'die wechselnden Schlüssel' does not enlighten without an explanation, and on Xenophan. *fr.* 25 we sadly miss the admirable note of the earlier edition. As it is, the reader is constantly obliged to refer to other books, if he wishes to examine the genesis of the text. We take a few instances of this at random:—in Xenophan. *fr.* 18, 1 *ἑπέδειξαν* is printed but this reading comes from *flor.* 29, 41; in *fr.* 35 Diels now adopts Wilamowitz's *δεδοξάσθω* but without any

warning; the two lines constituting *fr.* 16 are a conjectural reconstruction by the editor, and it would surely have been better to print the passage of Clement as it stands. P. 305, 32 (Diog. L. ii. 11) is very puzzling:—Diels has *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δη<μοτρίου>*, where Cobet's text gives *Λυστ*, and Gomperz (*Gr. D.* p. 445) reads *Λυσιστράτον*. In Anaxag. A 102 (Plut. *de fort.* 3 p. 98f) *σφῶν* must be corrupt and should have been so marked: see Bernardakis. On p. 366, 30 we should be glad to know why *ἀπό* is preferred to Cobet's *ὑπό*. *γωνοειδής* occurs on p. 389, 46 and 48 and p. 393, 17 and 19, but *γωνοειδής*, the normal form, several times on p. 393. On p. 400, 41 *εἶναι* is omitted after *αὐτήν*, but this may be a misprint. On p. 407, 16 (Sext. *Math.* vii. 139) some dozen words are inserted to fill a lacuna, but their origin is not indicated. At p. 417, 28 *ῥξει*, with *ῥξει* in the next line, is very confusing, if intentional. P. 515, 18: why *δύομι* for *δύη* of the *Poet. Philosophi*? On the other hand, in Democr. *fr.* 174 there are two noticeable readings, which deserve emphasis:—*ἀνακηδής* (by false analogy for *ἀκηδής*), which recurs in *fr.* 254 but in a different sense, and *τὰ χρεῖ ἔοντα* (also in *fr.* 256) as the plural of *τὸ χρεῖ ὄν* (*χρεών*), already recommended by Wilamowitz on Eur. *H.F.* 311. Among many other good emendations may be specified p. 357, 39 H for N in Arist. *met.* A 4. 11 and p. 409, 18 *ἄλογχος*=*nefastus*, after the analogy of *εὐλογχος*.

But such deficiencies will no doubt be remedied in the additional volume, and it is very far from my intention to belittle the importance of the present publication. It fills a gap which no history of philosophy could supply. Students can now consult the primary sources of information, and with all the available evidence before them can draw their own conclusions or test those of others. That the book is in the main complete may be assumed, though a few trifling omissions will be pointed out presently, and others will doubtless be discovered by those who are more competent.

It is an immense advantage to have a full presentation of the data for the reconstruction of the various systems. Only thus can we clearly apprehend the difficulty of conflicting authorities, and how far it is possible to reconcile or necessary to reject them. Take Anaxagoras as an example.

How could he hold that everything contains a part of everything else, and yet that certain substances are more primitive, that is, more homogeneous than others?¹ Everything contains a part of everything else (πάντα παντὸς μοῖραν μετέχει *fr.* 6 and cf. *frs.* 11 and 12), and yet the seeds are infinite in number and unlike each other (*fr.* 4). There is nothing simple uncompounded or elementary except Nous (οὐ κεχώρισται ἀλλήλων τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ κόσμῳ *fr.* 8: see especially the end of *fr.* 12 and cf. *Arist. de anim.* A 2. 405a 15 [Diels A 55]). If gold blood and bone are ὁμοιομερῆ as consisting of an infinite number of like particles and of nothing else, and so are differentiated from other substances such as fire and water, which are σύνθετα or derived, the whole system becomes self-contradictory and falls to pieces. But, whether or not Anaxagoras used the word ὁμοιομερής, he did not hold that anything was homogeneous in this sense. In so far as all things possess primary qualities, there is no distinction between ὁμοιομερές and σύνθετον. All things are either both or neither, according to the point of view. They must contain parts of everything else or γένεσις is impossible, and so far they are σύνθετα (διὸ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἔλεγε μεμῖχθαι καὶ τὴν γένεσιν κατὰ ἔκκρισιν γίνεσθαι *Simplic.* ap. Diels A 45, πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐκ μὴ τριχὸς γένοιτο θρῖξ καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ μὴ σαρκός; *fr.* 10). But on the other hand they would not exist or appear to exist as individual and determinate substances, if there were not in them a predominance of like parts, which makes them what they are, and so far they are ὁμοιομερῆ (χρυσὸς γὰρ φαίνεται ἐκείνῳ, ἐν ᾧ πολὺ χρυσίον ἐστὶ καίτοι πάντων ἐνόντων *Simplic.* ap. Diels A 41, 28). In the beginning all things were indeterminate and indiscrete,² till Nous, as the cause of motion, produced determination and separation (*fr.* 4 ad fin.). Further, Anax. constantly denies the existence of ἐλάχιστον (*fr.* 3),³

holding in opposition to the Atomists, whose σώματα ἀδιαίρετα are ἄπειρα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς μορφάς (Leucippus A 9 Diels), that χρήματα are ἄπειρα καὶ πλῆθος καὶ σμικρότητα (*fr.* 1). But it has been inferred from two passages of Aristotle (*de cael.* Γ 3. 302a 28 appears in Diels A 43, but he nowhere cites the equally important *de gen. et corr.* A 1. 314a 24 ἐναντίως δὲ φαίνονται λέγοντες οἱ περὶ Ἀ. τοῖς περὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ φησι πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ γῆν στοιχεῖα τέσσαρα καὶ ἀπλᾶ εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ σάρκα καὶ ὀστούν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπλᾶ καὶ στοιχεῖα, γῆν δὲ καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα σύνθετα πανσπερμῖαν γὰρ εἶναι τούτων) that, whereas bone flesh and gold are primary, fire air water and earth are secondary substances. Now, in each of these passages Anax. is contrasted with Empedocles, and Aristotle's sole object is to show that the ὁμοιομερῆ of the former correspond as στοιχεῖα to the four elements of the latter. And, though the Empedoclean elements are stated to be σύνθετα and μείγματα according to the system of Anaxagoras, it does not necessarily follow that bone and flesh—either the aggregates which we apprehend with our senses or their constituent particles—are any the less so. Indeed, such an inference is expressly contradicted by *phys.* Γ 4. 203a 19 to be presently cited. On the other hand it is wrong to infer, because flesh and bone are chosen as illustrations of the infinite variety of Anaxagoras' στοιχειώδη, that fire air and water would not have been equally legitimate examples. For, if Aristotle meant this, he would not only be directly at variance with his own statement in the *metaphysics* (A 3. 984a 11, Diels A 43),⁴ but also with Theophrastus who gives water fire and gold as examples of ὁμοιομερῆ (Diels A 41, 24), and with Lucretius, who puts earth fire and water on an exact level with bone flesh blood and gold. It is strange, by the way, that Diels, when citing this passage of Lucretius (i. 830–844) should not have completed it by including vv. 875–879, which contain, as Munro remarked, the cornerstone of Anaxagorean physics. However, it cannot be denied that Aristotle's statements are misleading. To even beyond the Sophoclean extension in *O.C.* 442 etc. Zeller's τὸμῃ for τὸ μὴ would be attractive but for the consideration that the following οὐκ should then be μὴ.

¹ Bonitz made an unsuccessful attempt to explain away this passage, and others have treated the words καθάπερ ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ as a gloss. Even if such methods were needed, they would be quite unavailing in view of the evidence of Theophrastus and Lucretius.

¹ This question is raised by A 41 and 43 Diels. Zeller (*pre-Socratics*, ii. p. 332 foll. E. tr.) does not give any satisfactory explanation. I have not space to mention, much less to discuss, the various solutions which have been attempted.

² The words in *fr.* 1 indicating the predominance of ἀήρ and αἰθήρ in the original μῖξις are to be explained by the preponderating influence of their σπέρματα on τὸ πᾶν (ὅσων πλείστα ἐνι, ταῦτα ἐνδηλότατα ἐν ἑκαστὸν ἐστί καὶ ἦν *fr.* 12). I cannot see how this warrants Tannery's view, especially when taken in connexion with *fr.* 2.

³ Diels translates the clause, which he prints τὸ γὰρ ἔδν οὐκ ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ οὐκ εἶναι, by the words: 'denn es ist unmöglich, dass das Seiende zu sein aufhöre.' But the articular infinitive is very harsh and goes

assert that the *ὁμοιομερῆ* are *ἀπλὰ καὶ στοιχεῖα* is inaccurate, for we have already seen that nothing is *ἀπλοῦν* except *νοῦς*, and that the *ὁμοιομερῆ* are capable of infinite resolution. An explanation, if not an excuse, may be found in Aristotle's habit of systematising his predecessors' views under his own terminology: knowing the facts himself and expecting similar knowledge on the part of his readers, he did not anticipate that his criticisms would be used as original authorities for the doctrines of the early philosophers. Lastly, I think that Aëtius' remark on the *ὁμοιομερῆ* deserves some attention, in spite of its summary rejection by Prof. Burnet.¹ After giving Anaxagoras' explanation of growth and nutrition as due to *λόγῳ θεωρητὰ μόρια* contained in the nutriment, he proceeds:—*ἀπὸ τοῦ οὖν ὅμοια τὰ μέρη εἶναι ἐν τῇ τροφῇ τοῖς γεννωμένοις ὁμοιομερείας αὐτὰς ἐκάλεισε* (Diels A 46). Now this is virtually identical with what Aristotle himself says:—*ὅσοι δ' ἅπειρα ποιοῦσι τὰ στοιχεῖα, καθάπερ 'Α. . . ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν . . . καὶ ὁ μὲν ὅτι οὖν τῶν μορίων εἶναι μείγμα ὁμοίως τῷ παντὶ διὰ τὸ ὁρᾶν ὅτι οὖν ἐξ ὅτου οὖν γιγνώμενον* (*phys. l.c.*, Diels A 45). Why should we not suppose that Aristotle applied the word *ὁμοιομερῆς* to the *σπέρματα* of Anaxagoras in this sense, *i.e.* that as *μείγματα* they resemble their wholes? It is admitted that its strict application is to such an aggregate as contains parts similar to itself (*ὣν τὰ μόρια τοῖς ὅλοις ἐστὶ συνώνυμα*). But in an attempt to denote those parts or seeds themselves, which are like to their wholes, unlike to each other and yet contain everything else, he was perfectly justified in transferring the name from the aggregate to the unit. Where everything is and always has been composite (*ὅπως περ ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἅπαντα ὁμοῦ fr. 6*), there can be no question of absolute homogeneity.

It is impossible in dealing with so comprehensive a work—containing no less than 83 chapters devoted each to a separate name—to discuss a tithe of the questions, which are naturally raised by its appearance. In what follows, I shall briefly indicate points of detail, where either an omission should be supplied or the text and interpretation are open to criticism.² In the account of Thales we miss the various allusions in Cicero, *e.g. de div.* l. 111 and

especially *n.d.* l. 25. The passage from Arist. *met.* A 2 which is quoted on p. 317, 48, does not appear in the account of Anaximander, nor can I find any trace of the passages of Simplicius bearing on the question of the innumerable worlds, which are cited by Zeller, pp. 261, 2 E. tr. On p. 320, 37 a reference should have been given to Plut. *fac. lun.* 24, 6, p. 937f. Among the authorities for Anaxagoras I fail to find Alex. *de mixt.* l. p. 213, 23 Bruns and *ib.* 13, p. 228, 17: and the words immediately preceding the former of these two passages do not seem to be quoted for Leucippus or Democritus. At p. 517, 33 the important comment of Hermeias seems to have been overlooked. In ch. 76 (*Gorgias*) we miss a few passages, such as Cic. *de inv.* 1. 5. 7, and particularly a reference to Ar. *Ran.* 1021 at p. 534, 17. The cross references are not always complete: thus on p. 321, Nos. 80 and 81 a reference should be given to p. 384, Nos. 91 and 92, and on p. 399, No. 160 to p. 388, No. 117.

To turn to other matters, in the *μεταξύ τι* controversy (Anaximander No. 16) Diels sides with Schleiermacher and Zeller, but there are cogent arguments on the other side. In any case *phys.* Γ 5. 204 b 22 and Simplicius *ad loc.* should have been cited. On p. 41 No. 26 the passage from Philo *de provid.* ii. 48 should be expunged. It has no reference to Xenophanes or his poetry, as the context shows. Xenoph. *fr.* 1, 20: *τόνος* can hardly be sound, despite *τόνος τῆς φωνῆς* and *τείνειν βοήν*. Xenoph. *fr.* 8, 2: Diels translates *φροντίδα* by 'Geist,' and Burnet rendered 'careworn soul.' Is it not rather 'thought,' *i.e.* philosophical speculation, as in the *Nubes* more than once? Parmenides *fr.* 1, 3: Diels adopts Hermann's *αὐτῇ* and translates: 'den . . . Weg der allein führt.' But it is questionable if *αὐτῇ* can be treated as the equivalent of *μόνη*. That is to say, *αὐτός* may be rendered by 'alone' where this word expresses an objective fact, but not where it is a mere limitation of the subject. This is shown by cases where *αὐτός* is reinforced by *μόνος* as in Soph. *Ant.* 1283. It is doubtful whether Diels is justified in giving so much weight to the tradition in *fr.* 1, 37 *μόνος δ' ἔτι θυμός οδοῖο λείπεται* 'es bleibt Dir dann nur noch Mut zu einem Wege . . .' This is a very difficult and unnatural phrase, especially if it preceded the statement of the two ways of investigation set forth in *fr.* 4. It is surely more probable that *θυμός* is an instance of the common confusion of this word with *μῦθος*, and that the line is identical

¹ *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 289, n.

² It will be convenient to quote the page and line of the present edition in most cases. I ought to add that in speaking of omissions it is not easy to be quite sure in the absence of an index.

with *fr.* 8, 1 as recorded by Simplicius. This was the arrangement in Karsten's text; and it carries with it the identification of 1, 33 and 7, 2 so that *frs.* 4-7 (if not *frs.* 2, 3) should be inserted between 1, 32 and 1, 33, making *fr.* 8 continuous with *fr.* 1. On this view there is a considerable lacuna in the quotation of Sextus, who is admitted to have dropped 1, 31 and 32. Diels often shows great ingenuity in defending the MSS text, as at *fr.* 1, 32 where, reading *χρῆν δοκιμῶσ' εἶναι*, he translates:—'wie man bei gründlicher Durchforschung annehmen müsste, dass sich jenes Scheinwesen verhalte.' But, apart from other difficulties, I cannot think that Parmenides would have used these words of what he afterwards describes as *κόσμον ἐμὼν ἐπέων ἀπατηλόν* and *διάκοσμον εὐκότα* (8, 52 and 60). *Fr.* 8, 54 *τῶν μίαν οὐ χρεὼν ἔστι* is taken by Diels as part of the *or. obl.*—'nur eine derselben, das sei unerlaubt'—*i.e.* the opinionists deny Being, but it is simpler to accept the ordinary view: 'of which two one must not be named,' *i.e.* Not-Being. Pp. 249-259: it will be observed that Diels regards all the fragments of Philolaus as genuine with the exception of the long passage quoted by Stobaeus from the *περὶ ψυχῆς*, on which all authorities are agreed. P. 317, 48: the comment 'anders' should not mislead. The *ἐν* in bk. A is the *ἄπειρον* of the *κόσμος*, and the *ἐν* of bk. A is *νοῦς*, whereas the *ἐν* of A is identified with *θάτερον τὸ ἀόριστον*. P. 364, 15: Diels maintains his view that the *μέγας διάκοσμος* is the work of Leucippus and not of Democritus against the attempts which have been made to deny the historical existence of Leucippus as the first Atomist. P. 378: the passages cited in No. 47 are unhesitatingly rejected by Zeller. It is true that they are in apparent conflict with Nos. 60 and 61, but the difference may perhaps be explained by the help of Theophr. *de sens.* 61 (pp. 392, 38-42). In existing things (*μεικτά*) *βαρύτης* and *κονφότης* depend upon the presence or absence of void, but the *ἄτομα* are homogeneous and voidless so that in their case *βαρύτης* is determined by *μέγεθος*. Moreover, Democritus has nowhere explained how the movement, which is antecedent to the *δίνος*, is originated: hence the divergent views of Zeller, Brieger, Liepmann, and others. P. 381, 7: should not *ἀνοκοχεύειν* be restored to Aristotle (Cobet, *N.L.* p. 170)? P. 390, 18: perhaps rather *ὁμοιοσχήμονα*, since *ὁμοίοςχημος* is weakly supported. In Cornut. 17, p. 29, 6 probably *ὁμοιοσχήμον'* is correct. P. 393, 8: *τὸ δ'*

εἰς μακρὰ διανενημένον. Does this mean 'piled up in heaps at long intervals'? If so, it seems a doubtful improvement on the common text *τὸ δ' εἰς μικρὰ* (Schneider for *μακρὰ*) *διανενημένον*. P. 406, 1: the words *ἀλλ' ἐπινυσμήν ἐκάστοισιν ἡ δόξις* are translated:—'sondern jeder von uns seine Meinung nur aus dem Zuströmen der Wahrnehmungsbilder bildet.' This is certainly preferable to Mullach's *ἐπινυσμήν*. L. and S. require correction here. At p. 406, 18 it is surprising that Diels has retained *διαθήκην* ('Verfassung') in preference to Mullach's *διαθιγνῆν*. P. 413, 29: *ἐπ'άλληλα* must mean 'interchangeable,' which would be a natural if otherwise unexampled sense for *ἐπ'άλληλος*. But should we not read *ἐπ' ἄλληλα*? On p. 415, No. 29 a, the note ('unkontrahierte Formen') is misleading, since Apollonius is demonstrating that Democritus never uses the open forms (*ἡμέες κ.τ.λ.*) in the nominative. P. 427, 17: *ἀποκρίνεται*, as the technical word for secretion, should perhaps take the place of *ἐπικρίνεται*. Pp. 438, 10: Diels' correction can hardly be right here. Is *ζωτικῶς* taken with *πονεῖν* possible? 'Life-giving labour' would then correspond with the warning given *μὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς θνητοῖσι τὰς ἡδονὰς ποιείσθαι* (*fr.* 189). The latter is directed against *θνατὰ θνατοῖσιν πρέπει* and the like, afterwards repudiated by Aristotle (*eth. N. x.* 7. 8). P. 450, 13: *τὰ γὰρ ἴδια κακῶς <ἂν> ἔσχεν*. The addition of *ἂν* is unsuitable and yields no appropriate sense: Diels translates *ἂν ἔσχεν* as if it were *ἂν ἔχοι*.

The revision of the proof-sheets has not been very searching. Besides numerous cases of dropped or misplaced accents, as *αἰξαι* for *αἴξαι* p. 379, 17, I have noticed the following misprints:—p. 111, No. 14: *μόνοι* for *μόνον*—p. 313, 6: *fr.* 4 for *fr.* 3—p. 313, 36: *σελήνην* for *σελήνην*—p. 316, 24: *τε* for *δέ*—p. 317, 46: *Δ 1* for *Δ 2*—p. 322, 23: *τρώμω* for *τρώμω*—p. 369, 1: *Ἀναξαρόρου*—p. 374, 24: *Ὑπομνημάτων* for *Ὑπομνημάτων* and at l. 34 *videtur phy, sicus* for *videtur, physicus*—p. 379, 15: *Diog. L. x. 3* for *x. 2* and at l. 41 *nullo* for *nullo*—p. 387, 11: *Arist. de rep.* should be *Arist. de respir.*—p. 389, 38: *ἄλλοι* for *ἄλλο* and at l. 44 *γλυκόν* for *γλυκύν*—p. 393, 24: *ὑγραινόμεναι* for *ὑγραινόμενα*—p. 394, 10: *πικρόν* for *πικρόν*—p. 400, 33: *intrinsecum* for *intrinsecus*—p. 405, 8: the reference to S. 356, 54ff. should be to S. 356, 34 ff.—p. 455, 12: the full stop after *δέη* should be a comma—p. 526, 3: *quaeretur* for *quaeretur*—p. 533, 26: the reference should be *rhet.* Γ 17. 1418 a 32—p. 535, 27 *προειδέναι*

for προσειδέναι—p. 552, 7 τε for τι and so in l. 29. The notation of the side lines is irregular, being often omitted, especially in

the earlier part of the book, without any apparent reason.

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BORNECQUE'S *SENECA RHETOR*.

Sénèque le Rhéteur. Traduction nouvelle par M. HENRI BORNECQUE. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française (Prix Jules Janin). Paris: Garnier Frères, 6 rue des Saints-Pères. 2 vols. 6 fr.

THE elder Seneca is little read on this side of the Channel. M. Bornecque knows of no translation in France since 1663, I know of no English translation—or edition either, for that matter. Yet to the student of Rome's literature the *Controversiae et Suasoriae* are full of interest. Their rich store of literary anecdote has long since been rifled. But, apart from this, the prefaces shew us a prose style far superior to that of the Tiberians Velleius and Valerius, and the *Suasoriae*, with the fragments they preserve of the works of Cornelius and Albinovanus do much the same for the poetry of the period. Interesting again are the protests against the higher education of the day—proving, alas, only too clearly, that in these matters the far-sighted may be centuries before their contemporaries.

But the really essential part of the work is that which gives us the 'gems' of rhetoric uttered by the rhetoricians and orators of the day on the various themes practised in the schools. The meaning of these concise and epigrammatic sentences, isolated as they often are from any definite context, is often difficult to grasp, and they frequently defy translation. M. Bornecque is to be congratulated upon the way in which he has done his work. The translation seems to run smoothly and is, with occasional lapses, literal and accurate. The use of dashes to distinguish *sententiae* which have no logical connexion is a great convenience. In the matter of the text (which is printed at the foot of the page) M. Bornecque preserves an independent attitude and selects his reading from those put at his disposal by the various MSS. editors, and critics. The introduction is excellent, and so are the notes. Hitherto one has had to go back to the 17th century editors for such exegetical matter: needless to say, recent years have produced only

critical editions. I would especially call attention to the notes in which M. Bornecque draws attention to the reappearance of certain *sententiae* in the works of the later Silver writers.

I may perhaps be allowed to mention some passages where revision is needed. In i. 3, a Vestal has been flung from the Capitol, but not killed: it is proposed to fling her down again. In § 3 we have a description of the height and precipitous character of the cliff. Such a place, we read, must have been expressly chosen *ut damnati saepius deiciantur*. That 'pour n'avoir à précipiter deux fois les condamnés' represents Seneca's meaning, I am sure, but the text must be emended and *ne* read for *ut* before we can translate it thus. *Ib.* 5. 3. A *rapta* who has chosen death as the penalty of her assailant is reminded that, though there has been a Lucretia, a Virginia, *plures Sabinæ sunt*. A note is needed to explain that the meaning is: 'you should follow the example of the majority, the Sabine women who accepted their Roman assailants as husbands, not that of the few like V. and L.' *Ib.* 6. 5 *si paulo speciosior animo eius affulserit domus* surely means 'if she is dazzled by the sight of a house rather more magnificent than her own.' M. Bornecque says 'si la maison, à son gré, brille de trop d'éclat.' Just below, in § 6, we have a very difficult phrase. A *captator* is said '*suas spes in alienas mortes diffundere*.' The objection to 'fonder ses espérances sur la mort des autres' is that *diffundere* must mean more than *fundare*. Is the metaphor taken from the money market? He 'widens the field of his operations,' and makes his hopes depend, not on himself but on several items (each the death of a person). *Ib.* 7. 17. How Mueller proposed to translate his text *quid iste tamen dicit? quare scripsisse?* I never understood. But M. Bornecque's 'Que dit-il maintenant? pourquoi avoir écrit' is impossible. The other reading *scripsisset* is at least grammatical. But there must be something more wrong with the text. ii. 1. 20 *trium filiorum subsessorum*. The meaning is that he lay in wait, to rush in and take their place as soon as

they were turned out. *Dépouiller* is too general. *Ib.* 3. 3. The ravisher must get pardon from the girl's father and his own, or else die. 'Which of the two would the law prefer? *Non exorari: irascitur.*' 'Non le pardon, mais la colère' misses the very Silver personification of *lex*. *Ib.* 4. 6. *cedo istum puerum.* Is this not *cēdo* rather than *cēdo*? 'hand him over,' not 'je t'abandonne ton enfant'? vii. pref. 1 Albucius had no life about him when reciting to a select few: *incipiebat sedens, et si quando illum produxerat calor exurgere audebat.* 'C'est uniquement s'il venait à s'échauffer qu'il osait, etc.' This is probably the sense, but we must then read *nec nisi quando.* *Ib.* 1. 9 *multis itineribus fata decurrunt.* 'Bien des routes descendent vers les enfers' is too free. 'The fates fulfil themselves (run their course) in many ways' is the meaning. *Ib.* 2. 4 *nunc quid magis exonerare te possum? praesta Ciceroni quod Antonius,* said to Popilius who murdered Cicero though the latter's defence had once saved his life. The meaning is 'I don't ask much of you—not what you might be expected to do for your benefactor. I simply ask you to do what his bitter foe Antonius does, refrain from killing him with your own hands.' *Exonerare* then means 'make your task easy' 'set you a light task,' not 'lever tes scrupules.' Just below, in § 6, the *crepido* mentioned in connexion with the exile Marius is 'the gutter': cp. Juvenal's *nulla crepido uacat.* M. Bornecque renders 'les degrés du temple,' whilst in l. 1. 3 he is too vague with 'sur les ruines de Carthage.' *Ib.* 5. 10 Seneca ridicules a speaker who represented the stepmother as not really wounded, but only sprinkled with her husband's blood, *cum illa vulnerata ponitur.* The last words mean 'when the hypothesis, the argument of the theme, is that she is wounded.' So *poni* in § 13 and 7. 7. 14. M. Bornecque quite misses this, taking the words as part of the speech. viii. 4 init. Is the suicide's body to be buried? The counsel says '*summam infelicitatum suarum in hoc remouit, quod existimabat licere misero mori,*' 'freed himself from, escaped the worst of his evils through his belief that an unfortunate was

allowed to kill himself.' *Summa* is certainly not 'la vie.' It is however possible that *ignorauit* or *non nouit* should be read in place of *remouit.* *Ib.* 6. med. *ibi facis nuptias quo nemo nisi naufragus uenit,* 'là tu célèbres les noces auxquelles assista seul, etc.' But *quo* belongs to *ibi*, not to *nuptias.* ix. 1. 11 Cimon hints that Callias in releasing him from prison (where he had taken the place of Miltiades) was actuated by love of fame: people were not likely to forget a *quo* Cimon solutus esset any more than they could forget *pro quo adligatus.* The second *quo* means Miltiades, but is rendered 'les raisons pour lesquelles.' *Ib.* 6. A stepmother, convicted of poisoning her stepson, tells the father that their common daughter was her accomplice. The girl is put on trial. In § 1 we hear that Cestius said '*paene dixi anteaquam eius uitam excutiamus.*' The rendering 'j'ai presque fini: examinons, etc.' is absurd, as it has no point; such a phrase would certainly not have been admitted by Seneca in this choice selection. Now § 10 shews that C. made much of the prisoner's youth, and no doubt he said: 'I was, from sheer force of habit, about to say "let us examine her past record"—forgetting that she was a child.' Cp. Plin. *Ep.* 4. 7. *2 librum de uita eius recitauit, de uita pueri: recitauit tamen.* In the same theme, § 19 the girl's counsel says of the mother *potest filiam ueneficam fingere, si potest facere: difficilium est, liberos inquinare quam perdere.* M. Bornecque says '*il est plus difficile de déshonorer les enfants que de les pervertir.*' But the meaning is: 'You think this mother was capable of training her child to be a poisoner. Well, if she was capable of that, she was certainly capable of *falsely* alleging she was a poisoner, of swearing away her life. For a mother finds it easier to (would rather) slay her child than make it a criminal.'

The printing is not too careful. Occasionally the translation follows a text different from that printed below it: e.g. ii. 2. 10 'nous réconcilier' represents Gronov's *decidimus*, not the *cecidimus* of the text, and ix. 3. 6 *cuilibet* is translated, *quilibet* read below.

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BOISSIER'S *TACITE*.

Tacite. GASTON BOISSIER. Paris: Hachette, 1903. Pp. iv, 343. 3 f. 50.

In reviewing a book by M. Boissier it is hardly necessary to introduce the author to the public. A long series of delightful works has made him known, and, more than that, has made him welcome to every student of Classical literature, who has once read a volume by him. One thinks of a whole gallery of portraits of real people, all of them individual, all interesting, all drawn with exquisite sympathy and humour—that humour which Carlyle, who had it, describes as being in essence ‘warm, tender fellow-feeling with all forms of existence.’ Has M. Boissier in his eighty years of life ever drawn a portrait with the least dash of ill-humour about it? I have not seen it, if he has. One thinks of what another great scholar made of Cicero, for example, but his French contemporary seems never to have found any one to dislike. And yet nobody beguiles him. His insight is as clear and as sure as his spirit is genial, and he gives us the whole man, with the result that seeing him all round we begin to like him in M. Boissier’s own way—almost as much for his foibles and his faults as for whatever he may have that is charming and amiable. It is one thing to do this for Cicero and his friends or the Sévigné family, but to bring Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Paulinus of Nola into the circle of our friendships is achievement indeed.

M. Boissier, it seems to me, supplies an element which is often lacking in English as in German scholarship. We have scholars who may write better Latin verses than he—his delightful comparison of Pollio and Messalla and their declamations with ‘des gens, chez nous, qui continuaient jusqu’à la mort à faire des vers latins,’ tempts me to say this—but in common with other Frenchmen his instinct is for literature and character. ‘Er hat noch nicht das letzte Buch gelesen’—perhaps, but he knows personally the man who wrote the original book and he reads that original book, and can give an account of it, which does not depend on other people’s indexes, but is in touch with the author’s thought throughout.

Tacite is in the same happy vein as M. Boissier’s other books. Of course the historian does not give us the wonderful self-revelation of Cicero or Horace, but, if the

subject is not so promising, the painter has caught the likeness, and, in doing so, has brought out new aspects of him. Is Tacitus truthful? is an old question. M. Boissier shews that if we will be content with evidence rather than *a priori* supposition we shall believe that he is truthful, and then he gives us a sympathetic study of ‘Tacitus’ nature—the gloom, which over-masters him again and again, to be shaken resolutely off from time to time when he feels he has yielded to it (p. 134)—a strain of nervousness, shewn in reluctance to omit alternative views and in reluctance to decide between them (pp. 79, 91, 145)—his taste (il était de sa nature un artiste merveilleux)—the clear sight, which let him see the realities underneath the shams of Imperial Rome, and, above all, the first hints of those great forces that finally broke up the Empire—his freedom from Livy’s ‘ivresse d’orgueil national’—his contempt for ‘ces étiquettes de liberté’—his freedom in some things from the notions of his day, his limitations in others. All these are harmonized and give us the portrait of a man—and how many learned people have left Tacitus a mere volume with an index and a table of phrases!

I should like in passing to call attention to M. Boissier’s discussion of the merits of ancient and modern conceptions of History. We have been so much urged to look on History as a Science, and to do our best to get her away from ‘her old associates, Literature and Political Morality,’ that it is a pleasure to find that these attractive companions of her earlier years have something to say for themselves after all, even in our scientific day—they may help us to see ‘ce qui est le principal objet, l’homme et ses passions,’ which our dear friends may have remembered but do not often suggest. Here too M. Boissier gives us a hint that we may have too much local colour—‘with us Civilis and Vologaesius would have spoken in a different way, but at bottom they would not have said anything different.’

Two or three independent essays close the volume—notably one on Martial, who is drawn with the same unsparing but sympathetic hand—a terribly true portrait, and yet one thinks the kindlier of Martial for it.

No one would guess that M. Boissier was close upon eighty when he published this book. Some Goddess of Morning and

Sunrise seems to have given him immortal youth with other gifts peculiar to her time of day, which every reader of his books

knows and is the happier for knowing Long may he keep them!

T. R. GLOVER

WESSNER'S *DONATUS*.

Aeli Donati quod fertur Commentum Terenti: accedunt Engraphi Commentum et Scholia Bambina recensuit PAULUS WESSNER. Vol. I, pp. 1, 542. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1902. 10 mk.

THE celebrated commentary on Terenti certainly needed re-editing; and the present edition should give the reader all or most of what he wants. Besides A, the Paris MS assigned to the eleventh century and said to have formed part of the famous library of Fleury to which the uncial codex of Jerome's *Chronicles* also belonged, Herr Wessner gives collations of a Vatican MS of the thirteenth century (B) and 4 MSS of the fifteenth century (two in the Vatican one at Florence and one in the Bodleian). These are his 'meliores.' To supply their frequent deficiencies he calls in the help of 'deteriores,' a Dresden, a Leyden, and a Paris MS, to which is to be added a Malatestianus. The excerpts or Scholia in the margin of five MSS of Terence are also cited, that is to say the Scholia Bambina (from the famous uncial MS which once belonged to Cardinal Bembo), the Victoriana (tenth century), the Riccardiana (eleventh century), the Vaticana (Vat. 3868, ninth or tenth) and the Parisina (Par. 7899, ninth or tenth). The industry of the editor in collecting his material deserves our most grateful recognition; and it is to be hoped that his trustworthiness will prove to have earned it too. This is a matter which time alone can show.¹ It must, however, be observed that the book would have been more convenient to use had some of the material been retrenched. The *Vita* and the Commentary upon two plays only *Andria* and *Eunuchus* fill more than 500 pages, and more than a third of each page on the average is taken up with the critical apparatus. In the case of a great literary work, especially if ill preserved, there is something to be said for recording trifling variants. And of course

everything that may help to the recovery of the truth ought always to be given. But a commentary is not an original work; and most readers would have gladly spared such notes as the following 'cata antiphrasin AT', catantiphrasin B, cata antiphrasin V, catha antiphrasin C' (p. 225) for a *catalogue raisonné* of the kinds of mistakes that occur in the MSS upon which the text is based. The editor I hasten to say is no slave of his materials and does not pretend that his MSS are better than they are. Of recent emenders those most frequently mentioned are Rabbow, Sabbadini, and Schopen. As a detailed criticism of Wessner's work is here impossible, I content myself with referring briefly to two or three passages where I should prefer something different to what appears in his text. *Vita* c.5 (Volcatus) 'iter hinc in Asiam fecit: <in> nauem ut semel | conscendit, uisus nunquam est: sic uita uacat' <et> seems more likely.—On Andr. Prol. 24 7 'COGNOSCITE | per . . . 8 COGNOSCITE | sic dixit' etc. for the obvious omission I should prefer 'percognoscite,' an attested compound, to *pro* (Wessner) and a lacuna which Rabbow fills up with *iudicate*. *Ib.* 25. 2. 'nam postmodum dicit in alio prologo' Wessner for *dein* A, *deinde* the rest. Perhaps '*idem in.*' *ib.* 1, 88. 2 (in the derivation of) *funus* 'A funalibus dictum est, id est uncis et aculeis candelaborum quibus delibutifunes et ingenium cereifomites infinguntur.' *ingenium* for which one MS has 'ingeni' is bracketed with Rabbow; but how can it have got in? Read *incirati* and bracket *cerei* as a gloss. This is seemingly better than to suppose that *cerei* has come from '*cera delibuti*' which some may prefer. *Ib.* III. 12. 1 'ITANE CONTEMNOR ualde temnor—temnor autem Graecum est id est caedor et reicior—nam veteres temnere dicebant sine praepositione.' It is clear that 'contemnor' would not be interpreted by 'temnor' and, except for A, the weight of authority is for for 'ualde contemnor.' We should read ITANE CONTEMNOR <contemnor> ualde temnor etc, as the commentator is explaining the meaning of the compound verb from the simple one.

J. P. P.

¹ Since this notice (which has had to wait a long time in type) was set up, has appeared Prof. M. Warren's review in the *American Journal of Philology*, 1903, p. 335, in which I am glad to read the words 'Having made myself many years since a collation of A, I can attest the extreme accuracy of Wessner's report of its readings.'

CHROUST'S *MONUMENTA PALAEOGRAPHICA*.

Monumenta Palaeographica: Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters. Erste Abtheilung: Schrifttafeln in lateinischer und deutscher Sprache. Unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Dr. ANTON CHROUST, Professor an der kgl. Universität Würzburg. Lieferungen ix-xii. F. Bruckmann: München, 1903. Each part 20 m.

THE four parts of Dr. Chroust's work which have appeared since our last notice of it (*C.R.* xvii. 67) complete the first half of the first series; and there can now be no doubt that the whole undertaking, when it is achieved, will realise very adequately its main intention, namely the illustration of the history of handwriting in mediaeval Germany. It does not aim at covering the whole field of palaeography, nor can it be pretended that the portion of the field to which it is devoted is the most important. Germany never stood in the forefront of palaeographical development in the way that Italy, France, and England at different periods did. Nevertheless it is a portion of the field which needed study, and all the more because it has hitherto been somewhat neglected; and Dr. Chroust's treatment of it promises to be very thorough. The manuscripts selected for reproduction have been well chosen, since nearly all of them can be assigned to a definite place and a definite date. The plates are satisfactory in execution; and Dr. Chroust's descriptions of the several hands exhibited in them are full and careful.

In the earlier parts Dr. Chroust, it may be remembered, dealt at some length with the schools of writing at Regensburg and Salzburg. In Part ix. he continues the subject begun in Part v., the school of Würzburg. The manuscripts reproduced in Part v. included some foreign MSS. (Italian and French) which found their way early to Würzburg and may have helped to form the local style, and also gave examples of Würzburg MSS. from about 800 to 1000. Part ix. carries on the narrative from 1069 to about 1237. Six of the specimens now shown are examples of bookhand and three of charter hand, all being taken from documents relating to the ecclesiastical foundations of the town. Books of the twelfth century, though common enough, rarely contain precise dates; hence for accurately

dated examples it was necessary to have recourse to documents written in bookhand, of which a sufficiently plentiful supply was fortunately forthcoming. In England and the north of France the twelfth century witnessed the development of a very handsome style of writing, perhaps on the whole the handsomest in the entire period between the rise of the Caroline minuscule and the invention of printing; but in Germany no such special style was achieved, and the course of development went on smoothly from the eleventh to the thirteenth century without any marked change of level of artistic merit. The most interesting document in this part in respect of its contents is the last, a catalogue of the miracles wrought by the relics of St. Bruno of Würzburg, apparently drawn up at the time when his canonisation was being considered.

Part x. is more miscellaneous in its contents. It opens with a copy of the Pauline Epistles, written in 1079 by Marianus Scotus, founder of the Irish monastery at Regensburg. It is consequently a rather late example of a manuscript written by an Irish monk on the continent; but the hand is quite continental, except in the case of the Celtic words which occur in some of the subscriptions. The second plate is again in the autograph of a known scribe, Leo Marsicanus, but in this case the hand is Italian, proceeding from Monte Cassino between 1098 and 1117. Two plates are taken from a Missal at Salzburg. Dr. Chroust regards it as written throughout by one scribe, though in different styles; the point is one on which it is difficult to form an opinion without studying the whole MS., but in the pages here reproduced the difference is more evident than the identity. The MS. also contains miniatures in the characteristic German style of the twelfth century. The two next MSS., a Lectionary and a Psalter, both from Würzburg and of the thirteenth century, also illustrate the history of German art; one of the pages shown of the latter, a miniature of the Resurrection, closely resembles the representation of the same subject in a British Museum MS. (Add. 17687), reproduced in the third series of Mr. Warner's *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*. The part concludes, by a sudden transition, with three specimens of German writing between 1460 and 1504, the first an autograph poem by

Hieronymus Rotenpeck, written in Italy in a very 'italianate' hand; the second the autograph chronicle of Veit Arnpeck, in a very ugly northern hand; and the third an autograph treatise by Hartmann Schedel, written at Nürnberg, but in a hand strongly influenced by Italian models.

Part xi. is the most interesting of the four now under review. It begins with the well-known MS. of Hilary of Poitiers on papyrus, written in Italy in the sixth century; a page from it is also given in the Palaeographical Society's publications. Somewhat later is a manuscript at Vienna, containing ecclesiastical and grammatical treatises; the earlier among them are in a half-uncial hand, smaller than that of the Hilary, but not unlike it in general characteristics. Part of the MS. is palimpsest, the lower writing being a Lucan, very handsomely written in large rustic capitals, resembling those of the Codex Romanus of Virgil. Dr. Chroust accepts the date of the fifth or sixth century assigned to this hand by Father Ehrle (whose name he misspells). The upper writing in this part of the MS. is an Irish minuscule of the eighth century. Plate 4 takes us to the school of Charlemagne, representing the Psalter of Charlemagne, written by Dagulf; Dr. Chroust is inclined to follow Berger in assigning all this group of MSS., so familiar to us in the various 'Golden Gospels' included in it, to the palace schools at Aix. Certainly they were produced at some place accessible to the influence of Northumbrian models; and for them we have a certain and influential channel in the presence of Alcuin at Charlemagne's court. Plate 6 contains the annals of Lorsch, a record of the years 795 and 796 in an apparently contemporary hand.

Then follows the bible of Rado, another of the Caroline school, assigned to the period between 790 and 808, but looking decidedly later. Another Lorsch chronicle, written at Fulda about 815, is in a definitely English hand. The part concludes with two plates from a Sacramentary of Liège, here dated about 860; but again one would be inclined to look to a somewhat later date. This part is palaeographically of great interest, though it has less direct bearing upon specifically German writing. It may be observed that all the MSS. from which the plates are derived are in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna.

Part xii. on the other hand, is thoroughly German, late in date, and of little general interest. It consists of a series of plates from the imperial registers, compiled in the chancellery of the empire, and now preserved (with the exception of one document from Karlsruhe) in the Staatsarchiv at Vienna. In date they range from 1401 to about 1500, and all are written in what may be called register-hand. In England we are sufficiently familiar with this type of hand in our episcopal registers, and it is a branch of diplomatics which unquestionably deserves study, but in which each country must do the work for itself and cannot expect to find it excite much interest abroad. Dr. Chroust is quite right to include such a series in his publications; though it might have been better, in view of the limits of the space at his disposal, to have covered a longer period of time.

In conclusion it is only necessary to express a cordial wish for the continuance and success of this useful work.

F. G. KENYON.

IN REPLY TO A CRITIQUE ON A RECENT GREEK AND LATIN VERSE TRANSLATION.

(SEE *C.R.* XVII., PP. 365 *sqq.*)

I HAD hoped to deal more in detail with the kindly *critique* of Prof. Tyrrell in the *Classical Review* for October last; to which it seems now absurdly out of date to recur, and which, owing to remoteness and isolation, I did not even see or hear of until it had been several months in print. But a semester intervening so far robs any reply of any interest it might once have possessed, that, on a hint from the editor, I cut it

short—limiting it in effect to the two general issues of structure—hexametrical in Greek and Galliambic in Latin.

1. The older school of versicular theorists did not accept the doctrine which bans the trochaic caesura from the fourth foot of the Greek heroic hexameter except when the verse ends with a polysyllable (Prof. Tyrrell's 'Munro' doctrine). Spitzner, Hermann, and Hoffman were the recognized

leaders of that older school of critics.—Not of course all agreed, since Hermann recognized it as allowable within narrower limits than the others. I may refer to Spitzner *de Ver. Her.* §3, Hoffmann *Quaest. Homer.* cap. iv. 25, c, where the question is dealt with at some length. I believe that if the conditions which these two allowed were accepted, *plus* that admitted as above by Mr. Tyrrell, all my offences against the presumed canon would be covered, although I may have exceeded due Homeric proportion in their frequency,—riding my hobby a little too hard. Typical examples are

ε. 272, Πληιάδας τ' ἐσορῶντι καὶ ὀψὲ δύοντα
Βώωτην

I. 394, Πηλεὺς θὴν μοι ἔπειτα γυναικα γαμέσ-
σεται αὐτός.

Spitzner on this remarks that the imitative fragment of Menander, *ἐγγμεν ἦν ἐβουλόμεν ἐγώ*, shews the antiquity of the reading *γαμέσσεται*; cf. also Eurip. *Med.* 262 ἦν τ' ἐγγήματο, as preserving the middle voice. To this Hoffmann adds (*ub. sup.* d) 'neminem movit lectio Aristarchi,' which was *γυναικά γε μάσσεται αὐτός*, as recorded by Schol. Ven. *ad loc.* It seems to me that Aristarchus must have altered the verse designedly, and did so (*pace viri tanti*) clumsily. I can conceive no other motive than a prejudice against this caesura in the fourth foot. It follows that he may have succeeded by neater alterations in effacing other traces of it. But where the trochaic caesura is followed by a short monosyl. completing the dactyl, e.g. *γυναικὸς ἄρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο* Θ. 163, *θεοῖσι δὲ θῆσαι ἀνώγειν* I. 219, *νεκροῖο δὲ δέξαι ἄποινα* Ω. 137, the examples are fairly frequent; and here I must leave the question.

2. As regards the galliambic metre, I adhere to the view countenanced by Mr. Robinson Ellis, in his note on Catull. *Attis*, 60 ed. 1889, that it is a development of the ionic à minori in catalectic form,

effected by transpositions or resolutions of the long syllables nearly *ad lib.*, except that the one closing the first half of the line is fixed. Also the doctrine used to be that amidst the vast number of variations on the native form thus admissible, that form was only kept for the first half in v. 54, *ἐτ ἑάρ(um) ὀμνί(a) ἄδιδεμ*, which I perceive Mr. Tyrrell wants to emend and obliterate; and for the last half in this v. 60, *στάδι(o) ἐτ γυμνάσιis*.

A learned friend informs me that for this last word *guminasiis* is the form now generally accepted by recent scholars, with a ref. to Varro *de R.R.* i, 55, 4, where it is read with *varr.* l. of *y* or *i* in the first syllable. On this Mr. Ellis remarks, 'it seems doubtful whether *guminasiis* would have been admitted by Catullus, though L. Müller defends it by Varro' (as above). I certainly share Mr. Ellis' doubt; and when I wrote in my v. 4 *lěvāt ill(e) hōrris-ōnōs*, had in my eye this v. 60 of the *Attis*, as guaranteed by, I believe, all the MSS of Catullus. One may also cite for two long syllables concurrent in the last half of the verse, although not in the same places as in v. 60, *cērvicē quātē iūbām* 83, and *iām iambuē pōēitēt* 73; add *virgūltā pēdē vāgō* 86.

Mr. Tyrrell censures also my v. 7 *fera dum vocat odia*, paralleled by *Attis* 15 *duce me mihi comites*, and by 50 *patria o mea genitrix*; also my v. 16 *domicilia Persici*; cf. *Attis* 91 *dea domina Dindymi*; as well as others of mine which, I think, after this, I need not mention.

My own belief is that Catullus' ear was really guided in his transpositions of the long syllables or their resolutions, by the cadence of the tambourine with bells—I believe an early form of the instrument. We seem to hear in the long syllables the thump on the skin, and in the short ones the jingle of the bells.

HENRY HAYMAN.

OWEN'S PERSIUS AND JUVENAL.—A CAVEAT.

(SEE PP. 125-131 AND VOL. XVII PP. 389-394.)

I WILL not take an unfavourable specimen of Mr. Owen's reasoning, like the contents of p. 130 b: I will take an average specimen; and in order to avoid any suspicion of picking and choosing I will take the

last sentence of all, which is conveniently brief. 'If O were a mere MS of the ω class, as Mr. Housman contends, it would agree with ω throughout, which it does not.' Now not one known MS of Juvenal agrees with ω

throughout (some MSS, as Monacensis 408, agree with ω even less than O does, and with P even more than O does). Therefore, on Mr Owen's showing, not one known MS is a mere MS of the ω class. Therefore every known MS is similar in this respect to O. And Mr Owen here believes himself to be arguing that O is a unique MS.

Here I should stop, but for one circumstance, of which I think it right that readers should be warned. Mr Owen has an unfortunate habit of saying things which he believes to be true. He says on p. 126 *a*—

Whereas Mr Housman (*Journal of Philology* xxi 101 ff., xxii 84 ff.) depreciated the Neapolitanus of Propertius and appreciated four late MSS of the 15th century or thereabouts, and denied the supremacy of the Neapolitanus, which he wished to assign to the 15th century, this house of cards has been lately overthrown, since Mr Montagu James has proved (C.R. xvii 462) that the Neapolitanus was written in the 12th century, as Keil long ago maintained, and is consequently by far our earliest MS of Propertius.

The reader needs to be told that when Mr Owen says I depreciated the Neapolitanus he is attempting to state the fact that I made the most elaborate defence of the Neapolitanus which is anywhere extant; that when he says I appreciated four late MSS he is attempting to state the fact that I pulled down those four MSS from the elevation on which they had been placed by Baehrens; and that when he says I wished to assign the Neapolitanus to the fifteenth century he is attempting to state the fact that I declared myself totally indifferent to the question whether the Neapolitanus belonged to the fifteenth century or the twelfth. I think I am right in supposing that an incautious student might be misled by Mr Owen's phraseology. Or let me take,—again to avoid any suspicion of picking and choosing,—the very first passage

which he selects for discussion, Persius i 23, where Madvig adu. ii 128 proposed *articulis* for *auriculis*. Mr Owen here makes two statements, which I contradict. He affirms that this conjecture of Madvig was based on a false reading printed in the text of Priscian by Putsche. I affirm on the contrary that it was based on an examination of all the possible meanings of the MS reading, on an exposure of the absurdity of all of them, and on an explanation of the requirements of the sense; and that Madvig expressly stated that he had made the conjecture before he knew of any external support for it, false or true: 'ueram scripturam iam tum coniectura repertam, cum nondum Iahnii apparatu utebar.' Mr Owen affirms that the traditional text of Pers. i 23 was explained by Nettleship in his edition of Conington. I affirm on the contrary that Nettleship did not even attempt to explain the traditional text, and that what he did was to support a particular interpretation of the two words *cute perditus*, words which Madvig did not propose to alter. The issues are simple, the two books are accessible, and our respective assertions can easily be verified or falsified. If Mr Owen's statements are found true, then you are welcome to believe anything he says about me; even when he attributes to me (p. 126 *a*) an 'avowed disinclination to allow preponderating authority to one MS or group of MSS,' which I conjecture to be his closest possible paraphrase of my remark (vol. xvii p. 390 *b*) that P is far superior to the whole pack of the other MSS of Juvenal. But if his statements are found false, then I request as a matter of right that when he makes assertions tending to my discredit he may be disbelieved.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

March 14, 1904.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

THE PAULY-WISSOWA ENCYCLO- PAEDIA.

Demogenes—Donatianus.

Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft . . . herausg. von G. WISSOWA. Neunter Halbband: Demogenes—Donatianus. Stuttgart (Metzler), 1903. 1532 columns. 8vo. 15 mk.

IN something like twenty years from now, with a total of thirty volumes, we may

perhaps hope to see the completion of this great work. It is true that in the first volume the estimate was ten volumes and as many years; but as that volume was completed in 1894, and we are now half-way through volume 5, the other estimate seems more probable, especially if we allow for the supplements which are in prospect. None the less, the student who uses the book, the publisher, and above all the editor are to be congratulated on the steady progress, and

on the extraordinarily high level of minute completeness, which are maintained. Specialists in every branch will doubtless find gaps here and there; and those which I notice here are mainly discernible from the numismatic point of view. As regards the use of numismatic evidence in general, one finds several instances in the minor topographical articles, such as *Derbe*, *Dikaia*, *Diocaesarea Ciliciae*, *Dioshieron*, *Dipaea*, *Diun* in Syria, where the writer either altogether omits the fact that the place issued coins, or seems to be unacquainted with the more recent literature. In the article *Demos*, the portion relating to the coin-types should have been expanded in view of Waser's exhaustive list in *Rev. Suisse de Num.* 1898. *Dendrophoros*: the representation of the dendrophoros on the coins of Magnesia ad Maeandrum should have been mentioned. *Derbe*: we are not told that this place was called Claudioderbe, or that it was a member of the Lycaonian *Kovón*. *Derronikos*: the important piece of evidence provided by the Paeonian coin published by Th. Reinach (*Rev. Num.* 1897), with the head of Apollo *Derronaïos*, has been missed. *Diadema* (col. 304): the diadem worn by Caracalla (also by Commodus and Elagabalus) at Tarsos is rather the demiurgic crown (see *B. M. Catal.* p. xcvi.) than the Persian diadem. *Diia*: a cross-reference under *Δία* is desirable. Note also the occurrence of the *Δεῖα* at the Lydian Philadelphia (*B. M. Catal.* p. xc.). *Δίκαιος*: there is no mention of the use of this epithet as a regal title. *Dikte*: the writer seems to be unaware of Mr. Hogarth's important account of his excavation of the cave (*B.S.A.* vi. pp. 94-116). *Dionysos*: the list of cult-places is very inadequate as regards Asia Minor. *Dioscuri*: the discussion of the Pisidian cultus and monuments by M. Perdrizet (*B.S.A.* iii. pp. 156-169) has escaped the writer, who also fails to mention the cultus at Tripolis in

Phoenicia. (On col. 1103 we find the curious form *Sidibundu* for *Sibidunda*). *Dirke*: Studniczka's article on the group of Apollonios and Tauriskos in *Ztschr. f. bild. Kunst*, N.F. xiv. is passed over. *Dolon*: the representation of his capture on the British Museum sarcophagus was certainly worthy of mention. Lastly, by a curious dislocation—the first of the kind which I have noticed—*Δόπεια* has found its way into this volume between *Dipoinos* and *Dipolis*.

G. F. HILL.

THOMAS' PÉTRONE.

Pétrone: l'envers de la société Romaine. Par ÉMILE THOMAS. Paris: Fontemoing, 1902. 2nd ed. Pp. viii, 237. 3.50 fr.

THIS is the second edition of M. Thomas' book on Petronius, which was originally reviewed in the *Classical Review* in 1893. A little has been added, but the general character and impression of the book is much the same. M. Thomas analyses and discusses, and takes us very fairly over the ground,—of course there are areas where he cannot take us—but on the whole it must be reluctantly confessed that his book does not greatly stimulate the reader. We agree and disagree from time to time, but we have something of Omar's feeling when 'evermore' he 'came out by that same door where in he went.' Of course, this is just one's impression; but one must own that the book sums up a good deal, and puts one in touch with a certain amount of bibliography, and will be useful in consequence. Perhaps M. Thomas' best thing is his characterization of Petronius as an author who has 'assez peu de cœur et plutôt trop d'esprit.'

T. R. GLOVER.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE DATE OF SEILANION.

BEFORE the discovery of the Amphiaraian catalogue dating the victory of the athlete Satyros, whose statue was made by Seilanion, at about 328,¹ the Plinian date of the sculptor was for two reasons disregarded:

firstly, he made a portrait of the sculptor Apollodoros, possibly the friend and companion of Plato,² and secondly, a portrait of Plato himself dedicated by the Persian Mithradates,³ usually identified with the ruler of Kios said to have been assassinated

¹ *Revue de Philologie*, 1894, p. 162.

² Plin. *N.H.* xxxiv. 81.

³ Diog. Laert. iii. 25.

in 363/2. This date still appears in almost every book on Greek sculpture as the criterion of the period of Seilanian's activity, Collignon alone suggesting that, in the face of the new evidence, it is too early.

The question of the chronology of the dynasty of Kios is of some importance. Marquardt has shown¹ that a confusion in Diodoros has led to the substitution of Mithradates for Ariobarzanes in connection with the date 362, and to the invention of another Mithradates for whom there is no room. The founder of the dynasty, Ariobarzanes, reigned from 387–362, when he was mixed up in the rising of the Satraps against Persia and was put to death by his son, Mithradates, who reigned in his stead till 302, dying at the ripe age of eighty-four. This Mithradates was an Athenian citizen,² and his interest in Platonism was shown by his cordial reception of the philosopher Klearchos.³ Collignon suggests⁴ that he presented the portrait of Plato to the Athenians after the philosopher's death on his own admission to the citizenship, in order to reconcile the fact of the portrait with the proved date of the sculptor. It is true that he also accepts the older chronology of the Kian house⁵ and attributes the dedication to 'Mithridate le jeune,' but he apparently recognises the difficulty of the attribution, namely, the fact that Ariobarzanes was the father of Mithradates I and II, whereas the Mithradates of the dedication was the son of Rhodobates, by adding, 'Au vrai, nous ne savons pas exactement quel est ce Μιθραδάτης ὁ Ῥοδοβάτου Πέρσης dont parle Diogène Laërce, et qui consacre la statue de Platon.' The inscription on the dedication ran as follows: Μιθραδάτης ὁ Ῥοδοβάτου Πέρσης Μουσῆς εἰκόνα ἀνέθετο Πλάτωνος ἣν Σειλανίων ἐποίησε. In order to reconcile this statement with the known paternity of Mithradates Marquardt suggests⁶ that in ΟΡΟΔΟΒΑΤΟΥ we have a corruption of ΑΡ<Ι>ΟΒΑΡ<ΖΑΝ>ΟΥ, which he proposes to read. It is hard to see any justification for this change. If we take the inscription as it stands we must suppose the dedicant to be a cultivated Persian whose interest in philosophy caused him to present the Academy with a portrait of its founder. Such dedications were of frequent occurrence, and were often set up after the death of those so

honoured.⁷ We may then regard as unfounded the theory of the connection of a member of the Kian dynasty with this portrait of Plato, and consider it as an ideal portrait in connection with the other works of this class assigned to Seilanian.

The sculptor's works fall into two divisions, the athletic and the ideal, of which the former were in all probability the earlier. Statues of victorious athletes were in almost all cases the preliminary works of a sculptor, those for which least originality was needed and for which there was most demand. The maker of the Dying Iocasta can hardly have turned to this class of works after he had made his fame by others of a widely different character, so that we may probably conclude that the athlete statues, one of which is dated about 330–25, came at the beginning of his career. His main activity would fall at the beginning of the Hellenistic age, when his ideal portraits, Achilles, Theseus, Sappho, Korinna, Iocasta, would be in complete accordance with its tendencies. It is clear from descriptions that the Apollodorus was a work of this nature, a personification of Rage rather than a portrait, and, as we have seen, the Plato may also be assigned to this class. The Plinian date is then confirmed, but the conjectures hitherto made as to existing copies of his works, based on the earlier date of his activity are no longer tenable, though Furtwängler⁸ pronounces for the earlier date, rejecting the recent monumental evidence in favour of Michaelis' contention, put forward before the new discovery,⁹ and his view is accepted by Mrs. Strong,¹⁰ who also discards the Plinian date. But literary and monumental evidence alike go to prove that Seilanian stands at the beginning of the Hellenistic age, and both in art and choice of subject exemplifies its tendencies, later carried to excess in the school of Pergamon.

KATHARINE A. McDOWALL.

Note.—As to the form of the word Ῥοδοβάτης, though there is no second instance quoted of its occurrence, yet both parts are as prefix and suffix (βάτης = πάτης) among the most familiar in Persian names,

⁷ Cf. the statues of Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, dedicated by Lykurgos, Paus. i. 21, 1, and that of Isokrates dedicated by Timotheos, *Vit. x. Orat. Isocr.* 27.

⁸ *Statuenkopieen*, p. 562.

⁹ *Zur Zeitbestimmung Seilanions* (Hist. u. philol. Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet).

¹⁰ *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, pp. 67 and 234.

¹ *Philologus*, 1895, pp. 489 seqq.

² *Dem.* xxiii. 141, 202.

³ *Suid. s.v. Klearchos*.

⁴ *Hist. de Sculpt. Gr.* ii. p. 344.

⁵ Cf. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, pp. 3, seqq.

⁶ *I.c.*

and nothing is more probable than that they should be combined. (Cf. Drouin, *Rev. Num.* 1895, p. 381).

P.S.—Since the above paper was written, an article has appeared in the *Athen. Mitth.* (1903, p. 348) dealing with the date of Satyros which the author, Herr Prenner, places at c. 364. (Cf. Reinach, *Rev. Archéol.* 1898, p. 165; Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 36.) At the same time he says, that the notice in Pliny is 'einziges Festesdatum für Seilaniens Zeit,' explaining the inconsistency on the supposition that Pliny made a mistake of some ten Olympiads. (Cf. Michaelis *loc. supr. cit.*) He considers the portrait of Apollodoros to be probably that of the disciple of Sokrates, and places it before the middle of the fourth century. Following the ordinary chronology he makes Mithradates I reign from 387–362, a Mithradates II from 362–302 (p. 350), doubtfully emending 'Ροδοβάτου to 'Οροδοβάτου or 'Οθοντοπάτου (p. 349) which leaves untouched my contention that a son of Ariobarzanes cannot be identical with the son of Rhodobates, or of the proposed Orodobates or Othontopates. He controverts Reinach's statement that the statue can hardly have been set up in Plato's lifetime, giving 387 as the *terminus post quem* of the portrait on the ground of its supposed connection with Mithradates of Kios. That Seilanon's pupil Zeuxiades made a statue of the orator Hypereides (d. 322) is no conclusive evidence for the earlier date, as (a) the statue may have been a posthumous portrait; (b) pupils and masters were often working simultaneously. To the authorities above cited as supporting the date 328 should be added Graef (*Jahrb.* 1902, 76^a) and H. S. Jones (*Ancient Writers on Gr. Sculp.* p. 180).

K. A. McD.

SCHREIBER'S PORTRAITS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders des Grossen. TH. SCHREIBER. Teubner, Leipzig. 12 mk.

SINCE, in 1892, Dr. Koepp published his excellent paper on the portraits of Alexander, the number of known portraits or quasi-portraits of the great Macedonian has largely increased, and the question of their

arrangement and attribution has become more complicated. The work of Ujfalvy, noticed in the February number of the *Classical Review*, did little towards solving the problem. Dr. Schreiber's work is, as might have been expected, a more serious contribution. In learning and thoroughness it leaves little to desire. But yet I do not think that Dr. Schreiber's treatment is final, or furnishes a really satisfactory basis of classification.

Not only Dr. Schreiber's valuation of portraits strikes us as in some ways unusual, but even the list which he draws up contains some very remarkable features. The Rondanini statue at Munich, identified by Koepp with Leochares' statue of Alexander at Olympia, is called by Schreiber a portrait of Antiochus VIII. of Syria. The fine head at Erbach he eliminates. He makes no account of the two portraits of Alexander on the magnificent sarcophagus at Constantinople, work of a first-rate sculptor and almost contemporary with Alexander. The noble figure of Alexander with the sword from Magnesia, published by Wiegand in the *Jahrbuch* for 1899, he sets aside. On the other hand Dr. Schreiber attributes a value which it is difficult to understand to some new portraits of Alexander from the excavations at Alexandria. For example (p. 149) he discusses at great length, as an important document, a little bronze bust supposed to represent Alexander Ammon, in the possession of Mr. Sieglin. As the face of this bronze is little more than half an inch in height, and it is in poor preservation, one is at a loss to understand the importance assigned to it. There are other similar cases.

I cannot but think that Dr. Schreiber's work, careful and minute as it is, would have led to more satisfactory results if he had not been throughout hampered by pre-suppositions, first, that the great object was to ascertain what Alexander was really like, and second that the Azara bust of the Louvre is a naturalistic portrait of the Great King by Lysippos, and so a standard by which the value of other portraits may be tested. One cannot complain of Dr. Schreiber for accepting what is the usual view in regard to the Azara bust. Dr. Koepp had taken the same view. But yet this view is scarcely one which will sustain examination. If we turn to Plutarch, our authority for the Lysippic portrait, we shall find that Alexander preferred Lysippos to represent him, not because he portrayed him in a realistic way (this would suit the

character of Cromwell, but not that of Alexander), but because he gave him a manly and leonine air (τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν καὶ λεοντώδες), and portrayed him with a proud face uplifted to heaven as if in defiance of Zeus. What could be less like the Louvre bust, which shews us a man of middle age with the duldest of faces? Lysippus must have portrayed Alexander before he was twenty-five, at which age he vanished into the remote East, never to reappear. And from all that we know of Lysippus, he was a highly idealizing and stormy artist, something like Michael Angelo. The Louvre bust largely owes its appearance of faithfulness, as is often the case, to the poorness and irregularity of the work. Another reason for attributing it to Lysippus has been found in its supposed likeness to the head of the Apoxyomenus. But in the first place the resemblance is very doubtful, and in the second place the head of the Apoxyomenus is quite an ordinary third century type.

It is probable, as Mr. Hogarth has already observed in these pages, that we shall never discover in an objective fashion what the Great King was really like. But it is a far more hopeful task to try to discover what his followers supposed him to be like. Here we are on safer ground. We have a host of portraits and quasi-portraits of the succeeding age; and these can be arranged in classes and compared one with another. They cover all the ground between statues certainly meant for portraits, and figures of Helios and other deities with a slight touch of Alexander in them. Alexander was regarded not as a man, but as a hero or demi-god, and the portraits of him represent a type regarded in various lights by sculptors of different tendencies.

Such classification Dr. Schreiber does of course make; but, as I have already observed, very much depends upon the point of view adopted.

Thus I do not think that the subject of the portraits of Alexander is by any means exhausted. But yet, from his own point of view, Dr. Schreiber has left little undone. His illustrations are abundant, and his discussions of the portraits which he accepts are very minute. Everyone who hereafter takes up the subject will have to study his book with care.

P. GARDNER.

WIEGAND'S ARCHAIC POROS-ARCHITECTURE OF THE ACROPOLIS.

Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen . . . herausg. von Th. WIEGAND, unter Mitwirkung von W. Doerpfeld, E. Gilliéron, H. Schrader, C. Watzinger u. W. Wilberg. Cassel and Leipzig (Th. G. Fisher and Co.) 1904. 233 pp. with 247 illustrations in the text and Atlas of 17 Plates. 60 mk.

DR. WIEGAND, who ten years ago, in his dissertation on the Puteolan inscription, made so remarkable a contribution to the study of ancient architecture, has now produced what may be regarded as a definitive publication of the archaic architecture of the Athenian Acropolis and of its sculptural decoration. This is obviously not the place to do more than give a brief indication of the contents of the magnificently illustrated work which the support of the Eduard Gerhard Fund and the assistance of the archaeologists named on the title-page have enabled him to issue. Nearly half the text is occupied by a discussion, with complete description (and illustration of all that is worth it) of the remains of the old Athena-temple (Hekatompedon). In particular, we are glad to see reproductions of the ornamental birds (storks, which are happily brought into connection with the ancient *παραργικόν*, and sea-eagles). The famous groups of Typhon (holding, as we are shown, torches and birds of some kind) on the one hand, and Herakles and the Triton on the other, are skilfully combined, so as to fill one of the pediments. We thus get a well-balanced composition, the centre being occupied by a tree-stump on which hang the weapons and clothing of Herakles. Herakles has not yet completed his victory over the sea-god, when another, more monstrous enemy approaches to attack him. The wings of the other pediment are filled by two mighty serpents—the guardians of Erichthonios, which we see watching over him on the well-known British Museum pelike (E 372). In the centre was a group of three deities enthroned, Athena, flanked probably by Zeus and Poseidon. Comparison with the François vase bears out the attribution of these pediment-sculptures to the time shortly before the appearance of Ionic marble-sculpture in Athens. The second section deals with the Peisistratean peripteral building, with the Gigantomachia in one of its pediments. Five smaller poros-

buildings are discussed in Section III. The fourth contains fragments of undetermined position, among them the curious spirally-fluted column, to which a fragment with the bottom of the capital has now been fitted. There can be little doubt that it supported a dedication. Section V. contains the smaller architectural sculptures. Among these is the remarkable left half of a pediment, comprising a Doric building, an olive-tree (the treatment of which is astonishingly naturalistic for the time), another building or a peribolos, and two or more figures. The author suggests, with some reserve, that we have here the sacred olive-tree in the Pandroseion and the old Erechtheion. The two compositions of the procession of the gods and of Herakles, Iris, and Hermes are now combined into one, so that we have the representation of Herakles being introduced into Olympus. In Section VI. Dr. Watzinger deals with the animal-groups; the art-type of the bull-slaying lion is, as he points out, of Ionian origin; its origin as a theme of art, we may add, is to be sought in the primitive Anatolian religion (see *J.H.S.* xx. pp. 118 f). In Section VII. a few stray fragments are discussed, and M. Lechat's quaint hypothesis about the origin of poros-technique is politely but firmly handled.—I have said enough to show that the book is not merely a minute compilation of what was known before, but that it contains much that is quite new, and many new combinations of what is old. A word of praise is due to the splendid plates. In some cases it would be possible to find fault with the colouring as rather too harsh; but on the whole the execution is above criticism. Casts are not obtainable, and copies, however carefully made, must lack absolute veracity; so that the plates will be a godsend to the lecturer as well as to the student.

G. F. HILL.

SVORONOS'S NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ATHENS.

Das Athener National Museum, Phototypische Wiedergabe seiner Schätze mit erläuterndem Text von J. N. Svoronos. Heft I. II. Die Funde von Anti-Cythera. Pp. 86. 20 plates and 73 cuts. Heft I. 6 mk. 80 pf.; Heft II. 9 mk. 20 pf. Athens, 1903.

A DEPARTURE has already been made from the promised arrangement of this publica-

tion. It was to have been based on the material of the works described, taking marbles, bronzes, vases, and terracottas in order. It seems a pity to have sacrificed logical arrangement for the immediate advantage of starting with finds of peculiar interest.

M. Svoronos devotes the text of Heft I. to a full account of the discovery of the statues and of the difficulties under which they were raised to the surface. The undertaking seems to have been carried out with the care and zeal which characterise Greek archaeological efforts. The depth at which the figures lay, and the sunken rocks among which they were imbedded made it a lengthy task.

In the second part the author discusses almost exclusively the interpretation of the various works, making little or no contribution to the vexed question of their style.

This course, he says, was due to his distrust of the building of hypothesis on hypothesis on the part of the stylistic critic, though an analogous process gives him no misgiving in the system of interpretation he has adopted. His main contention, it may be said at once, is to establish an Argive origin for these figures, which he considers to have formed a late and commercial exportation for the market of Constantinople. Where so many works of art are concerned it may well be that Argos was in some cases the real *provenance*, but the method adopted for establishing this connection is certainly open to criticism.

The famous bronze is restored, on the evidence of Argive coins, as Perseus with the head of Medusa. A very curious adaptation of the hair of the Medusa to the hollowed hand, shewn in the cut, makes this a physical possibility, but so singular an arrangement requires confirmation which it does not obtain from other works of ancient art. More valuable is the print of the figure taken before the actual restoration had been begun, but erect and in its present position.

Of the much damaged marble replica of the Farnese Herakles, M. Svoronos has a new and surely a very problematical interpretation, based on the rock on which the figure leans. He gives to this, and indeed to all compositions in which the rocky support or footstool is a conspicuous feature, a chthonic significance supposing it to represent the gate of death, the ἀγέλαστος πύλη of Homer.

For the identification of the better preserved figure of the crouching youth the author presents us with a new piece of

evidence—the discovery of a left forearm shewing the attachment of a shield. Supposing that this can be accepted, the interpretation of the figure as a warrior in combat would seem a necessary deduction, and the author is in that case probably correct in grouping with this figure, as an opponent, a marble of apparently the same proportions in a much worse state of preservation. But the detail in the photograph is far from convincing. For these as for all the other figures of the find an Argive origin is suggested.

An interesting excursus is furnished by M. Pericles Rediadis on the so called Astrolabe. The author's careful examination of these curious fragments leaves him still in doubt as to their original purpose. He suggests that they once formed an astronomical clock with no mechanical power, but intended to be orientated and regulated by the position of the stars.

A word of praise is due to the illustrations. Nos. III. and XII. among many good plates are very good indeed. On the other hand the combination, on Plate IV., of a half-toned block for the restored portions of a figure with photographic representation of the parts in existence is not entirely satisfactory. Again the horses figured on Plate XX. must be seriously out of focus if there is, as alleged any close resemblance between their proportions and those of the quadriga of the façade of the cathedral at Venice.

JOHN ff. BAKER-PENYOIRE.

RONCZEWSKI'S ROMAN VAULT-DECORATION.

Gerölleschmuck im römischen Altertum. Studien und Aufnahmen, von KONSTANTIN RONCZEWSKI, Architekt. Georg Riemer, Berlin, 1903. 12 mk.

THIS work deals with the decoration of Roman vaults, attention being particularly directed to the manner in which the ornamentation is arranged in the given field. It is illustrated by thirty plates, separate from the text and unbound, and by thirty-five figures in the text. These illustrations are in the main reproductions of sketches made by the author in Rome and Pompeii.

The most important remains of vault-decoration are found at Tivoli and Pompeii and belong to the period of the Empire. The freest compositions occur where the surface of the wall is painted or where

mosaic has been employed. Stucco decorations on the other hand are more severe in style, while those on coffered roofs are stiff and formal.

The author treats first of coffered vaults, whether in stone, or in brick covered with cement. The finest examples of the former type occur on the arches of Titus and Severus at Rome, and on the arch of Trajan at Benevento; of the latter type in the Basilica of Constantine. He next passes on to stucco decorations on barrel or groined vaults; examples are classified according to the manner in which the ornamentation is distributed over the field. The most important types are found in the *Apodyterium* of the Stabian Baths at Pompeii, in a private house of the time of Augustus found in 1879 on the bank of the Tiber near the Villa Farnesina, in the buildings of Caligula on the Palatine, and in the so-called tomb of the Valerii on the Via Latina.

Painted decorations on cylindrical vaults must be studied chiefly in reproductions of the Renaissance period; the technique and style of this form of decoration are explained. Finally the author deals with paintings and mosaics as seen on spherical vaults.

The work is interesting and should be of value to those engaged in the study of Roman Architecture.

F. H. MARSHALL.

HEPDING'S ATTIS AND RUHL'S DE MORTUORUM IUDICIO.

Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, herausgegeben von ALBRECHT DIETERICH und RICHARD WÜNSCH. I Band: Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult, von HUGO HEPDING. II Band, 2 Heft: De mortuorum iudicio, scripsit LUDOVICUS RUHL. 1.80 m.

THE names of Drs. Dieterich and Wünsch are sufficient guarantee that the series of *Studies and Prolegomena* issued under their joint editorship will be of high value to all students of the history of religion. It was a happy thought to group as a series a number of treatises which if issued separately might easily have failed to command the attention they deserve.

Dr. Hepding's 'Attis' is first and foremost a collection of *Sources* literary and epigraphical. Monumental evidence is reserved for a later issue. In the case of Attis this collection of *Sources* is of special

value as most are post-classical and many from obscure authors not easily accessible. The *Sources* are followed by chapters on the myths of Attis, his cult, his mysteries (including the Taurobolia) with a final chapter on the historical development of all these elements. The main results that emerge are as follows. The worship of Attis is a complex cult in which at least three racial factors are discernible, (a) a primitive divinity of Asia Minor known to the Bithynians as Pappas, (b) an orgiastic element from Thrace and Phrygia akin to the cult of Dionysos Sabazios and the like, (c) a Semitic element as represented by the practices of the Galli. The modern mind, obsessed by Catullus, realizes only the late Semitic element, yet, by a strange irony of fate Attis was primarily a father-god, Pappas. The second point is that though the worship of Attis is never found without that of the Mother, though he is, as Servius (ad *Æn.* vii. 761) says, 'numen conjunctum Matri deum' yet the two are not co-extensive. The worship of the Mother, is found frequently apart from that of Attis. In the matriarchal conditions of primitive Asia Minor Ma's kingdom and significance were wider than that of Pappas. Third in the matter of the mysteries of Attis their ultimate content is not what Catullus might lead us to expect though this element is not absent, witness the rite of the Kernophoria (p. 190 ff.), but rather a rite 'dealing with death and resurrection.' This death or resurrection, however, is not any vague decay and reblossoming of vegetation—on this Dr. Hepding is emphatic—but the actual mystery rite practised in the Taurobolia—the candidate identified probably with Attis, was actually buried up to the head (p. 196 ff.) in a βόθρος, bull's blood was poured over him, funeral dirges intoned, he came to life, was fed with milk as a new-born child, and this new life was the σωτηρία of the initiated. In a word the religion of Attis was built up on an actual rite not a mere imagination. Themistios is right when he says τότε δὲ πάσχει πάθος (scil. ἡ ψυχὴ) οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλαις κατοργιαζόμενοι διὸ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ τελευτᾶν καὶ τελείσθαι προσέειπεν. The words πάσχει πάθος it may be noted in passing are curiously paralleled by the ritual formulæ of the Orphic tablets χαῖρε παθὼν τὸ πάθημα.

Dr. Hepding makes full acknowledgement in the matter of the mysteries of his debts to Dr. Dieterich. There is perhaps little

that is actually new in this portion of his book but his restatement of the evidence is full and fresh. It should be of good omen for the series that its first volume is a treatise at once so learned and so living.

Dr. Ruhl in his *De mortuorum judicio* has selected a narrower field and one in which it was not easy to offer new material. In his collection of *Sources* we have found nothing fresh; though to have them thus brought together in compact form is manifestly useful. We are glad to find that in Germany as in England the conclusion is forcing itself on the minds of scholars that—protest as he may against the Orphics—much of Plato's imagery and even of his philosophy is directly borrowed from their doctrine and ritual, especially in the matter of eschatology. Dr. Ruhl's position is best stated in his own words. *Necesse est concludamus ex his locis Platonem, cui addimus Pindarum ex Orphicorum et Pythagoricorum sacris libris totam judicandi notionem deprompsisse, quamquam singula, ut judicium nomina et numerum alia ex Atticorum vulgaribus fabulis poterant hauriri.*

JANE E. HARRISON.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Sunium.—During the excavation of the fortification walls the base of a statue was found, with a dedication to Aphrodite Pontia. In the ruins of a house a pillar was discovered, into which a rectangular slab with a design in relief had once been inserted. This relief, which was found close by the pillar, represents a woman leaning her r. arm on a column and holding a child with her l.; at her feet is a bird. The sculpture is probably of Hellenistic date. It is suggested that the figure may be that of a goddess, and that we have here an object of domestic worship.¹

Oropus.—The excavation of the sanctuary of Amphiaras has been resumed. In the κοῖλον of the theatre a gold chain with a horned lion's head at either end was found. Four houses of various dates, which possibly served as hostels for the entertainment of visitors to the festival, were laid bare. An inscription of the third century records the appointment of the Megarian Καλλίνους as *proxenos* of the Oropians.¹

¹ *Athen. Mittheil.* 1903, part 4.

Arcadia.—In the sanctuary of Demeter of Lyeosura, the place of sacrifice has been completely cleared. On the altar was a hall built with Doric half-columns, and behind this a large oblong room. The altar of Zeus on the summit of Mt. Lycæus has been examined; it is cone-shaped and about 50 feet high. Formed for the most part out of the natural rock, it has its summit covered with black earth, in which are the remains of charred bones. In the sanctuary of Pan, near the Hippodrome, two marble stelæ were found bearing lists of victors in the Lycæa. Among the victors appears the name of Lagos, son of Ptolemy.¹

Aetolia.—A grave mound near the ancient Trichonium has been excavated. It was erected probably at the end of the third, or at the beginning of the second century, B.C., after several tombs on the same site had been plundered. Several objects were found, including (1) two small figures of Nikè in repoussé work on silver-gilt plates; (2) two iron spurs; (3) a combat between two mounted warriors in repoussé work on a silver plate, perhaps from a scabbard or girdle. In another grave, which was almost intact, were found (1) a large gold laurel wreath; (2) a silver didrachmon of the Aetolian League bearing a head, considered by some to be that of Demetrios (239–229 B.C.), by others that of Antiochos III (222–187 B.C.); (3) a large gold ring with an engraved stone representing (perhaps) Thalia with thyrsos and comic mask; (4) a bronze candelabrum richly ornamented with foliage, and other objects.

A cone-shaped mound near the ancient Canope-Arsinoë was also opened. Here was a well-preserved grave lined with stone slabs. In it were found a small gold wreath of ivy leaves, some silver dishes, a fictile amphora, etc.¹

ASIA MINOR.

Pergamum.—The following is a brief summary of the results of the excavations carried on from September to November 1903. In the street leading from the lower agora to the Gymnasium a number of ware-houses were uncovered, and, at the N.W. corner of the agora, a house of larger size. The house was built in the Greek period, but was altered in Roman times, when several rooms were lined with coloured marbles. In the neighbourhood of the Gymnasium the covered approach to the middle terrace and the terrace itself were excavated. A large exercising ground surrounded by porticoes

was uncovered. It is hoped that the upper and larger terrace will be excavated next year. Numerous inscriptions, terracottas, and sculptures have been found. Most noteworthy are a frieze of tragic and comic masks with ivy tendrils from the Gymnasium and the copy of the Herm of Alkamenes described in the April number of the *Classical Review*.¹

ITALY.

Rome.—Three lead pipes found in the Piazza Venezia are inscribed in relief

R · VII · EX · OF · HILARIANI

i.e. Regionis septimae, ex officina Hilariani.

The following inscription was found in the same place:

AVENTINVS · AV (g. lib.)

P · P · TABELLAR · S

BASEM · MARMORIB · (exornatam)

EX VOTO (posuit)

C · A · FRVCTVOSO · COLLIB (erto)

Aventinus, an imperial freedman, had dedicated a marble base in fulfilment of a vow. The work was carried out by his fellow-freedman, Fructuosus (curam agente Fructuoso). Cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 8445.

A column of travertine found on the Via Labicana is inscribed:

I
IMP · CAESAR

VESP(as)IANVS · AVG

POMPTIF · MAX

TRIBV(ni) · POTEST · VIII

IM(p) · XVII · P · P

CEN(sor) · COS · VIII

It must have marked the first mile on the Via Labicana. The date is 77 after Christ. The column was found about a furlong from the Porta Maggiore. Cf. *C.I.L.* x. 6896, 6901.²

Antinum (Marsorum).—The following inscription was found in Aug. 1902:

C · POMPONI N = C. Pomponius
ANCITIE N(umeri) f(i)lius
DONOM
DEDIT
(I)VBENS
MERETO

It is probably of republican date. For

¹ *Athen. Mittheil.* 1903, part 4.

² *Bull. della Comm. Arch.* 1903, part 4.

the goddess Angitia, worshipped by the
Marsi, cf. Verg. *Am.* vii. 759.³

Accae, Apulia.—On a large block of lime-
stone

T · TERENTIVS · T · F · TARAVOS
VIXIT · ANNOS · LXXXIII
T · TERENTIVS · T · F · CLA · TARAVOS
DICTATOR · FIDENIS · QVATER
P · TERENTIVS · T · F · VIXIT · ANNOS · XXI
T · TERENTIVS · T · F · VIXIT · ANNOS · XXVII

The information that Fidenae belonged to the tribus Claudia, is new. For the dictator, cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. 4058.³

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Athenische Mittheilungen, xxviii. 1903. Parts 3-4.

1. P. Wolters: A monument of the Parthian Wars. (One cut.)

Discusses a relief in the Athens Museum with the name of M. Aurelius Alexys who fought against the Persians. Many points tend to shew that this refers to the campaign in Caracalla's reign, not that of M. Aurelius, as had been suggested.

2. G. Sotiriades: The Battle-field of Chaeroneia and the tumulus of the Macedonians. (Plate; five cuts.)

An account of explorations on the field of Chaeroneia, shewing that the supposed site of the battle, between the Lion-monument and the tumulus is not so suitable as one more to the east, near the hill of Thurion; this clears up difficulties and accords with historical data.

3. E. Pfuhl: sepulchral altars from Tanagra. (Six cuts.)

A series of altars found in the tombs, ranging from archaic times to the fourth century B.C.; two main types with variations.

4. E. Preuner: Greek lists of victors.

Discusses the lists from Oropos, Samos, and Larissa; the first (*Inscr. Gr.* vii. 414) dates between 357 and 362; incidentally the writer declares with Michaelis for the earlier date for Seilanian. The Samos list (unpublished hitherto) must be dated 200-150; a replica in Oxford needs publication. Of the third, six copies exist; the date is shortly before the Christian era.

5. W. Dörpfeld: The Greek Stage. (One cut.)

(1) Materials for reconstruction of Greek theatre: necessity of sharply distinguishing periods; down to 350 only literary evidence; Hellenistic remains homogeneous. Puchstein wrongly combines Vitruvius (whose accuracy is maintained) and existing remains; careful restoration must be made from evidence of existing parts; earlier Greek theatres seem only to have differed in having wooden instead of stone proscenium; Vitruvius' Greek theatre is the Hellenistic transformed in accordance with Roman ideas. (2) Typical Hellenistic theatre described from existing remains. (3) Puchstein's views discussed in detail, from architectural, artistic, and dramatic

points of view, and compared with Vitruvius and Pollux; in no case will they hold. (4) Literary records shew no traces of Hellenistic λογεῖον. (5) Points of difference between Hellenistic and Vitruvian Greek theatres. (6) History of controversy during last twenty years.

6. A. Wilhelm: Inscription from Thasos. Reconsideration of one published in *Ath. Mitth.* 1902, p. 280, with further restorations.

7. A. Wilhelm: On an inscription from Astypalaia. Emendations suggested for *Inscr. Gr.* xii. pt. 3, No. 171.

8. R. B. Richardson: Head of a youth from Corinth. (Plate; seven cuts.)

A copy of a Polycleitan (or Myronian?) type, with affinities to the Idolino; other heads of same class discussed.

9. H. von Gaertringen: Cretan town-names on an inscription from Andros.

Discusses a stone in Andros with list of Cretan and other place-names, referring to a shrine there with rights of asylum.

10. W. Dörpfeld: On the Erechtheion.

Recent restorations have not only tended to preservation of the building, but have thrown light on some disputed points: (1) the later restoration in classical times included the north side as well as the west; (2) the mark of Poseidon's trident is probably that under the north colonnade, not as Nilsson suggested (*J.H.S.* 1901, p. 325) in the western cella; (3) the western half certainly formed the cella of Poseidon-Erechtheus.

Bibliography (mostly books in modern Greek). Recent finds (Samos, Sunium, Boeotia, Pergamon). Note on *Ath. Mitth.* 1902, p. 368 (Dörpfeld). Papers recently read. Appointments. Notice of U. Köhler.

H. B. W.

Rivista italiana di numismatica. 1904. Part 1.

The principal article is M. Jules Maurice's 'L'atelier monétaire de Sirmium pendant la période Constantinienne.' This mint was opened by Constantine in 320 and closed in 326. Its activity was probably due to Constantine's frequent visits to Sirmium, 321-324. Maurice observes that nearly all the coins of this mint commemorate important events in the history of the Empire or of the Imperial family. In addition to the ordinary currency, the Sirmium mint issued medallions of gold and silver made for special distribution as presents, e.g. the gold medallion with inscription FELIX PROCESSVS and a figure of Constantine holding the globe and sceptre.—Also articles on Roman coins by F. Gnecchi (a bronze proof of a gold medallion of Constantine II., etc.).

Revue belge de numismatique. 1904. Part 1.

L. Forrer on Engravers' signatures on Greek coins.

³ *Röm. Mitteil.* 1903, part 4.

—Dutill on coins of the Egyptian nomes (Cabassites and Diospolis Magna).

Revue numismatique. 1903. Part 4.

P. Perdrizet. 'Numismatique Macédonienne.' Uncertain Macedonian coins; types, boar, sow. Perdrizet suggests that they may have been struck at Stageira, which had a port called *Kámpos*. This is not a completely convincing argument, though it is true that a coinage is needed for Stageira. Staters of the *Τοῦτρησι*, a Thracian people known from coins, *circa* B.C. 500.—A. Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le cabinet des médailles.' *Colybrassus*. Plantilla *rev.* Meleager (?) holding spear. *Mallus*. Representations of Cronos.—De Foville. 'Monnaies romaines récemment acquises par le cabinet des médailles.' Chiefly coins from the Karnak and Aboukir finds. *Domitius Domitianus*. Probably identical with Achilles, who in 295 assumed the purple in Egypt. A list is given of his bronze coins (struck at Alexandria) and a newly acquired aureus (*rev.* Victory) is described. The only other known aureus is in the British Museum.—'Choix des mon-

naies et médailles du Cabinet de France.' The first of a serviceable series of papers in which it is proposed to give full descriptions of select coins—Greek, Roman, and Mediaeval—in the French cabinet. The descriptions will be accompanied by illustrations, and the whole will form an *aperçu* of the collection resembling Mr. Head's well-known *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, though covering a wider field of numismatics. The present part begins with Italy (Etruria and Campania).—*Mélanges*, etc. E. Babelon on the types of some archaic staters of Cyzicus, and on a head of Herakles claimed to be the earliest human head found on coins.—On ϕ and θ . Some archaic coins of Phocaea and of Phaselis are inscribed with the letter $\odot$. This presumably represents the initial of the town-name, and has been supposed to be an exceptional form of ϕ . Babelon maintains that the letter can only be θ , and supposes that in the primitive pronunciation of Phocaea and Phaselis there was an assimilation between θ and ϕ .

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xiii. 2. 1904.

S. Reiter, *F. A. Wolf*. Brief account of his life, concluding with an earnest appeal for an adequate biography of this 'Hero and Eponymos of German philologists.' E. Lammert, *Die neuesten Forschungen auf antiken Schlachtfeldern in Griechenland*. Contains much severe criticism of Kromayer's *Antike Schlachtfelder in Gr.*, especially of his interpretation of technical terms. In the account of the battle of Mantinea K. (with Grote) gives Epaminondas too much ground to cover after adopting deep formation: Lammert thinks E. started from the S.W. corner of the valley, only about 1100 yards from the right wing of the Spartans, whom he places N. of Mytica. At Chaeroneia it is best to assume that the allies faced N., K.'s view that they faced W. leading him to mistranslate *παρρηγγυτο* in Diod. 16. 86. Poly-aenos' two *strategemata* must be combined: Philip was at first routed by the Athenians, but owing to the slowness of the pursuit rallied on favourable ground (perhaps identified by K., but more details needed) and by extending his formation outflanked his adversaries. F. Panzer, *Dichtung und bildende Kunst des deutschen Mittelalters in ihren Wechselbeziehungen*. Schreiber's *Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen* reviewed unfavourably (except as regards the last two sections) by F. Koepf, who endeavours to refute the charge of 'unscientific treatment' brought therein against his own work on the subject. C. Fries notes the slightness of the evidence on which W. Crönert identifies with Neophron's Medea, the tragedy of which Brit. Mus. pap. 186 contains fragments. O. Immisch reviews favourably C. Ritter's *Platons Dialoge. Inhaltsdarstellungen i. (later writings)*.

Vol. xiii. 3. 1904.

R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Theologie in Ägypten*. The Sorcery-papyri and Hermetic 'Revelations' shew that the Egyptian religion of the Hellenistic period was susceptible of such external influences as Greek philosophy and Babylonian astrology, and had assimilated a system (of Eastern origin) which promised its followers release from the power of Fate and contained the principles of Christian gnosticism. The Graeco-Egyptian literature had a wide circulation in the East, especially among the Jews. E. Lammert (continuation from part 2). Kromayer's identification of the Gongylos of the battle of Sellasia with a river running S. of the Turla heights, makes Antigonos pitch camp on what was practically the *glacis* of the position he is attacking, and is otherwise improbable (*e.g.* the ravine is too precipitous for the troops in question to traverse by night). On the other side of the Omos, K. quite misunderstands Polybios' account of the mercenary fighting, makes the phalanxes engage on ground on which Antigonos would hardly have ventured, and then has to reject the account given by Plutarch, whom he admits to be otherwise a good authority. Lammert puts the camps of Cleomenes on the Turla heights and the N. summit of Olympos. A. Götze, *Die Entstehung der zwölf Artikel der Bauern*. H. Klammer, *Friedrich Hebbels Sämtliche Werke*. H. Diels' *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* described and highly praised by H. von Arnim. F. Harrison's *Studies in Theognis* favourably reviewed by O. Immisch. 'Develops, not without skill and acuteness, the lines of one simple fundamental idea... In any case bound to have a stimulating influence.' The reviewer gives his own interpretation of vv. 769 sqq. The first two parts of Svoronos' *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* are noticed as containing twenty photographs (and explanatory text) illustrative of the find of submerged statues at Antikythera.

The Classical Review

JUNE 1904.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION AT OXFORD.

THE first regular meeting of the Classical Association of England and Wales, held in the Public Schools at Oxford on May 27th and 28th, went off with *éclat*. The various forms of interest, literary, professional, and social, upon which the success of such a gathering must rest, all contributed to this result. The spacious temple of the Muse of examinations was an ideal place for its reception and its debates, while the attendance at both evinced an appreciation that must have been highly gratifying to the President of Magdalen and Mr. Chr. Cookson, who as Chairman and Secretary of the Oxford Committee, had worked so hard for its entertainment. The private hospitality which in many cases had been arranged for the visitors made them feel that the Association was in a special sense the guest of the University. An attractive *conversazione*, at which Dr. Monro as Vice-Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls as President of the Association received, and at which many objects of interest to a classical assembly, including the lately discovered 'Oxyrhynchus papyri,' were on view, augured well for the morrow; nor was the augury falsified. The Vice-Chancellor welcomed the Association, the Master of the Rolls expounded its aims and justified its foundation, Prof. G. G. Ramsay,

as President of the Scottish body, robustly championed the common cause, and then the meeting settled down to hear the Treasurer upon 'the place of Greek and Latin in human life.' Of the remarkable discourse with which Mr. Mackail alternately dazzled, enchanted, and tantalized his audience for some three quarters of an hour, no idea can be given here: but before long, we understand, the classical public will have an opportunity of enjoying it for itself. After it was over Admiral Sir C. Bridge gave his evidence with naval directness on the value of a classical training to the professional sailor. The Association then applied itself to business, settled its constitution, elected its officers, fixed the time and place of its next meeting (January 1905 and London respectively), and voted for the appointment of a committee to deal with the spelling and printing of Latin texts. In the afternoon 'the Reform of Classical Teaching in Schools' was treated by Mr. J. W. Headlam with moderation and independence. Mr. A. Sidgwick and Mr. R. C. Gilson next contributed, and other speakers followed. The discussion ranged over a wide field and raised a number of interesting questions, some of which it may be hoped will issue in definite proposals for subsequent meetings.

ON *ILIAD* E 127 *sqq.*

It is not too much to say that no satisfactory explanation of these lines has yet been offered. The ἀχλὺς ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν still remains a standing puzzle. Discreet commentators like La Roche pass by with a reference to Virgil: others refer desperately to O 668, II 567, etc., but the nature of the allusion is as much of a riddle as the original difficulty. The true solution, it seems to me, is to be found in the explanation of another difficulty in this much discussed Διομήδους ἀπιστεία.

Diomedes, wounded by Pandaros, prays to Athene for vengeance on his adversary: Athene appears, heals him, but without noticing his prayer for vengeance, and promises her aid in the fight. 'Lo (she says) I have again taken from thine eyes the mist that was aforetime upon them, that thou mayest rightly discern both a god and a man: wherefore now if perchance a god come hither to tempt thee, in no wise do thou fight face to face with immortal gods—with any other of them, but only if the daughter of Zeus, Aphrodite, come into the fight, her shalt thou wound with the sharp bronze.' (E 127–132)

Now where does the idea of 'the mist that was aforetime' upon Diomedes' eyes come from? It is quite unlike anything else in the poem. Of course the gods can prevent men from seeing them if they please; but the fact that they are unseen appears to be due to the will of the god, not to any special disability attaching to mortality. When Athene appears to Diomedes he knows her at once; when she appears to Achilles in A 194 *sqq.* he recognizes her immediately. She appears *only to him* (198): but that is her own choice. Besides Diomedes had not met any god in battle yet: what is the force of the πρὶν?

Let us consider another difficulty. In 311 *sqq.* Aeneas has been brought to his knees by Diomedes. Aphrodite first rescues him in a fold of her robe that none of the Danaοὶ τὰ χυτῶλοι may strike him. Diomedes attacks Aphrodite 'knowing that she is an unwarlike goddess' (331) and wounds her. In her terror she drops her son, who is then picked up by Apollo and hidden in a dark cloud from the Danaoi. Diomedes after driving Aphrodite from the field turns his attack upon Aeneas and Apollo until the god warns him to desist; he does so in a fright and Aeneas is conveyed from the field in safety.

Now in 129 *sqq.* Diomedes is forbidden by Athene to fight with any god but Aphrodite and in 815 *sqq.* (cf. Z 128 *sqq.*) he assures Athene that he has done her bidding. Most people see a contradiction between these words and the narrative in 432 *sqq.* Robert (*Studien zur Ilias*, p. 184) argues that it is not Apollo, but Aeneas that Diomedes attacks: but ll. 438 and 440 seem decisive against his view.

But there is another important discrepancy in the narrative. Apollo (l. 345) rescues Aeneas in a dark cloud that none of the Danaoi may see him. Yet Diomedes rushes at Aeneas, minded to slay him (432 *sqq.*). Clearly the κτανέη νεφέλη has been a poor covering. It cannot be said that this is covered by Athene's promise in l. 127: there she promises only that he shall be able to distinguish between a man and a god, presumably a god in disguise or unseen by others.

Now there can be little doubt that the narrative of the rescue of Aeneas has reached us in a double recension (cf. Erhardt, *Die Entstehung der Hom. Ged.* p. 67). The repetition of 316, 7 in 345, 6 (a favourite device of a redactor) points this way, as does the inordinate length of the episode 347–431 breaking in on the narrative. The question is, which of the two is the earlier.

I shall try to show that the hypothesis of the rescue by Apollo being the earlier explains more than one difficulty in the narrative.

It is evident that the lines 432–442 are closely modelled upon II 702 *sqq.* In the latter passage Patroklos attacking the walls of Troy is mysteriously driven off by Apollo and, persisting, is warned by the god to desist. Here the situation is similar except for lines 433–5 which state positively that Diomedes recognized Apollo. If we omit these lines (a reason for their insertion will be given later) the parallel between the passages is complete and convincing. Assuming then that the narrative ran 310, 432, 436 *sqq.*, we have a complete episode in which Aeneas is rescued miraculously by Apollo and Diomedes is baffled.

Now if Diomedes and Aeneas meet at all the exigencies of the legend required that Aeneas should get off with his life somehow: but this particular method was felt to be too humiliating to Diomedes, and specially out of place in an ἀπιστεία. Another version

accordingly is composed. In it Aphrodite, not Apollo, rescues Aeneas, and Diomedes voluntarily abandons his human prey to fly at the divine quarry. He attacks the goddess, wounds her, and drives her from the field, and Apollo is utilized to rescue him in a cloud from the other Danaoi. This version contains 310-431. This new version is now 'vorbereitet' by ll. 129-132, and completed by the insertion of 817-821. Further the author of the new episode, thinking of the mistake Diomedes had been under with regard to Apollo in the older version, inserts 127, 8: the *πρὶν ἐπ' ἣν* is in the older version. The writer forgets that with his own version there is no longer any *πρὶν*; but he is thinking of the Diomedes known up to his time without any miraculous power of discrimination.

(Cf. the ποτε of Θ 108, referring to what in our *Iliad* has taken place only the day

before, but is to the author of this line one of the data of the story.)

The old version and the new are now fused—perhaps by the same poet. Lines 433-5 are an attempt to do away with the contradiction between the blind attack on Apollo and Athene's promise that he should be able to recognize a god, and to give some appearance of truth to Diomedes' later assurance to the goddess: but they are only a clumsy attempt, and the contradiction with 435 remains.

This theory seems to explain two difficulties by the one hypothesis. It gives an explanation of l. 127 and furnishes a solution of the contradiction between Diomedes' acts and his words which has not yet been forthcoming.

R. M. HENRY.

BELFAST, January 21, 1904.

NOTES ON AESCHYLUS.

Pers. 638 Dealing with this passage in a paper on Ghost-raising in *C.R.* 1902, p. 56, I quoted among many similar descriptions of magic incantations Lucian i. 465 ἐπιτροχόν τι καὶ ἄσαφ' ἐς ἐφθέγγετο . . . παραμυγνὺς ἄμα καὶ βαρβαρικά τινα καὶ ἄσημα ὀνόματα καὶ πολυσύλλαβα, and yet omitted to make the correction βάρβαρ' ἄσαφηνῇ for βάρβαρα σαφηνῇ. For ἡ παντάλιν' ἄχη διαβοάσω; add Ben Jonson *Masque of Queens* and Goethe *Faust* I scene 3.

893 schol. 'Ἰκάριον κλύδωνα' as Θρήκιον κλύδωνα *O.T.* 197.

1005 schol. γρ. καὶ ἀκρόται· ἐξ οὗ ἔσται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου. Read γρ. καὶ ἀκρόται· ἐξονσιασται, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου. The word is used by schol. rec. on οἰακοστρόφος *P.V.* 515 and δεσπότης *Theb.* 27.

1053 (ἀμ)μεμίξετ' οἴμοι for μεμίξεταί μοι?

P.V. 445 αἰὲν ὅς οὐράνιον πόλον. For Ἄτλαντος cf. *Orph. hymn.* i. 28.

580 πείθων may be an interpolation: cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 977, ii. 239.

738 γύποδας in M possibly through glosses τύπους and πόδας on ἔχνος or ἔχνη, as in schol. *Hecub.* 1059, Hesych.

Theb. 55 schol. ἐτάξαντο?

109 δοχμολόφων κῆμα γὰρ καχλάζει | περὶ πόλιν would correspond.

151 τλήμονες, συναιχμάλωτον?

299 schol.: read Ἀργείοις.

473 schol.: read τῇ Αἰγυπτίᾳ, is regular.

547 ἡ ἔωθεν . . . μέμψεται: cf. *Ar. Nub.* 1433 μὴ τύπτ'· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σαντόν ποτ' αἰτιάσει. *Eubulus* 14 μὴ παρατίθει . . . ἡ σεαυτὴν αἰτιῶ.

624 ἀτιμαστήρᾳ γ' ὡς ἀνδρῆλατῆν 'or at least banish him,' φνῆ γοῦν τίσασθαι: cf. 1006, *O.C.* 1306, *Nonn. D.* 40, 68.

788 schol. written on νεόκροτον? The same on νεόκτιστον in Hesych.

Supp. 121 The construction may be ζωσα γόοις με τιμῶ, ἠλέμοισιν ἐμπρεπῇ: cf. *Soph. El.* 1187, *Uho.* 11, 17.

171 γαμετᾶν οὐλιονεικῶν? cf. 302. Νείκος οὐλόμενον was the epithet used by Empedocles.

249 'In this point only will the theory of a Greek land for your origin harmonise': *Callim. Ep.* iδ' ὡς τῶργῳ τοῦνομα συμφέρεται.

327 δοκεῖτ' ἐμοὶ <μὲν> So *Eur. Ion* 644 εἴη δ' ἐμοὶ <μὲν>

568 λειμῶνα χιονόβοσκον, οὗ τ' ἐπέρχεται Τυφῶ μένος ὕδωρ τὸ Νείλου νόσοις ἄθικτον 'where the diseaseless water of the Nile proceeds against the power of drought and pestilence': see *Plut. de Is. et Osir.* p. 363 D—364 B, 366 B—367 B, 371 A, 376 F. ὃν τ' ἐπέρχεται Τυφῶ μένος would be no

commendation of the country, and ἔδωρ τὸ Νείλου is Aeschylean.

592 τόδ' ἦ?

680 ἐπερτάταν?

790 αἴσθ' ὅπως would do, but αἴσδος ὡς is probably an Egyptian error.

901 Μᾶ Γᾶ, Μᾶ Γᾶ, βόαν φοβερὸν ἀπότρεπε. Instead of βοᾶν 'requiritur nomen substantivum quo referatur φοβερὸν, id genus qualia sunt ὄναρ, ἄραχος, ὄφεις, ἔχιδρα' Weil. Why not βόαν, the Latin *boam* or *boram* (Plin. viii. 36 sqq., Paul. ex Fest. p. 30 Mueller), the *boa constrictor*?

1012 κηρύσσει Κύπρις | εἰς μῶρ' ἄκω-
λύτους ἀνεωγμέν' ἱμέρω? cf. Eur. *Tro.* 983.
κωλύουσ' is exactly contrary to the sense.

Agam. 71 παραθέλξει without τις is strange: παραθέλξεις?

219 πατρώους παρθενοσφάγοισιν |
χέρας μαιῶν ῥοαῖς πέλας βωμοῦ: the text
arising through τὸ ἐξῆς with ῥέεθροις sub-
stituted for ῥοαῖς.

653 πῶς κεδνά τοι κακοῖσι συμμίσξω?
It is a proverb, Eur. *Ion* 1023.

1181 If ἦμα is the subject (cf.
Hom. *Ψ* 61), perhaps κλύσειν may be right.

1418 Ὁρηκίων γ' ἀημάτων?

Cho. 154 Punctuate πρὸς ἔρμα τόδε κακῶν
κεδνῶν τ' ἀπότροπον, 'this offering to avert evils
(from Clytemnestra's point of view, v. 42)
and blessings (from ours)': or perhaps καλῶν
κεδνῶν τ' 'to avert (what are not evils, but)
blessings.'

245 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ θεωρὸς τῶνδε πρηγμαίων
γενοῦ. The singular πρηγμαίων was caused,
I suspect, in this way: Archilochus *fragm.*
88 ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, κτέ. continued thus: καὶ
νῦν θεωρὸς τῶνδε πρηγμαίων γενεῦ (cf. Hes.
Op. 267 πάντα ἰδὼν sqq.), and this the scribe
remembered.

284 ὄρῳτα λαμπρόν, ἐν σκότῳ νομῶντ'
ὀφρῆν is, I think, an illustrative quotation
on the following line, τὸ γὰρ σκοτεινὸν . . .

316 τύχοιμ' αὖ 'καθεν would account
for the MS.

491 πέδαις δ' ἀχαλκεύτοις γ'

835 Perhaps φόνιον ἄταν τίθης (or
τιθείς), τὸν αἴτιον δ' ἐξαπολλύεις

863 b <καὶ δώματ' ἀνὴρ> Mention
of the House is required, and a subject to
the verb: first comes the vague description
ἀνὴρ, then the proper name Ὀρέστης follows
in the second clause with telling emphasis, a
poetical device I have remarked before; e.g.
Supp. 542-9, *O.C.* 675-9, Pindar and
Bacchylides often.

ἄν

999 ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝΙΚΤΗC ἈΙΤΟ

would account for the MS., i.e. τοιοῦτον ἐὶ
κτῆσταιτο with a mistaken ἄν superscribed.

Eum. 213 καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἦρκέ τις? cf. 849.

338 θνατῶν τοῖσιν (or θνατῶν γ' οἷσιν
cf. 350) αἰτουργίαι ξυμπαγῶσιν μάταιοι would
be the smallest change. But I cannot find
that συμπαγῆναι was ever used to mean
agglutinated to something else; it always
means compact in itself, 'congealed,' 'coagu-
lated': and I do not think the meaning
could be *qui concretam labem habeant*.

484 πέμπειν ἀμνήτως τε.

485 φόνων δικαστῆς, ὀρκίων αἰδου-
μένους <θέμιν as ὀρκίων θέμιν *Agam.* 1432, *I*
will select, and form> θεσμόν (a court or
institution), τὸν εἰς ἅπαντ' ἐγὼ θήσω χρόνον
which I will establish in perpetuity: cf. 617,
686. αἰδουμένων Prie: cf. 683, 713.

667 b e.g. <οὐ κοινολέκτροις ἐν
γάμοις ἐσπαρμένη> as Coluthus 180 of
Athena: ἦν γάμος οὐκ ἔσπειρε καὶ οὐ μαιώσατο
μήτηρ.

941 φλοιγμός M probably through
φλοισμός. Cf. Heraclitus in Plut. *Mor.*
370 D.

947 If γόνος πλουτόχθων means
'earth-produce' generally (Πλούτων, *Ops*,
Δημήτηρ ὀμπνία, πλούτον μητέρα Δήμητρα
scolion, Hesych. πλούτος, εὐπλουτον κανοῦν,
etc.), γόνος <δὲ πὺς> πλουτόχθων would be
exactly like *Supp.* 699 and 678, a chorus
much resembling this. In each case τῶς, by
knitting the sentences together, avoids the
monotony of a mere catalogue, and Aeschylus
is studious of such variety (cf. *Supp.* 715,
Cho. 301). As in *Supp.* 699 he says 'May
the land yield her due of fruit with produce
in all seasons, and thus may their grazing
cattle prove prolific,' so here, instead of say-
ing 'and may there also be abundance of
treasure-trove,' he would imply it by saying
'and thus (i.e. by their crops and cattle
thriving) may there be plenteous produce of
the boon Earth to reward the God of Trover's
gift' with sacrifices.

There is no error, as has commonly been
thought, in *Eum.* 68, 688, *P.V.* 818: in all
these passages the construction is never
grammatically completed, but designedly
allowed to lapse forgotten after parenthetical
clauses introduced by relatives. This, too,
I take to be the explanation of the super-
fluous τε in *Agam.* 99 and *Supp.* 490: the
sentences begin as though another τε or καὶ
were to follow, but it never does, because
the clauses intervening are supposed to have

put it out of mind; a parenthesis usurps the place of the main sentence. It is studied carelessness, to resemble the irregularity of actual speech, like the 'nominativus pendens' which Aeschylus is so fond of using.

Frags. 258 καὶ ψευδοῦειπνα . . . ἐρρυσίασ οἶον MS. ἐρρυσίασθη Kaibel: ἐρρυσίσθη as ἀφῆρέθη?

In *Soph. fr.* 234. 7 δείλη δὲ πᾶσα τέμνεται βλαστομένη | καλῶς ὁπώρα no alteration of

βλαστομένη seems probable, unless it was κλαστομένη i.e. κλασταζομένη: see *Ar. Eq.* 166 schol. and κλάσις, Phot. κλᾶν ἄμπελον: τὸ τέμνειν.

Soph. fr. 612 One may suspect that Sophocles said not πολύκουνον Ἀμφιτρίταν but πολυκύμον' Ἀμφιτρίταν, the epithet of the sea in Solon, Empedocles and a fragment in Suidas πολυκύμονος θαλάσσης: cf. *Hom.* γ 91, μ 60.

W. HEADLAM.

THE PARODOS OF SOPHOCLES' *ANTIGONE*.

THE choral passages of Sophocles particularly in the *Antigone* are distinguished by an elaborate harmonic arrangement of ideas and figures, which however delicately presented or suggested, betrays to careful inspection a highly conscious and almost artificial analysis. In marked contrast hereto, the current interpretations of the parodos of the *Antigone* yield a lack of balance in the ideas, a confusion of the imagery, and an absence of all unity of plan. The belief that all this is the fault of the interpretations and not of the parodos instigates the writing of this paper.

Leaving out of account the final anapaestic system, which heralds the appearance of Creon, the subject matter of the ode proper is set forth in seven stanzas, four strophes (or antistrophes) with three alternating anapaestic systems. The first stanza (i.e. the first strophe) welcomes the beams of the rising sun, dispelling the terrors of the night, bringing peace to the battle-leagured town, —'fairest light that e'er shone on Thebes of the seven gates, at last hast thou appeared. O lid of golden day.' The seventh stanza (i.e. the second antistrophe) brings the echo hereto in the personal embodiment of *Nike* who advances 'smiling to greet Thebe of the many chariots,' appointing men to forget the battle and strife. In the first, the beams of the sun are driving the white-shielded Argive foe 'a headlong fugitive, prodding him on with ever tightening bit.' In the last, Nike as counterpart and exponent of the gladsome sun sends the folk of Thebes in festal procession to the temples of their gods. The ἡλθε Νίκα repeats the ἀκτὶς ἀελίου μολοῦσα, as the τὰ πολυαρμάτων ἀντιχαρεῖσα Θήβα reflects τὸ κάλλιστον ἔτα-πύλω φανέν Θήβα.

Framed between these two stanzas, which

reveal the spiritual attitude of the song and yield the atmosphere of the picture,—which voice the exceeding joy of light out of darkness and of victory out of impending defeat,—stands the body of the ode, the five central stanzas, which tell the story of the battle itself. The battle is presented in its three phases, the onslaught of the foe, the even-matched struggle, the sudden discomfiture and rout of the Argive at the moment when his triumph seemed sure. The story is not told, however, as a continuous narrative, but is fashioned rather as a thrice-told tale. Stanzas two and three tell it all,—onslaught, struggle, and rout,—under the figure of the conflict between the white-winged eagle and the serpent. Then stanzas four and five tell it again, onslaught, struggle, and rout, but under another figure, and introduce the second tale as an explanation or epexegetis of the first. Of this epexegetis the particle γάρ of line 127 is the symbol. Thereupon again stanza six begins the tale, this time without figure and in the directer language of fact: 'For seven captains at the seven gates arrayed, equals matched against equals,' but again introducing it as epexegetis of the preceding with the particle γάρ of line 141. Three times under three forms or figures the onslaught has been set forth, each time with use of an anapaestic system.

The third form of the statement, namely that of stanza six, which as we have seen, reaches at last the plain language of fact, lays its stress on the even matching of strength against strength, man against man; it is 'seven against seven,' 'equal against equal'; yea, with one of the pairs the contest is even matched to the extent of παρὸς ἐνὸς μητρός τε μιᾶς, and therefrom arises no issue of victory; with them the battle remains drawn; forever evenly matched

(δικρατεῖς—κοινοῦ—ἄμφω). For the others there is a decision, as shown by the πάγχαλκα τέλη, the symbols and prizes of victory (cf. Pindar, *Olym.* 11, 67; *Isthm.* 1, 27.) left in the hands of the arbiter Zeus.

Returning now to the first form of the story, that contained in stanzas two and three, I believe there can be no doubt that the imagery suggested by the words is that of a self-consistent picture, namely, the picture of a contest between the eagle representing Argos and the serpent representing Thebes. The Thebans are the δρακοντογενεῖς. The eagle comes from without; flies over to the land. It comes in noisy and defiant onset, shrill screaming (ὀξέα κλάζων) for, lo, it was from out of the wrangling strifes of Polyneices that it had taken wing. Over the snake as genius of the place and symbol of home, over the roof-trees of Thebes (ἐπὶ μελάρων) it poises itself, and its blood-thirsting beak yawns before the seven-gated mouth of its prey. But before it could glut its jaws with Theban blood, before Hephaestus could lay his grip on the coronet of towers,¹ it was gone, scared away by the din that Ares raised. That the imagery of metaphor is here, and that it is presented according to a self-consistent picture, there can be no doubt; but it is only a pattern glimmering through the fabric, sketched in golden threads. So we shall find it to be in the second form of the story, though there the pattern is still more dimly sketched.

This second form of the story is presented in stanzas four and five. The parallelism with the first form, i.e. stanzas two and three, is unmistakable. The onset of the antagonist is loud and defiant; there are the 'boasts of a haughty tongue' (μεγάλης γλώσσης κόμπους), 'the pride of rattling gold' (χρυσοῦ καναχῆς ὑπεροπλίας), 'the snorting blasts of hostile winds' (ἐπέπνει ῥίπαῖς ἐχθίστων ἀνέμων). Defeat overwhelms the foe just as he is 'hasting to raise the cry of victory' (νίκην ὀρμῶντ' ἀλαλάξαι). Zeus is here too the arbiter, the supreme βραβεύς, whose will allots defeat and victory. Ἥφαιστον (l. 123) returns as the πυρφόρος (l. 135). Ares appears as the helper of Thebes at the crisis; μέγας Ἄρης δεξιόσειρος at the end of stanza five echoes and exactly parallels the πάταγος Ἄρεος at the end of stanza three. Of the picture of eagle and serpent there is, however, no longer a trace;

that having served its purpose, has faded away, and another takes its place. The scene shifts to the stadion and the contest assumes the form of the four-horse chariot race. We can hear the shouts of the charioteer in the lead, the rattle and clank of harnesses and trappings, the snort of the steeds. Already the foremost chariot is making the last turn to the goal βαλβίδων ἐπ' ἄκρων, and its driver is impatient to raise the claiming cry of victory (νίκην ὀρμῶντ' ἀλαλάξαι), when the competing team in which great Ares is the right trace-horse (δεξιόσειρος) surges against him and pushing him and his aside (στυφελίζων), hurls him from his car to the earth (ἀντιτύπα δ' ἐπὶ γὰ πέσσε τανταλωθεῖς), and scatters all in confusion and ruin (εἶχε δ' ἄλλα τὰ μὲν, ἄλλα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπενώμα).

That the effect of the picture lingers on even in the seventh stanza is betrayed by the appearance of Nike advancing with smiles of congratulation to meet the victorious Thebes, Thebe of the many chariots. It is not a Nike like that of Paeonius, which the poet has here in mind, but the type familiar to us from the vase-paintings, the cupid-like Nike who with the fillet as badge of victory in her hand flits down to greet and decorate the victorious charioteer (e.g. Reinach, *Peintures*. Millin Pl. ii, 60; ii, 72, cf. also Millin i, 43, 45 and Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Fig. 2137; Panofka, *Cabinet Pourtalès*, Pl. 33, *Arch.-Zeit.* 1867, Pl. 226).

If the interpretation here offered for stanzas four and five may appear from internal evidences possible and even probable, it is raised to what we must consider a demonstrated certainty, as certainty goes in things so human as these, by reference to the full-drawn picture of the four-horse chariot race of the Pythian games, which the same artist has left us for comparison in the pages of the *Electra* (ll. 696-760). The two passages differ in their character, and especially in their use of scenes and incidents taken from the chariot race, as widely as in their date of composition. One uses the material delicately in suggestive metaphor and as decoration, the other introduces it directly in narration. And yet it appears, if our interpretation of stanzas four and five be correct, that in both similar features and similar incidents dominate the poet's attention as characteristic of the event. There is the shout of the drivers and the clatter of the cars: 'And all with one accord shouted at their horses and shook the reins with both hands; the whole course was filled

¹ We can scarcely avoid the conviction that δυσχείρωμα (l. 126) was coined to echo στεφάνωμα (l. 122); through the din raised by the fighters on the towers the στεφάνωμα became the eagle's δυσχείρωμα (στεφανῶν: χειρῶν), instead of its easy prey.

with the din of clattering cars.' And there is the snorting of the horses as they come on: 'And all in confused mass plied their goads and spared not, each that he might pass the wheels of his rivals and the snorting of their steeds, for alike at their backs and at their advancing wheels the breath of the horses foamed and cast its spray.' Here too the right trace-horse (δεξιόσειρος) as δεξιὸν σείραϊον ἵππον plays a distinguished part, though mentioned, I believe, nowhere outside of these two passages in all Greek literature. Here too

chariots collide and are scattered in ruin about, 'till the whole arena of Crisa was strewn with the wreck of chariots.' And then at the last and as the supreme incident, just as the foremost driver was making the last turn to the goal with victory all but in his grasp, he is thrown from his car with all the swing of the Antigone's ταρταλωθεῖς and dashed to the ground (cf. ἀντιτύπη δ' ἐπὶ γῆ, *Antigone*, 134).

BENJ. IDE WHEELER.

FURTHER ADVERSARIA UPON THE FRAGMENTS OF SOPHOCLES.

(The numeration is Nauck's 1889.)

Sophocles *frag.* 186 :

φιλεῖ γὰρ ἡ δύσκειλεια τοῖς φθονουμένοις
†νικᾶν ἐπ' αἰσχροῖς ἢ πρὶ τοῖς καλοῖς πλέον.

Both sense and construction require
ν ε ι κ ε ι ν .

Fr. 256 :

εὐδαίμονες οἱ τότε γέννας
ἀφθίτου λαχόντες †θείου.

For θείου I suggest αἰοῦς (which became ΕΟΥΣ). The genitive γέννας is causal with εὐδαίμονες.

An original -ος- form of αἰών, parallel to the -ον- form, is indicated by (1) the accus. αἰῶ, (2) the locative αἰές. It should also be remembered that αἰών is sometimes a feminine noun, and the schema αἰών : αἰοῦς is therefore no more extraordinary than ἀηδών : ἀηδοῦς. Both ἀηδοῦς and εἰκοῦς occur only once, and each is in tragedy.

Fr. 365 :

οὗτοι ποθ' †ῆξει τῶν ἄκρων ἄνευ πόνου.

Read οὗτοι τ ι θ ί ξ ε ι (or rather θίξῃ). The error was from uncials and was complicated by itacism. (ΤΙΘΙΞΗΙ became ΠΟΘΙΞΗΙ and this became ποθ' ῆξει.)

Fr. 366 :

ἦν μὲν γὰρ οἶος μαλλός, ἦν †δ' ἀμπέλου
σπονδή.

Read ἦν δ' ἀπ' ἀμπέλων . . . (cf. *Eupolis ap. Ath.* 52 D οἶνόν τε πίνειν Ναξίων ἀπ' ἀμπέλων.)

Fr. 367 :

τοῖς μὲν λόγοις τοῖς σοῖσιν οὐ τεκμαίρομαι,
οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ †λευκῷ λίθω λευκὴ στάθμη.†—

Read ἢ λευκῷ ἢ λίθω λευκῇ στάθμῃ.
[I had written ἢ ἢ λευκῷ λίθω κ.τ.λ. For the absence of even quasi-caesura see Appendix to *Aesch. Cho.* 150. But I welcome the suggestion of Dr. Postgate that ἐν is better placed after λευκῷ. The loss was also somewhat easier from that position and the metre is improved.]

Fr. 376 :

ἄμοχος γὰρ οὐδεὶς, ὁ δ' ἦκιστ'
ἔχων μακάρτατος.

The sense requires

ὁ δ' ἦκιστ'
ἔχων <κακῶς> μακάρτατος.

Fr. 461. 3 :

εἶδον στρατὸν στείχοντα παραλίαν †πέτραν.

So Harpocration, but Athenaeus has ἄκραν. Neither word seems very likely in the case of a marching army, and the discrepancy is best explained by assuming πλάκα as the common source. Parallel phrases are not very convincing in a simple case like the present, but we may compare the παράκτιον πλάκα of Phrynichus *fr.* 5.

Fr. 463 :

κημοῖσι πλεκτοῖς πορφύρας †φθείρει γένος.

Rather θηρῶ. The schol. on *Ar. Eq.* 1150, who quotes the passage, paraphrases with λαμβάνουσι, as does Hesychius. The same error occurs in *frag. adesp.* 484.

Fr. 467 :

λόγω γὰρ ἔλκος οὐδὲν τοῖ ^{ου} π τυχεῖν (Schol. Aj. 581).

Otherwise

λόγω γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔλκος οἰδά ^{ου} π τυχεῖν (Suidas).

The latter version represents οἰδά ^{ου} π τυχεῖν, where the accent is amiss and was taken to represent the syllable -ον. We are thus brought to a search for the common original

of ^{ου} π τυχεῖν and π ουχεῖν. This I take to have been π ο υ (or π ω) π τ υ χ εῖ ν. The line was thus

λόγω γὰρ ἔλκος οὐδὲν οἰδά π ο υ π τ υ χ εῖ ν.

i.e. 'I know of no wound ever having been closed by talk.' Cf. the medical use of πτύγμα and πτυκτόν.

[I had written πτυγέιν, as being the only form of the simple aorist actually recorded. Dr. Postgate believes that πτυχέιν, though not found, is the only form allowable for the classical period, and though I cannot readily admit that the analogical γ-aorist was unlikely to have been created by the fifth century, the emendation is brought so much nearer to certainty by postulating the χ-form that I gladly adopt the modification.]

Fr. 553 :

βρῦτον δὲ τὸν χερσαῖον τοῦ δυνεῖν ~ .

I feel tolerably certain that for ο υ δ υ ε ι ν we should read ο υ δ υ σ ι ν, i.e. ο ὕ δ' ὕ σ ι ν. This was followed by an adjective, which may have been γλυκύν, less probably φίλον, or very possibly ποτόν (= πότιμον).

[*Obiter* attention may be drawn to the fragment of Aeschylus (124 Nauck) which is quoted by Athenaeus (447 c) in the same place with this passage, viz.

καὶ τῶνδ' ἔπινε βρῦτον ἰσχυαίνων † χρόνῳ,
κάσμενοκόμπει τοῦτ' ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ στέγῃ.

In the former line χρόνῳ is recognised as meaningless. I suggest λίνῳ. The muddy beer is strained through λίνον.]

Fr. 618 :

σύγγνωτε κἀνάσχεσθε σιγῶσαι τὸ γὰρ
γυναιξὶν αἰσχροὺς ἐν γυναικὶ δεῖ στέγειν.

So Stobaeus S and M, while A gives σὺν γυναικί. The confusion of the two prepositions is frequent, and σὺν is probably correct. The error lies in the case of the noun, which has been falsely adapted to the supposed preposition. We have here, I believe, another instance of an idiom which copyists generally obscure. Such idioms are not examples of 'tnesis,' but remnants of the adverbial use of the preposition. In Aesch. Ag. 1599 ἀπὸ σφαγῆς ἐρῶν and S.c.T. 259 οὐδ' ἀπ' Ἰσμηνοῦ λέγω the accus. has been restored by Auratus and Abresch respectively. So here we should probably read

γυναιξὶν αἰσχροὺς σὺν γυναικὶ αἰσχροῦς δεῖ στέγειν.

i.e. 'a woman should join in concealing . . '

Fr. 766 : Plutarch *de orac. def.* 414 E has . . πολλὰ καλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διδόντος ἀνθρώποις, ἀθάνατον δὲ μηδέν. ὥστε θνήσκειν καὶ τὰ θεῶν, θεοὺς δὲ οὐ, κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα. Does not this imply the verse

θνήσκει δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν, θεοὶ δὲ γ' οὐ?

Fr. 811 :

δάφνην φαγὼν ὀδόντι πρίε τὸ στόμα.

If this were from a satyric play both φαγὼν and the jerky rhythm might pass muster. But preferable seems

δαφνὴν φάγῳ δ' ὀδόντι πρίε τὸ στόμα.

Fr. 818 :

ἐν τοῖσιν ἵπποις τοῖσιν ἐκλελειμμένοις
†ιδιον εἰ χωρῶμεν ἢ παντὶ σθένει.

For the former line Schneidewin restores

σὺν τοῖσιν ἵπποις τοῖσιν ἐκλελεγμένοις.

I would suggest that the passage is a question and that the second line ran

ἢ δὲ σφιν ἐγχειρῶμεν ἢ παντὶ σθένει ;

T. G. TUCKER.

ON THE FRAGMENTS OF EURIPIDES.

PROF. TUCKER, in his *adversaria* on Eurip. fr. in *Cl. Rev.* xviii. 4, proposes γνώμας παρασπῶν, ὥστε Μαγνήτις λίθος as the right restoration of fr. 567 (571), 2. I find

I had jotted down in my Nauck, some years ago, '† ἐπισπῶν.'

Fr. 360 (362) 3 χρόνῳ δὲ δρῶσι δυσγενέστερον : here I had conjectured δρῶσιν οἷα δυσ-

γενέστεροι, but Prof. Tucker's χρόνῳ δὲ δαρῶ δρῶσι is brilliant, and deserving of acceptance.

I will add only one further note: In *fr.* 801, vv. 2, 3 should be separated from

v. 1 (as suggested in Nauck), and for δίδωσιν ὅστις κ.τ.λ. we should read ὁμῶς ἐστὶν ὅστις κ.τ.λ.

R. G. BURY.

ON THE PLATONIST DOCTRINE OF THE ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί.

§ 1. ARISTOTLE *Nic. Eth.* I. vi. and *Metaph.* M. vi.

AN interesting article in the February number of the *Classical Review* discusses what is said to be 'a well-known difficulty,' amounting to 'seeming contradiction,'¹ between the following passages:—*Nic. Eth.* I. vi. 1096^a 17 οἱ δὲ κομίσαντες τὴν δόξαν ταύτην οὐκ ἐποιοῦν ιδέας ἐν οἷς τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον ἔλεγον, διόπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ιδέαν κατεσκεύαζον: *Metaph.* M. vi. 1080^b 11 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους φασὶν εἶναι τοὺς ἀριθμούς, τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον τὰς ιδέας, τὸν δὲ μαθηματικὸν παρὰ τὰς ιδέας καὶ τὰ αἰσθητά, καὶ χωριστοὺς ἀμφοτέρους τῶν αἰσθητῶν. The difficulty, surely, is imaginary, and only due to one of those slips of interpretation sometimes made by distinguished critics in very plain matters. The writer of the article must pardon a fellow-student for thinking that in it the true nature of the mistake has not been made clear, and that—perhaps in consequence—the simplicity of the issue and of its solution have not been realised: further that the interpretation given of the passage from the *Ethics* is not correct, owing to a misunderstanding of the drift of a passage referred to from *Metaph.* B. iv.

The seeming contradiction arose simply from a misinterpretation of the first clause in the passage from the *Ethics*. According to the *Metaphysics*, the Ideal numbers stand in the relation of πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον. The words in the *Ethics*, on the other hand, οὐκ ἐποιοῦν ιδέας ἐν οἷς τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον ἔλεγον were taken to mean that there were no 'Ideas' at all² in the case of things

related as πρότερον and ὕστερον. This would necessitate that the numbers referred to in the *Metaphysics* as having in them the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον could not be Ideas, and so would contradict the statement in the *Metaphysics* that they were.

But the first clause of the *Ethics* passage means, not that the Platonists allowed no Ideas at all in the sphere of the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον, but that in the case of a group whose members were in this relation, there was no one single Idea to correspond to the group as such. Aristotle uses the plural ιδέας and not the singular ιδέα, because he is thinking of such groups in general. There is no implication that the members of a group of the kind could not be themselves Ideas. And with this the whole difficulty disappears.

The second clause means that the Platonists in consequence of the doctrine ascribed to them in the first clause did not recognise one Idea of the Numbers, as they held the Numbers stood in the relation of πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον.

Thus if we had no other passage from the *Metaphysics* except that which was supposed to contradict the *Ethics*, we should by combining the two places arrive at this perfectly coherent result:—The later Platonists held that the Ideal numbers were in the relation of πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον to one another (*Met.*). They also held that when the members of a group stood in that relation there was no one Idea corresponding to the group (*Eth.*) Consequently they held that the Ideal numbers had no one Idea of number corresponding to them as a group; i.e. there was

¹ Cp. Trendelenburg, *Platonis de ideis et numeris doctrina ex Aristotele illustrata*, p. 80: 'locos duos inter se, ut videtur, repugnantes.' Zeller, *Plat. Stud.* p. 243: 'mit welcher Stelle, die ihr widersprechende,' etc.

² Cp. Trend. *l.c.*: 'his inter se collatis, alterum, ideas eum definiri numerum, qui habeat prius et posterius, altero, non ideas factas eorum in quibus sit prius et posterius, prorsus repugnat.' Brandis, *Rhein. Mus.* 2 (1828), p. 563. Zeller, *Phil. d. Gr.*, 3rd ed., II. i. p. 571: 'Wie lässt sich nun aber mit

dieser Auffassung...die Angabe vereinigen dass Plato und seine Schule von demjenigen in dem das Vor und Nach stattfindet, keine Ideen angenommen haben?' Zeller himself, who at first followed Trendelenburg, but eventually realised the essentials of the interpretation of the *Ethics* passage, does not happen to say that the difficulty was merely due to this mistranslation, his attention being taken up with the questions about the meaning of τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον raised by those who misunderstood the *Ethics* text.

no 'Idea' corresponding to ἀριθμός in general (*Eth.*). There would then be no disagreement, and we need nothing further for the reconciliation of the two passages taken alone.

But there is another passage in the *Metaphysics* itself (999^a 6) which when combined with the above passage from the same treatise gives exactly the same result as the combination of that passage with the *Ethics*.

Met. B iii. 999^a 6 ἔτι ἐν οἷς τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερόν ἐστιν, οὐχ οὐδὲν τε τὸ ἐπὶ τούτων εἶναι τι παρὰ ταῦτα. οἷον εἰ πρώτη τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἡ δυνάς, οὐκ ἔσται τις ἀριθμός παρὰ τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἀριθμῶν. According to this if a group of things stand in the relation of πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον, their common predicate (τὸ ἐπὶ τούτων) cannot be some common element distinguishable (παρὰ) from them. What this more exactly means will be considered later, for the moment we are only concerned with the application made of it in the context, which is that since the εἶδη τῶν ἀριθμῶν stand in the relation of 'prior and posterior,' there is no ἀριθμός distinguishable from these εἶδη. If the Platonists accepted this sort of reasoning—and we learn from the *Ethics* that they did, then since they held the Ideal numbers stood in such relation, they would necessarily hold that there was no one Idea corresponding to this group as such, i.e. that there was no Idea of ἀριθμός. Thus the result of the two passages from the *Metaphysics* agrees entirely with the passage from the *Ethics*, and there is not the smallest discrepancy between the two treatises.

The foregoing is all that is relevant to shew the unreality of the supposed difficulty. Nothing turns upon what the exact meaning of τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον may be, and it is not necessary to enquire, for instance, if it refers to some process of γέννησις, or even to discuss it at all for the real issue between the passages, however otherwise interesting. Nor is it right to suppose the meaning of the *Ethics* to be that 'the Idealists did not view the higher (logically soluble) genera as Ideas.' 'Logically soluble' appears to stand for 'capable of differentiation into species,' so that the meaning would be 'the Idealists allow no Idea except for *infiniae species*.' This doctrine is not really contained in the passages before us. All that is ascribed to the Idealists is the doctrine that when species are related to one another as 'prior and posterior' there could be for them no one Idea. Thus for instance, it is not a true inference from *Metaph.* 999^a 6, above

quoted, that 'Ἀριθμός does not constitute in itself an ἰδέα because it is divisible into a variety of εἶδη.' The principle stated in this passage is not applied to the Platonic Ideas at all; and if it were, the result would be that there was no ἰδέα of ἀριθμός, not because ἀριθμός was divisible into εἶδη, but because its εἶδη stand to one another in the relation of πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον. The εἶδη meant are the δυνάς, τριάς, τετράς, etc., etc., of which the δυνάς is prior to the τριάς and all the rest, the τριάς, to the τετράς and all the rest, and so on. The bearing of the whole passage of which 999^a 6-9, is a part will be considered later.¹

§ 2.—Current views on the ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί and the doctrine of τὰ μεταξύ.

We may turn to some questions of somewhat greater difficulty.

What is the true meaning, and what is the origin of the doctrine that the Ideal numbers were ἀσύμβλητοι, and of the doctrine associated with it that the objects of mathematics, τὰ μαθηματικά are μεταξύ—between the Ideas and the world of sense?

According to the theory of Ideas represented by Plato's writings, there were of course Ideas of number. In a later development of Platonism, of which we hear through Aristotle, all 'Ideas' were somehow identified with Numbers. The Ideas of numbers, ἰδέαι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, of the earlier theory, and the Idea-numbers of the later may both be called 'Ideal numbers,' and this general expression has been used in the foregoing for a reason which will appear hereafter.

It is perhaps the generally accepted view that ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί was a designation only applied to the Idea-numbers of the later theory and suited to them alone. It might seem that 'Ideas' would only be called numbers in some metaphorical way, and that the name ἀριθμοί ἀσύμβλητοι indicated the Idea-numbers had not the properties of true number; for to say they could not be added would be to say that no arithmetical relation was possible between them. Bonitz expressly remarks (*Comm. on Metaph.* p. 540) that the name ἀσύμβλητοι shews nothing numerical was really intended:—hos numeros, qui idearum exprimerent naturam a mathematicis ea distinxit ratione, quae revera ipsam numerorum naturam penitus tolleret. Cp. p. 541 Nimirum quum numeris abstractis illud, ut sint συμβλητοί, inde accidat, quod nullum in iis est qualitatis discrimen sed unice quanti-

¹ § 7.

tas diversa, ad idem prorsus redit utrum numeros dixeris ἀσύνβλητους esse an qualitate inter se differre. He thinks the numbers were mere symbols of notions: cp. p. 543. Etenim Plato quod ἀσύνβλητους dixit numeros suos ideales, qualitatis diversitatem, quae in iis cerneretur, significavit et ipsam quantitativam numeri naturam ita sustulit, ut eorum vis non amplius penderet unitatum a multitudine . . . sed numeri modo signa quaedam et quasi symbola fiant notionum. Thus it would be assumed without question that the Ideal numbers of the earlier theory being Ideas of number in the literal sense were not the ἀριθμοὶ ἀσύνβλητοι, that these latter belonged to the later theory, and were, of course, but a paradox of Platonism without any value for thought in general.

It must be contended that these views are erroneous. The theory of the ἀσύνβλητοι ἀριθμοὶ contained an important truth, though it was not appreciated by Aristotle: and it is a theory which, in the nature of the case, belonged essentially to the earlier Platonism, arose out of that and not out of anything peculiar to the later theory.

It seems also to be supposed that the doctrine of the μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμός, as something μετὰ τοῦ εἰδητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ (1090^b 35) was a peculiar adjunct of the later Idea-number theory; probably because it is thought that as the Idea-numbers did not relate to true numbers at all some place had to be found for true, or mathematical number, and for this *Metaph.* 991^b 26¹ might be appealed to. But the origin of this doctrine again, which cannot be dissociated from the view that geometrical figures were also μετὰ, lies in conditions which belong not to the later theory but to the earlier, and has nothing whatever to do with the Idea-numbers as such.

§ 3.—*Meaning and origin of the conception of ἀσύνβλητοι ἀριθμοὶ.*

We may consider first the ἀσύνβλητοι ἀριθμοὶ.

Plato's ἰδέα is of course the Universal. We are not concerned here with what is peculiar to his view of its nature, but with a part of it, which all must accept, and upon which Plato laid great stress: namely, the assertion that the Universal is one—a unity, that is, in contrast with the manifold to which it corresponds. This means that whereas there are many circles, for instance, Circularity, the Universal, is one—there is

only one Circularity. It is not necessary to repeat here the familiar *reductio ad absurdum* of the hypothesis that there could be more than one. 'The circle,' with the definite article, is an equivalent expression for circularity, and even if we give several definitions of 'the Circle' we suppose them all definitions of one and the same thing. 'The number Two,' as we call it, is a Universal: it is 'twoness' in general, and there is only one 'twoness.' It is because there is only one that we use the definite article in the expression 'the number Two.' Now 'the number Two' thus accurately understood cannot enter into a process of summation like a particular two. 'Two and two make four' means two things (= a particular two) added to two other things of the same kind amount to four things. The proposition is a universal one because it stands for 'any two things added to any other two things, etc., etc.,' but not because it means an addition of Universals. It does not mean, that is, that twoness added to twoness is fourness. There is only one 'twoness' and thus the expression 'twoness added to twoness' has no sense. This is the same as saying that 'two and two make four' does not mean that 'the number Two' added to 'the number Two' is 'the number Four.' Nor does anyone ever express the proposition in this way. As before, we must say there is only one 'number Two,' and that 'the number Two added to the number Two' is an unmeaning expression. Similarly 'two and three are five' means 'any particular two (*i.e.* any two things) added to any other particular three, etc.' and does not mean twoness added to threeness is five-ness. The latter is an absurd expression, for, as is easily seen, it would involve more than one twoness, and more than one threeness. Or it may be put thus:—if twoness (= the number Two) could be added to threeness (= the number Three) so as to produce five-ness (= the number Five) twoness must be conceived as having two units added to three units contained in threeness. But such units cannot be particulars as twoness is universal: they must be Universals, and the Universal of units is oneness. Thus twoness would have to consist of oneness added to another oneness which is absurd as there is only one 'oneness.' Thus 'the number Two,' 'the number Three,' etc., that is the universal twoness, the universal threeness, etc., or, in popular language, the abstractions of twoness and threeness, etc. do not consist of units, and are not capable of numerical addition in the same sense as a two and a

¹ This passage is considered below, § 4, paragraph 8.

three, by the combination of units. And thus if we call them Numbers (we call them 'the Numbers') they are certainly numbers which are not addible.¹ This is exactly the Platonic doctrine; for if the *ιδέαι* or Universals of number are called *ἀριθμοί* they must be *ἀριθμοὶ ἀσύμβλητοι*.

Geometry of course affords an exact parallel. Just as the Universals represented by the Numbers cannot enter into arithmetical operation, in the sense explained, so also the Universals represented by the figures cannot have geometrical constructions performed upon them, or be elements in such constructions. 'The Circle' as we have said is a Universal, and e.g. just as 'the number Two' cannot be added to 'the number Two,' the Circle cannot intersect the Circle. That is circularity cannot intersect circularity, for there is only one circularity. Accordingly no mathematician would ever think of expressing the proposition 'a circle can intersect another circle in not more than two (real) points' in the form 'the circle can intersect the circle etc.' the absurdity of which would be felt at once. The construction of Eucl. I. 1 is general, and universal in the proper sense, but it is not the construction of the Universal, 'equilateral triangularity,' upon the Universal, 'rectilinearity,' nor the construction of the equilateral triangle upon the straight line or upon 'the given straight line.'

The doctrine then of the *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί*, instead of being a mere fantastic product of later Platonism, embodies a truth which depends on nothing peculiar to Platonism. In that philosophy it arises naturally out of the principles involved in that theory of Ideas which is represented in Plato's writings and not out of anything peculiar to the later Idea-number theory.²

¹ About this principle there is no confusion within mathematics proper: indeed no occasion for it arises there. But it is otherwise with what may be called 'reflective mathematics' or 'quasi-philosophic mathematics.' For the attempt to find continuity within number itself (cf. Dedekind) is a mistake which comes from looking on the Numbers as magnitudes, and not realising the truth attained so long ago in Greek philosophy that they are Universals. A parallel mistake would be to treat 'triangularity,' 'squareness,' etc., etc., as figures, misled by the linguistic equivalence to them of 'the Triangle,' 'the Square,' etc.

² As is well known, there are two criticisms in the *Metaphysics* of the Platonic theory of Ideas, one in bk. A, and another in bk. M. The second is a kind of revised and expanded version of the first: in some places it is a mere duplicate, lengthy passages being repeated word for word. It is noteworthy that whereas the version in bk. M has an introduction

When in this latter all Ideas were identified with Ideas of number, as Ideas of numbers they would be still *ἀσύμβλητοι*, and it is exactly on their numerical side and not as mere Ideas that the epithet belongs to them and is relevant. Accordingly when Aristotle attacks the Idea-numbers, he speaks of them as *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί*, and while he of course points out the absurdity of identifying with Ideas of number Ideas of things which cannot be mere number, such as Man and Animal, most of his criticisms have nothing to do with this aspect of the Idea-numbers, but relate to their numerical aspect as Ideas of numbers solely, and the other aspect might be altogether non-existent as far as these criticisms are concerned.

From his treatment of the conception of *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί* it must be gathered that Aristotle did not appreciate the truth conveyed in it. Possibly the form in which he presents it is a perversion current in the Academy, but if he had recognised the valuable side of it, we should expect him to say so.

His attack turns mainly on the assumption that while the units in one Ideal number could not be added to those of another, this constituting them *ἀσύμβλητοι*, each of them consisted of units which were added together within the number itself. He gives this as if it were but a statement of the Platonists' own view. In his division of possible opinions he gives first the one that the *μονάδες* were all *ἀσύμβλητοι*, but

which may well imply the writer held it not strictly accurate to speak of the Idea-number theory as if due to Plato himself, as was done in the first version—*περὶ δὲ τῶν ἰδεῶν πρῶτον αὐτὴν τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν δοῦσαν ἐπισκεπτέον, μηδὲν συνάπτοντας πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀριθμῶν φύσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπέλαβον ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς ἰδέας φήσαντες εἶναι* (1078^a 9), later on in the same book the conception of *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί* is attributed to Plato. Cf. 1083^b 33, *εἰ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ὥσπερ Πλάτων εἰλεγειν ἔχειν τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς, καὶ εἶναι τινα δυάδα πρῶτην καὶ τριάδα καὶ οὐ συμβλητοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἀριθμούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. This so far confirms the view which is now put forward. But the important point is the contention that the conception of the *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί* even if formulated by those who originated the Idea-number theory depends on the principles of the earlier theory alone.

The impression that the writer of the second version wishes to dissociate the name of Plato from the Idea-number theory, is confirmed by another interesting circumstance. The second version while repeating the greater part of a long passage at the beginning of the first version nearly word for word, omits a little way down in the context that passage in the earlier version which involves the identification of Plato's Idea theory with the Idea-number theory and substitutes for it some different matter.

says expressly that it was an opinion which no one had held.

Now, as has been shewn above, the considerations which make it impossible that a Universal of number, such as 'fourness,' or 'the number Four,' should consist of Universals of number added together—'twoness to twoness' or 'the number Two' to 'the number Two,' make it impossible that any Universal of number, *i.e.* any one of the Numbers, should consist of units added together, for that would involve that there should be more than one universal 'oneness.'

The two thoughts are inseparable; and it is hardly conceivable that the philosopher whose penetration enabled him to appreciate one side of the truth should have failed to see the other. But it is very credible that a conception, so remote from ordinary habits of mind, should be imperfectly understood by disciples.

The alternative, *πάσας τὰς μονάδας εἶναι ἀσυμβλήτους*, which Aristotle says no one maintained, would not in any case represent the true theory: for of course, as we have seen, that no more admits of a plurality of 'oneness' than of 'twoness': that is, just as there is *the* *δύας* but not *δυνάδες* in the plural, so there would be *the* *μονάς* but not *μονάδες*.

Bonitz in a footnote (p. 555) to his commentary on *Met. M. viii.* has remarked that Aristotle's criticisms are not well directed because those who held the theory of *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί* would not consider them as each composed of added units. But the objection as Bonitz puts it is mistaken, for it is based upon his view that the *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί* were in no sense numbers and had nothing really numerical about them. Thus he supposes that the Platonists could not represent them as composed of units because they did not mean them to be ideas of real number at all. 'Etenim is qui eos numeros, quos pro principiis ponat, *ἀσυμβλήτους* esse dicit, ipsam numerorum naturam manifesto tollit.' Owing to the same mistake he supposes Aristotle's proper course would have been to shew that the conception of *ἀριθμὸς ἀσύμβλητος* was self-contradictory.

§ 4.—Meaning and origin of the doctrine of τὰ μεταξύ.

Before discussing the meaning of the *πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον* and certain other subjects connected with the Ideal numbers, it will be best for the confirmation of the

view put forward about the *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί* to pass to another doctrine of later Platonism, that of τὰ μεταξύ; or the doctrine that the objects of mathematical science were neither Ideas nor particulars of sense, but something between the two; for this may be shewn to be the outcome, though a mistaken one, of the same kind of thinking as that which produced the *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί* combined with Plato's theory of the object of scientific knowledge.

The passage of Aristotle which helps most towards ascertaining the real meaning and origin of the conception of τὰ μεταξύ is the following from *Metaph. A. vi.* 987^b 14:—*ἔτι δὲ παρὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ τὰ εἶδη τὰ μαθηματικὰ τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι φησι μεταξύ, διαφέροντα τῶν μὲν αἰσθητῶν τῷ ἀίδια καὶ ἀκίνητα εἶναι, τῶν δὲ εἰδῶν τῷ τὰ μὲν πόλλ' ἅττα ὅμοια εἶναι, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτὸ ἐν ἑκάστον μόνον.* cp. 1002^b 15 τὰ μὲν μαθηματικὰ τῶν δεῦρο ἄλλῃ μὲν τι διαφέρει, τῷ δὲ πόλλ' ἅττα ὁμοειδῆ εἶναι οὐδὲν διαφέρει.

Plato's view as it appears in his writings is that the sciences in the strict sense dealt with Universals only, or, in his language, with 'Ideas' only; with the Idea, *e.g.* of the Circle and not with particular circles. But there is only one 'Idea' of the circle, and so if geometry were of that alone there would be no possibility of a proposition about two or more circles. Similarly in arithmetic, if the only Two to be had was the Idea, there is only one such, and yet in some sense arithmetic requires a plurality of twos. This difficulty is not realised, much less provided for, in the writings of Plato:¹ but it seems to explain both the meaning and the origin of the conception of τὰ μεταξύ. For this can be understood if we suppose it contrived, whether by Plato or a disciple, to meet the difficulty above stated.²

It was probably held that geometry could not really be of the Idea of the Circle which was only one, and must be of some plurality of circles. But the Platonic doctrine was retained that the objects of science were eternal, unchangeable (and perfect), and not the fleeting (and imperfect) particulars of sense: so these manifold circles were considered as eternal (and perfect). In this they were like the Idea of the circle, τῷ

¹ See below, § 8, on *διάνοια* and *μαθηματική* in the *Republic*.

² The writer finds that his friend Mr. J. A. Smith, of Balliol College, has independently arrived at much the same result; and also shares the opinion that the conception of *ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί* was connected with Platonism in general, and not specially with the Idea-number theory.

αἰδία καὶ ἀκίνητα εἶναι, while as a plurality they were so far like the circles of perception, τῷ πᾶσι ἅτα ὁμοία εἶναι. And so for all the objects of mathematics in general whether numbers or figures.¹

Thus the number with which Mathematics deal was called μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμὸς in distinction from the ἀριθμοὶ ἀσύμβλητοι and said to be μεταξύ, or between ideal numbers and concrete numbers.

The doctrine may possibly have been developed by the later Platonists who originated the Idea-number theory, but in itself it is the natural product of the line of thought which produced the conception of the ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί, and has nothing to do with the reduction of all Ideas to Ideas of number.

There were different forms of the Idea-number theory, and of the first form it is said in *Metaph.* M. 1086^a 10, ὁ δὲ πρῶτος θέμενος τὰ εἶδη εἶναι καὶ ἀριθμούς τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ μαθηματικά² εὐλόγως ἐχώρισεν. This means as the context shows that whereas a later

¹ τὰ μεταξύ undoubtedly included geometrical figures as well as number. Cp. *Met.* B. ii. 997^b 2 τὰ μεταξύ, περὶ ἃ τὰς μαθηματικὰς εἶναι φασιν ἐπιστήμας, where μαθηματικὰς ἐπιστήμας must include geometry. This seems also the clear implication of what is said of geometry in 997^b 26 sqq. Compare also *Metaph.* A. ix. 991^b 27, quoted below,—περὶ δὲ ἡ ἀριθμητική, καὶ πάντα τὰ μεταξύ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τινων, which shews that τὰ μεταξύ comprises more than ἀριθμητική.

It would not be necessary to mention this were it not that *Met.* B. ii. 992^b 13 sqq. might cause a difficulty: οὐδένα δ' ἔχει λόγον οὐδὲ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς ἀριθμούς, μήκη καὶ ἐπιπέδα καὶ στερεά, οὐτε ὅπως ἔστιν ἢ ἔσται οὐτε τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐτε εἶδη οἶον τε εἶναι, οὐ γὰρ εἰσιν ἀριθμοί, οὐτε τὰ μεταξύ, μαθηματικά γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, οὐτε τὰ φθαρτά, ἀλλὰ πάλιν τέταρτον ἄλλο φαίνεται τοῦτό τι γένος. Here it is implied that geometrical objects, in some sense, are not included in τὰ μαθηματικά, and so are not among τὰ μεταξύ. But Aristotle is not referring to the ordinary form of the doctrine of τὰ μεταξύ. He is attacking certain Platonists who, while identifying all Ideas with numbers, and retaining the view of the intermediacy of the objects of mathematical science, put, it may be supposed, the Universals of geometrical figures not among the Ideas (which were numbers), but a degree below them (μετὰ), thus introducing a fourth kind of object between the Ideas and τὰ μαθηματικά. The geometrical figures which were objects of geometry would still be found in the μαθηματικά. For these Platonists see 1080^b 23, where Aristotle, after noticing certain differences among the Platonists about Ideal and Mathematical Number, says there were differences also about geometrical objects: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ μήκη καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐπιπέδα καὶ περὶ τὰ στερεά. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕτερα τὰ μαθηματικά καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὰς ιδέας, which shews that they had two kinds of geometrical objects, one the mathematical and the other μετὰ τὰς ιδέας. Cp. also 1025^b 25, where these philosophers are distinguished from Plato and Speusippus:—ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶδη καὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν φασὶ φύσιν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐχόμενα, γραμμὰς καὶ ἐπιπέδα κ.τ.λ.

² Omitting with Christ the εἶναι after μαθηματικά.

form of the Idea-number theory abandoned the distinction between Ideal number and mathematical number (1086^a 6, sqq.), the earliest form (cf. ὁ πρῶτος) maintained it. This does not necessarily imply that the distinction itself originated with the Platonists in question.

In *Metaph.* A. ix. 991^b 27, Aristotle criticising the Idea-number theory objects to it that it would necessitate the invention of another kind of number for the purpose of ἀριθμητική, and indeed the whole sphere of τὰ μεταξύ, a conception which he holds fraught with difficulty:—ἔτι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἕτερόν τι γένος ἀριθμοῦ κατασκευάζειν, περὶ δὲ ἡ ἀριθμητική, καὶ πάντα τὰ μεταξύ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τινων.³

This objection does not the least necessitate that the μεταξύ theory should have been a special consequence of the Idea-number theory as such. Aristotle is attacking the latter generally,—finding all the objections he can to it, and this objection would be relevant because the Idea-numbers in this later theory were of course ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί⁴ and as such seemed to provide no object (as has already been explained) for mathematical operations. Any wrong inference from this passage is corrected by Aristotle's own statements, above quoted from *Metaph.* 987^b 14 and 1002^b 15 which indicate that the μεταξύ theory simply originated in the necessity of finding a plurality for mathematics as against the absolute unity of the mere Idea of a figure or a number. It is perhaps significant (though no great stress need be laid on it) that in all the passages where τὰ μεταξύ in general, and not merely μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμὸς, are opposed to the Ideal world, the latter is designated by εἶδη or ιδέαι not ἀριθμοί (except in one which in a way combines both), and there are a considerable number of them—987^b 14, 995^b 16, 997^b 2, 998^a 7, 1002^b 12, 1028^b 20, 1059^b 6, 1069^a 35. Even in the exceptional passage, 992^b 16, the division is still into εἶδη, τὰ μεταξύ, and τὰ φθαρτά, the text implying in this case that the εἶδη are ἀριθμοί. So that it seems as if in any case the usual formula for the division had εἶδη, not ἀριθμοί. See the discussion below of the phrase εἰδητικὸς ἀριθμὸς.

In *Metaph.* N. iii. 1090^b 32, ὁ μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμὸς, which is one part of τὰ μεταξύ, is said to be μεταξύ τοῦ εἰδητικοῦ (sc. ἀριθμοῦ) καὶ

³ The editors have a comma after κατασκευάζειν and none after ἀριθμητική which gives what seems a wrong sense.

⁴ See above, § 3, paragraph 3.

τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ. The contrast here not being with mathematical Ideas in general but only with Ideal number, the substitution for εἰδῶν of an expression such as εἰδητικός ἀριθμός would be natural, even if Aristotle had not, as he may have in this place, the Idea-number theory before him. The expression in itself need not mean anything more than Ideal Number, as will be seen later on.¹ It may indeed refer to the Idea-numbers, but there is nothing in this passage any more than in the one above discussed, *Metaph.* 991^b 27, to prove that the conception of τὰ μεταξύ is only a consequence of the Idea-number theory.

§ 5.—On τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον in the ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί.

We may next consider the meaning of the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον assigned to Ideal Number. It has been said that the text of *Metaph.* M. vi. 1080^b 11 sqq. (quoted above, § 1, init.) is vindicated against Trendelenburg's insertion of μή before ἔχοντα τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον [due to his mistake about the interpretation of *N. Eth.* I. vi] and that the statement in it that Ideal Number contains 'the Before and After' is explicable, because 'Bonitz and others have clearly proved that τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον was a technical term in the ideal arithmetic for the relation of the factor (τὸ γεννῶν) to the product (τὸ γεννώμενον).' It is difficult to understand how this opinion in this precise form could be attributed to Bonitz. Bonitz in consequence of his mistaken notion that there was nothing really numerical about the Idea-Numbers thought their order must be one of quality (de ordine quodam qualitatis agi) and not a numerical one at all. This seems inconsistent with supposing that order to be one of factor and product, nor does there seem to be evidence of such a view in Bonitz' commentary. Zeller, it is true, makes the relation of πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον that of factor and product in some sense; and this passes with him in a confused way into a purely qualitative distinction,² with which latter Bonitz would agree. But Zeller's defence of the text turns solely on the circumstance that there is abundant evidence in the *Metaphysics* that some kind of πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον was attributed to the Ideal Numbers and not at all upon his theory of what kind it was.

¹ See § 8,—On the expression εἰδητικός ἀριθμός.

² So also Schwegler, note on *Metaph.* B iii. 16. See below note to paragraph 5.

However there is in any case a misunderstanding. A simple and sufficient explanation of the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον is indicated by the Aristotelian text itself (in which it may be remarked the technical distinction of γεννῶν and γεννώμενον as factor and product does not even occur): whereas the one proposed is entirely inapplicable to the ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί rightly understood, is not really applicable even to the later Idea-number theory, as will be seen, and at any rate is not necessary for either. The Ideas of numbers, as being the Universals of number and therefore ἀσύμβλητοι, are as ἀσύμβλητοι entirely outside one another, in the sense that none is a part of another. Thus they form a series of different terms, which have a definite order (ἔχουσι τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον). They are nothing but what mathematicians call 'the series of natural Numbers,' where the definite article is right, because there is only one such series, consisting as it does of Universals each of which is unique. The order of this series is obviously enough to explain the passages in the *Metaphysics*, and enough for the requirements of the argument attributed to the Platonists in the *Ethics*.

This view is fully confirmed by *Metaph.* M. vi, where the order of the Idea-numbers, which, as has been said, are treated on their numerical side as Ideas of number, is closely associated with the fact that they are ἀσύμβλητοι, and not with any sort of γένεσις of them. Thus according to 1080^a 17, if there is a kind of number such that τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τι αὐτοῦ τὸ δ' ἐχόμενον, the numerical elements in such order must be ἀσύμβλητοι. Two cases are possible. Either the elements are μονάδες, and then, if these have an order of πρότερον καὶ ἐχόμενον, they must be all ἀσύμβλητοι. Or the elements are the Numbers; and here the Numbers as forming a series with πρῶτον and ἐχόμενον must be ἀσύμβλητοι with one another, that is, the units in any Number must not be συμβληταί with those of another, though its own units are συμβληταί within itself. In this case we have μετὰ τὸ ἐν πρώτῃ³ ἢ δυάς, ἔπειτα ἢ τριάς, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ὁ ἄλλος ἀριθμός—i.e. 'the series of natural Numbers.' The mutual exclusiveness, caused by their being ἀσύμβλητοι, which enables them to form a series is expressly put

³ Christ would emend either to ἢ πρώτῃ δυάς or ἢ δυάς ἢ πρώτῃ. But the text is doubtless sound, for πρώτῃ corresponds to ἔπειτα. That πρώτῃ should be assigned to δυάς in another sense in the same context ought to cause no difficulty. Such carelessness is common in Aristotle, and there are far harsher instances to be found than this.

thus:—οὗτος δὲ (sc. ὁ ἀριθμός) μετὰ τὸ ἐν δύο ἕτερα ἄνευ τοῦ ἐνὸς τοῦ πρώτου, καὶ ἡ τριάς ἄνευ τῆς δυνάδος, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ἀριθμός. Thus if there is a serial order of the Numbers they must be ἀσύμβλητοι. And the converse of this is put. In contrast to the number which exhibits an order, the number which does not exhibit an order is such that all units in it are συμβληταί (1080^a 20), and this is the μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμός (* 21 cp. 1081^a 5). The inclusiveness of one number in another in the μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμός, which prevents it from having the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον,¹ is put thus (1080^a 30) διὸ καὶ ὁ μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμὸς ἀριθμεῖται μετὰ τὸ ἐν δύο, πρὸς τῷ ἐμπροσθεν ἐνὶ ἄλλο ἐν, καὶ τὰ τρία πρὸς τοῖς δυοὶ τοῖτοις ἄλλο ἐν, καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς δὲ ὡσαύτως. Thus clearly the property of being ἀσύμβλητος is sufficient and necessary to constitute a kind of ἀριθμός a series with πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον. A little below in the same context the production of numbers out of certain elements, according to some philosophers is alluded to:—οἱ λέγοντες τὸ ἐν ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ οὐσίαν καὶ στοιχεῖα πάντων, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμόν: but no attempt is made to connect the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον with this.

We may now consider what is found on the γένεσις of number in other places, so far as it concerns the question of the priority of factor to product. The derivation of numbers from τὸ ἐν and ἡ ἀόριστος δυνάς as elements, whether original or adapted from some Pythagorean source, may perhaps belong to the fantastic Platonism which identified all Ideas with Numbers, and these elements may be accordingly regarded as a sort of arithmetical translation of πέρας and ἄπειρον, owing to the Pythagorean association of the former with τὸ ἐν and the latter with the dyad. The description however of the process did not remain a mere metaphor, but got a kind of arithmetical expression though but a vague one. The ἀόριστος δυνάς appears as an operating factor, the effect of which is to double what it operates upon, and so it is δυοποιός (1082^a 10). Thus in distinction from the ὀρισμένη δυνάς, which is the number Two and the abstraction of 'Twoness,' it really comes to be the abstraction of 'Twiceness.' Accordingly by combination of τὸ ἐν with the ἀόριστος δυνάς is produced the number Two, the δυνάς, and by the operation of the ἀόριστος δυνάς on this

again, the number Four. By successive operations of this kind on successive results there arises the series of even numbers which are powers of Two. This would not yield the odd numbers, or the even ones which have an odd factor. Aristotle expressly notes this as a difficulty in *Metaph. M. iii.* 1091^a 10 (cf. ^a22), and we may infer that the theory was originally vague enough to be open to his objection.

Another passage seems to indicate that an attempt to remedy the defect had been made by adding other principles. In *Metaph. M. viii.* 1084^a 3 Aristotle says, in an objection, ἡ δὲ γένεσις τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἢ περιττοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἢ ἀρτίου αἰεὶ ἐστίν, ὥδι μὲν τοῦ ἐνὸς εἰς τὸν ἄρτιον πίπτοντος περιττός, ὥδι δὲ τῆς μὲν δυνάδος (sc. τῆς ἀορίστου) ἐμπιπτούσης ὁ ἀφ' ἐνὸς διπλασιαζόμενος, ὥδι δὲ τῶν περιττῶν ὁ ἄλλος ἄρτιος. The odd numbers are produced by the operation of τὸ ἐν on an even number, in the way of addition: the other even numbers (ὁ ἄλλος ἄρτιος) which do not arise from the operation of the ἀόριστος δυνάς, above explained, have their γένεσις described in ὥδι δὲ τῶν περιττῶν κ.τ.λ. This we might expect to be the operation of the ἀόριστος δυνάς on odd numbers, and so Bonitz understands it: but the Greek is not suited to this, and rather suggests τῶν περιττῶν ἐμπιπτόντων εἰς τὸν ἄρτιον, which, understood of multiplication, would give the desired result. However the text is elliptical, for after ἐμπιπτούσης is to be understood εἰς τὸ ἐν as well as εἰς τὸν ἄρτιον. This account involves addition as well as multiplication, and if therefore the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον had to be explained by it, that formula could not be confined to the relation between 'factor (γεννῶν) and product (γεννώμενον).' Thus the proposed explanation of τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον, the one which seems to be a part² of Zeller's, fails even in the case most favourable to it.

In the case of what may be supposed to be the original meaning of the ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί such a genesis whether by multiplication or addition is not to be thought of. It may be argued, as before, that the philosopher who grasped the truth expressed in the phrase ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί, could not have regarded them as generated by multiplication or addition: that would be too crude a misunderstanding of the principle to which his own insight had led him.

¹ Hence if *Metaph. 999^a 6* referred to the Platonist theory, the ἀριθμός there spoken of could only be μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμός. But there is really no reference to Platonism in the passage: see below, § 7.

² Zeller's utterances however (*Phil. d. Gr.* 3rd Edn. ii. 1. p. 570) are very confused. It is not necessary to discuss the nature of the confusion, as he has misunderstood the meaning of the ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί and of the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον.

It is true that the *γένεσις* theory of some other Platonists involves a *πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον* of factor and product and a *πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον* of part and whole in the way of addition, and Aristotle makes use of the former kind in criticisms, as in 1082^a 26, and elsewhere. But though he often refers to the *γένεσις* from τὸ ἐν and ἡ ἀόριστος δυνάς he never says that the *πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον* characteristic of the ἀσύμβλητοι ἀριθμοί in the Platonist theory was either relative to multiplication or relative to addition, or relative to any sort of *γένεσις*; but, as we have seen he connects the order of these numbers solely with the fact that they are ἀσύμβλητοι. To the passages already quoted for this, another *Met. M. vii. 1081^a 17 sqq.* may be added, partly misunderstood both by ancient and modern commentators,¹ the key to which is that if all μονάδες are ἀσύμβλητοι they necessarily form a series in which one is before another in order, according to the principle already enunciated, as we have seen, in *Met. M. vi. 1080^a 18*. Here of course there could be no question of the production of μονάδες by multiplication.

The Idea-numbers then, as Ideas of number are ἀσύμβλητοι, and as Ideas of number have the *πρότερον* and *ὕστερον* of the serial order of 'the natural Numbers.'

§ 6.—On the meaning of ἀριθμῶν in *Nic. Eth. I. vi.*

The question now naturally presents itself, Are the ἀριθμοί in *Nic. Eth. I. vi.* the Ideas of number as in the Ideal theory represented by Plato's writings, or are they the Idea-numbers of later Platonism? It is evident that what is said in this chapter of the *Ethics* is true of both stages of the theory, and it is hardly possible to decide which stage Aristotle had in mind. There is no trace either here or anywhere else in the *Ethics* of the Idea-number theory. In the corresponding chapter of the *Eudemian Ethics*, there is a reference to it, but not in the part which corresponds to the passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* on the *πρότερον καὶ*

ὕστερον in the ἀριθμοί. It is in an argument added by the author of the *Eudemian Ethics* on his own account, and stands in contrast to the *Nicomachean Ethics* because it bases a criticism of the Idea theory upon its later number form, a thing never done in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. But even if the reference had been in a passage which had a counterpart in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, it would not in the least settle the bearing of the Aristotelian text, such additions being quite in the Eudemian manner. But the really important matter is that even if Aristotle had the Idea-numbers in mind, what he says of them, as is evident from the foregoing investigation, applies to their numerical aspect as Ideas of numbers, and not at all to them as Idea-numbers. Besides if he were regarding them as Ideas without any reference to a numerical character and as standing in an order of *πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον* according to some principle not numerical² he would surely have written ἰδεῶν and not ἀριθμῶν, the latter word being in such a context merely irrelevant and confusing.

§ 7.—On the Interpretation of *Metaph. B iii. 999^a 6*.

Some have held that τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἀριθμῶν here refers to the μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμός, others that it refers to the εἰδητικὸς ἀριθμός. If the choice were really between these alternatives, it is obvious that the only possible one would be that εἰδητικὸς ἀριθμός was intended, since, as has been seen (§ 5), μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμός does not admit of the *πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον*. But the truth is both of these contentions are irrelevant, for in this place Aristotle has not even got the Platonist distinction of μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμός from the ἀσύμβλητος ἀριθμός before him: he is not criticising anything specially Platonic, and he is speaking in the language of his own philosophy.

The passage before us belongs to a series of questions about ἀρχαί raised at the beginning of bk. B of the *Metaphysics*. In the preceding chapter (ch. 2) Aristotle has considered the Platonic theory. In the present chapter (ch. 3) he passes from that to a general question περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν which has no special reference to Platonism as such—

² The current expression 'logical order,' which we often use for some order not a time order, is vague. It seems properly to mean an order determined by some principle or conception, and thus should include every kind of numerical order, to which nevertheless it is sometimes opposed.

¹ ἅμα γὰρ αἱ ἐν τῇ δυνάδι τῇ πρώτῃ μονάδες γεννῶνται. The meaning of an objection brought in these words is that in the process of *γένεσις* referred to the μονάδες would have to be coordinate, whereas (ex hyp.) as ἀσύμβλητοι one must be necessarily prior to the other. Christ notices that Alexander thinks ἡ γὰρ ἅμα preferable, and himself conjectures ἅμα γὰρ αἱ ἐν τῇ δυνάδι πρώτῃ καὶ αἱ ἐν τῇ τριάδι μονάδες, which can hardly be due to anything else than a misunderstanding. Bonitz appears to have taken the place rightly, but perhaps has not brought the point out clearly enough to prevent Christ's misconception.

πότερον δὲ τὰ γένη στοιχεῖα καὶ ἀρχαὶς ὑπολαμβάνειν ἢ μᾶλλον ἐξ ὧν ἐνυπαρχόντων ἐστὶν ἕκαστον πρῶτον. After an aporematic discussion of this (998^a 20—^b 13) he proposes in the present context (998^b 14 *sqq.*) the question whether, supposing the γένη really were ἀρχαί these would be the highest γένη or the 'infimae species,'—πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰ καὶ μάλιστα ἀρχαί τὰ γένη εἰσὶ, πότερον δὲ νομίζειν τὰ πρῶτα τῶν γενῶν ἀρχαῖς ἢ τὰ ἔσχατα κατηγορούμενα ἐπὶ τῶν ἀτόμων; On this again there is a set of aporematic arguments, the first part of them being directed against the claims of the highest γένη. To this part belongs the passage on the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον: and it is immediately preceded by an argument the analysis of which will shew how remote is the consideration of anything Platonic. τὸ ὄν and τὸ ἐν having been given as examples of γένη which might seem suited beyond all others to be ἀρχαί, a subtle attempt is made to reduce the view that τὸ ἐν could be an ἀρχή to a contradiction (999^a 1—6). If, it is said, τὸ ἀδιαίρετον is ἐν, then the infima species as being ἀδιαίρετον (*sc. κατ' εἶδος*) has a better title to be considered a ἐν (and so an ἀρχή) than τὸ ἐν itself, because this latter as a γένος is διαιρετὸν εἰς εἶδη. Then follows the passage in question:—ἐτι ἐν οἷς τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερόν ἐστιν, οὐχ οἷον τε τὸ ἐπὶ τούτων εἶναι τι παρὰ ταῦτα, οἷον εἰ πρώτη τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἡ δυνάς, οὐκ ἔσται τις ἀριθμὸς παρὰ τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἀριθμῶν ὁμοίως δὲ οὐδὲ σχῆμα παρὰ τὰ εἶδη τῶν σχημάτων. Here τὸ ἐπὶ τούτων means the common predicate of certain species. εἶδη does not mean 'Ideas' but simply species as contrasted with the γένος. Aristotle is maintaining that the common predicate of εἶδη which stand in the relation of πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον cannot be something separable (παρά) from each species and abstractable from it, in the sense that each of them contains not only what this predicate means, but also something more. Thus figure, σχῆμα, is predicated of the various species of figure, τὰ εἶδη τῶν σχημάτων, the triangle, the quadrilateral, etc., but 'triangle' is not figure together with something else other than figure. 'Triangle' contains nothing but what is comprised in 'figure,' so that if we abstract 'figure' from 'triangle,' no differentia of it is left. Or, if we leave any such, what is left is a determination of 'figure,' and so 'figure' is left and has not been abstracted. Similarly for the εἶδη τῶν ἀριθμῶν, the various species of number, that is the Numbers Two, Three, Four, etc., the common predicate number is not τι παρὰ ταῦτα; if we abstract 'number' or numerical-

ness from Two, no differentia of it is left.

This has no connexion whatever with the Platonist distinction of ἀσύμβλητος ἀριθμὸς and μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμὸς, nor is there any reference to Platonism as such.

Though the principle ἐτι ἐν οἷς τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον κ.τ.λ. was, as we learn from the *Ethics*, one recognised by the Platonists, it was also recognised by Aristotle and is here put as his own view. In a familiar passage also from the *Politics* (1275^a 34 *sqq.*) quoted by Zeller, Aristotle puts the view as his own and argues from it. Similarly εἰ πρώτη τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἡ δυνάς has nothing to do with Platonism, but simply means that the number Two comes first in the series of Numbers. Nor has the passage anything to do with the notion of a γένεσις not completed till an ἄτομον εἶδος is reached.

The inseparableness of the generic predicate from species which stand in a certain relative order is an example of a more general principle. If a generic notion is such as to include within itself the differentiae of certain given species, then none of the species contain anything outside (παρά) and distinguishable from what is contained in the given notion: so that to abstract the determination represented by that notion from the species is to take the differentiae as well. The species, it is true, may be said to agree with one another in the genus, but what they differ in is not something outside the genus but it also belongs to the genus. What red and blue agree in is colour, but what they differ in is also colour. The general principle is appreciated by Aristotle and is the basis of the argument—perhaps not always understood—which he urges at the end of *Nic. Ethics* I. vi. 1096^b 23. The goods agree in goodness, but they do not therefore differ in something which is not goodness but just in goodness. Hence the definition of the goodness of one good is different from the definition of the goodness of another: which of course prevents there being one single criterion of all good.

The case of the πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον falls under this general principle, because the differentiae in respect of order are comprised in the generic notion itself as is obviously the case with the generic notion of number.¹

¹ Eudemus' attempt to explain this case in *Eud. Eth.* I. viii., where he reproduces *Nic. Eth.* I. vi. 1096^a 17 *sqq.*, is an entire misunderstanding.

§ 8.—On the expression εἰδητικός ἀριθμός.

It seems always assumed, perhaps without a sufficient examination of the evidence, that εἰδητικός ἀριθμός was the special designation of the Idea-numbers as such. It may have been so, but it is not clear that this was the original meaning of the phrase or even that Aristotle uses it in this special reference.

The conception of 'mathematical number,' as distinguished from 'Ideal number,' arises, as we have seen, out of the earlier Platonic theory of Ideas and not out of the later Idea-number theory. That number from which 'mathematical number' was distinguished was then simply the 'Ideas,' ἰδέαι or εἶδη, of number, in true reference to number. If a collective expression for the εἶδη τῶν ἀριθμῶν, parallel to the collective μαθηματικός ἀριθμός was wanted, εἰδητικός ἀριθμός might very naturally suggest itself. It would be neater and more convenient than οἱ ἐν τοῖς εἶδεσι ἀριθμοί which occurs in *Metaph.* N. vi. 1093^b 21, and that such a terminology should spring up in this way is no more than might be expected. If this were so, when later the Ideas of number became the Idea-numbers, they would in opposition to μαθηματικός ἀριθμός still be called εἰδητικός ἀριθμός in the same sense as before.

The three Aristotelian passages in which εἰδητικός ἀριθμός is named, *Metaph.* M. ix. 1086^a 2 *sqq.* and N. iii. 1090^b 32 *sqq.*, are compatible with this view: they favour it but hardly prove it.

In 1086^a 2 there comes first a statement about certain Platonists who acknowledged only one kind of number, the μαθηματικός ἀριθμός:—οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ μαθηματικά μόνον ποιοῦντες παρὰ τὰ αἰσθητά, ὀρῶντες τὴν περὶ τὰ εἶδη δυσχέρειαν καὶ πλάσιν, ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰδητικοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν ἐποίησαν. The difficulty referred to is not one which arose out of the identification of all Ideas with the Ideas of numbers, but solely out of the distinction of an Ideal number from a mathematical, and there is no reason whatever why εἰδητικός ἀριθμός should mean anything but Ideal number, in the sense of Ideas of number proper. εἰδητικός just corresponds to τὰ εἶδη in the preceding clause. Next we are told that certain Platonists who identified all the Ideas with Ideas of numbers acknowledged only the εἰδητικός ἀριθμός and rejected the μαθηματικός:—οἱ δὲ τὰ εἶδη βουλόμενοι ἅμα καὶ ἀριθμοὺς ποιεῖν, οὐχ ὀρῶντες δὲ εἰ τὰς ἀρχάς τις ταύτας¹ θήσεται, πῶς ἔσται ὁ μαθηματικός

παρὰ τὸν εἰδητικόν, τὸν αὐτὸν εἰδητικόν καὶ μαθηματικόν ἐποίησαν ἀριθμὸν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐπεὶ ἔργῳ γ' ἀνήρηται ὁ μαθηματικός. Here again εἰδητικός is defined by its opposition to μαθηματικός. With these Platonists, of course, εἰδητικός ἀριθμός, even if properly meaning Ideal number, would include all Ideas because they reduced all Ideas to Ideal numbers; yet it was not from this point of view that they rejected μαθηματικός ἀριθμός, but from considerations of number as number: and so in this passage too there is no reason why Aristotle should be using εἰδητικός ἀριθμός in any other sense than that of Ideal number.

A second passage, 1090^b 32, is as follows:—οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι δύο τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ποιήσαντες, τὸν τε τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν ἄλλον, οὐδαμῶς οὐτ' ἐρήκασιν οὐτ' ἔχουεν ἂν εἰπεῖν πῶς καὶ ἐκ τίνος ἔσται ὁ μαθηματικός. ποιοῦσι γὰρ αὐτὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ εἰδητικοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ μικροῦ, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκέλευε ἔσται τῷ τῶν ἰδεῶν κ.τ.λ. Here εἰδητικός ἀριθμός is the equivalent of τὸν τῶν εἰδῶν in the previous sentence, and of τῷ τῶν ἰδεῶν in the following one, and corresponds to τὰ εἶδη in the parallel place 987^b 15 (where, as we have seen, the origin of the conception of μεταξύ is not put in connexion with anything which concerns the Idea-number theory, but with a difficulty arising from the ideas of number as such), and the meaning 'Ideal number' is the only one required in the passage and the most suitable.

The remaining passage is 1088^b 29:—ἐάν τε τὸν εἰδητικὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν (*sc.* τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ τῆς ἀρίστου δυνάδος) ποίωσιν, ἐάν τε τὸν μαθηματικόν. Here also the only meaning of εἰδητικός ἀριθμός which is relevant is that of Ideas of number and not that of Idea-numbers.

In this matter the usage of the Greek Commentators does not carry us farther than the Aristotelian text. εἰδητικοὶ ἀριθμοί would be a convenient formula for Idea-numbers as opposed to numbers in the ordinary sense, and may therefore have come to be the equivalent of Idea-numbers with them, and it should be noticed that the plural εἰδητικοὶ ἀριθμοί which they use never seems to occur in Aristotle but only the singular collective εἰδητικός ἀριθμός.

§ 9.—Is the doctrine of τὰ μεταξύ to be found in Plato's 'Republic'?

In the familiar passage at the end of the Sixth Book of Plato's *Republic*, διάνοια which is concerned with the objects of mathematics

¹ There is a curious slip here in the Teubner edition:—ταύτας codd. edd., ταῦτας emendavi.

(though as will be seen not with these alone) is said to be between νοῦς and δόξα, the latter being concerned with the αἰσθητά; and the objects of διάνοια are somehow between the νοητά and αἰσθητά. The field of διάνοια is treated by Ueberweg as if it corresponded to the τὰ μεταξύ of the *Metaphysics*, and accordingly he puts in it τὰ μαθηματικά which are not ἰδέαι, the ἰδέαι being confined to the upper division of νοητά corresponding to νοῦς. If this were right it would be extraordinary that Aristotle should in the *Metaphysics* make no kind of reference to the *Republic* or to its terminology. But there is really no such doctrine in the *Republic*. The objects of διάνοια are ἰδέαι, and διάνοια itself is a faculty of apprehending universals in clear distinction from any perception of particulars. Moreover—though this is of less importance—τὰ μαθηματικά do not constitute the whole of the objects of διάνοια. A careful examination of the text of the *Republic* can hardly leave any doubt on these points. Perhaps some misunderstanding might arise from the fact that one of the distinctions Plato makes between the objects of διάνοια and νοῦς is in the manner in which they are studied and not in the objects themselves. The objects of διάνοια are studied with the help of sensible objects, i.e. figures, etc. perceived by the senses. But the text clearly distinguishes between the object really studied and those sensible objects which are but aids to the study. The geometrical object studied is the original of which the sensible figure is but the copy, and this language in Plato shews that the geometrical object is the ἰδέα:—τοῖς ὁρωμένοις εἶδеси προσχρῶνται... οὐ περὶ τούτων διανοοῦμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων περὶ οἷς ταῦτα εἶκει, and similar expressions. This is made unmistakable by the examples given—τετράγωνος αὐτός, διάμετρος αὐτή, which can only be the ἰδέαι of the τετράγωνος and of the διάμετρος respectively. By his reiteration Plato shews his concern lest we should be misled by the use made of the sensible figures into confounding them with the true objects of mathematics, which are these Universals and these alone—ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτης (τῆς διαμέτρου) ἦν γράφονσι. And it is to these objects and just in this sharp distinction from the objects of sense, i.e. from the particular figures which are drawn to illustrate them, that διάνοια is assigned, as a faculty which is not of the sensible objects: οὐ περὶ τούτων διανοοῦμενοι ἀλλ' ἐκείνων περὶ οἷς ταῦτ' εἶκει, τοῦ τετραγώνου αὐτοῦ, etc. So again ζητούντες τε αὐτὰ ἐκείνα ἰδεῖν ἂν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἴδοι ἢ τῇ διανοίᾳ, where

αὐτὰ ἐκείνα refers to the ἰδέαι of the τετράγωνος of the διάμετρος and such like. Cp. 529 Ε ἃ δὴ λόγῳ μὲν και διανοίᾳ ληπτὰ, ὅφει δ' οὐ; 526 Α, ὧν διανοηθῆναι μόνον ἐγχωρεῖ: 511 Ε, και διανοίᾳ μὲν ἀναγκάζονται ἀλλὰ μὴ αἰσθήσειν αὐτὰ θεᾶσθαι οἱ θεώμενοι.

Notwithstanding these express statements confusion may have been caused perhaps by the reflection that on the one hand Plato makes a use of perceived particulars characteristic of the mathematical procedure, and on the other hand seems to assign διάνοια as the special faculty of the mathematician: whence it might seem διάνοια must include the reference to particulars.

But there ought to be no difficulty. The faculty of mathematical study, as a process of investigation, is not διάνοια: if any name is to be given to it μαθηματική would be the most appropriate. This, as the mathematician's procedure, involves αἰσθησις so far as it employs the sensible figure and διάνοια so far as the Universal is apprehended. διαλεκτική as a process stands in a very similar relation to the two 'faculties' of διάνοια and νοῦς: it is neither, but involves both, as will be seen presently.

If Plato had intended that there should be anything of the nature of sensuous intuition in διάνοια, such, for instance, as some plurality distinguishing its object from the unity of the Universal, he could not have failed to say so, and, in such a context, say it with great clearness: certainly he would never have employed expressions the only natural interpretation of which is the very opposite.

If then the objects of διάνοια are ἰδέαι, how does it differ from νοῦς, and how do its objects differ from νοητά, in the narrower sense of that term? To these questions Plato himself, at the end of *Rep.* vi., supplies a clear answer, and one which once more shews that the objects of διάνοια are ἰδέαι.

He holds that all the Ideas are connected with one another in a system which depends on one Idea, the Idea of the Good. This is the absolute and self-sufficient principle or ἀρχή on which they all depend. The knowledge of this system in its completeness, the ideal at which διαλεκτική aims and which a completed διαλεκτική would realise, is called νοῦς; and thus an ἰδέα is not a νοητόν, in the higher sense as object of νοῦς, unless it is known as a member of this system and therefore in connexion with the ἀρχή. If not seen in this connexion (μετ' ἀρχῆς) its full nature is not apprehended, and, its validity is not really known, because

it is this connexion which alone guarantees validity.

Now in mathematics the Ideas concerned are not entirely without connexion: for by processes of consistent reasoning groups of Ideas are shewn to depend on a limited number of Ideas. But these latter are not connected with one another and the ultimate ἀρχή, the Idea of the Good. Thus though treated as absolute starting-points (ἀρχαί) in mathematics they are not self-sufficient, therefore not absolute but only ὑποθέσεις, and their validity can only be assured when derived from the Idea of the Good. The connexions then between the Ideas in mathematics are not complete, and thus an Idea in it, though seen in some of its connexions with others, is not seen in the completeness of such connexions in the system which depends on the ultimate ἀρχή, and therefore not in the completeness of its own nature.

On this account obviously an Idea as seen in mathematics is not νοητόν; it is not object of νοῦς: and the faculty which apprehends them in this incomplete way though a faculty of Universals, a faculty of thought, not of sense (διανοία καὶ μὴ αἰσθήσασιν), and as thought falling with νοῦς under the general designation νόησις, is inferior to νοῦς. This is the distinction Plato makes between the two faculties when he sums up his result at the end of the sixth book of the *Republic*; and it is the only distinction.

It follows of course that an object of διάνοια when its full nature is apprehended, when, that is, its connexion with the true ἀρχή is seen, is νοητόν in the higher sense, i.e. object of νοῦς; and this is exactly what Plato says:—καίτοι νοητῶν ὄντων μετ' ἀρχῆς. This is a confirmation of the view that the objects of διάνοια are ἰδέαι, for nothing but an ἰδέα can be object of νοῦς.

There are certain characteristics of Plato's terminology which also confirm this result. The sphere of διάνοια is a part of the whole sphere of νοητόν, in opposition to the ὁρατόν (= αἰσθητόν), and διάνοια itself is a species of νόησις in opposition to αἰσθήσις. Now such a passage as that in 507, where it is said τὰς ἰδέας νοεῖσθαι ὁρᾶσθαι δ' οὐ, taken in connexion with this indicates that the objects of νόησις as such are ἰδέαι. Again in the seventh book of the *Republic* the objects of perception which stimulate the mind to the exercise of thought and the discovery of the Universal are called variously παρακλητικά διανοίας and ἐγερτικά νοήσεως (p. 524).

διαλεκτική must not be confused with νοῦς. It is a process which begins with Ideas incompletely connected as seen in διάνοια. It therefore involves the use of this faculty. Its work is to effect more and more connexions between the Ideas and finally effect their full connexion with the ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. Only when this result had been consummated and only when διαλεκτική had finished this work would νοῦς appear. διαλεκτική therefore begins from διάνοια, and its ideal ending is in νοῦς. As already indicated, it is important for the proper interpretation of διάνοια to recognise that διαλεκτική and μαθηματική are processes of investigation to be distinguished from the fourfold division of 'faculties of objects'—as they may be called for want of a better term—νοῦς, διάνοια, πίστις, εἰκασία.

From the general description Plato gives of διαλεκτική taken with the allegory of the Cave it would seem that διαλεκτική in its upward progress brings to light ἰδέαι not found in the field of the sciences. These too, properly speaking, would not be νοητά till the process of διαλεκτική was complete, but Plato has not considered this point. There is another point also omitted in the sixth book, but implied in the allegory of the Cave. From the distinction he makes between διάνοια and νοῦς, it should follow that any ἰδέα whether mathematical or not, before its connexion with the ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ was understood would be object of διάνοια. An important class of these would be the ethical Ideas. Important as these are to him Plato, carried away by his interest in defining the position of the sciences, seems at the end of the sixth book of the *Republic* to have forgotten all about them—great thinkers sometimes do these things. But there is a passage in the Allegory of the Cave which shews that ethical notions are conceived of us having the same kind of gradations in respect of reality and truth as scientific notions:—517 E, περὶ τῶν τοῦ δικαίου σκιῶν ἢ ἀγαλμάτων ὧν αἱ σκιαί, opposed to αὐτὴ δικαιοσύνη.

It may be permissible to add that in a paper read before the Oxford Philological Society in 1892 the writer maintained that the plural γεωμετρίαι in these passages in the *Republic* did not mean Plane and Solid Geometry, but acts or operations of Geometry, and related to γεωμετεῖν just as θεωρίαι to θεωρεῖν: γεωμετρία by itself, and without qualification indicated by context, standing

normally for plane geometry. The plural *γεωμετρίαι* is thus exactly parallel to *λογισμοί* with which it is in those passages associated. The same result, if not quite in

the same way, has been independently given lately by Dr. Adam in his edition of the *Republic*.

J. COOK WILSON.

ON A PASSAGE IN XENOPHON'S *MEMORABILIA*.

XENOPHON *memorabilia* A vi. 13 Ὁ Ἀντιφῶν, παρ' ἡμῶν νομίζεται τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὁμοίως μὲν καλόν, ὁμοίως δὲ αἰσχρὸν διατίθεσθαι εἶναι τὴν τε γὰρ ὥραν ἂν μὲν τις ἀργυρίου πωλῇ τῷ βουλομένῳ, πόρον αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ἂν δὲ τις, ὃν ἂν γινῶ καλόν τε κάγαθόν ἐραστὴν ὄντα, τοῦτον φίλον ἑαυτῷ ποιῇται, σῶφροια νομίζομεν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίου τῷ βουλομένῳ πωλοῦντας σοφιστὰς ὥσπερ πόρους ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὅστις δὲ, ὃν ἂν γινῶ εὐφῶν ὄντα, διδασκων ὅτι ἂν ἔχη ἀγαθόν, φίλον ποιῇται, τοῦτον νομίζομεν, ἃ τῷ καλῷ κάγαθῷ πολλή προσήκει, ταῦτα ποιῶν.

On this passage Mr. H. Richards (*Classical Review*, xvi 270) remarks: 'The point is not that it is equally creditable and discreditable to dispose of the two things, but that in both cases there is a creditable as well as a discreditable way of doing it, two possibilities with regard to each of them, set forth with correspondence of *μέν* and *δέ*. It follows that in the early part of the sentence we want adverbs, not adjectives: *ὁμοίως μὲν καλῶς ὁμοίως δὲ αἰσχρῶς διατίθεσθαι εἶναι, εἶναι* meaning *it is possible*. For the double adverb cf. *Thuc.* 2. 60. 6 οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι.' It is not quite clear to me how Mr. Richards understands *ὁμοίως*; but I think that he would probably agree with me when I say that Socrates

distinguished between honourable teaching and dishonourable teaching on the same principle on which he distinguished between honourable and dishonourable love, and that *ὁμοίως μὲν, ὁμοίως δέ*, mark the identity of the principle. If so, both he and I dissent from Kühner, who translates 'apud nos existimatur et pulchrum et turpe esse pulchritudinem et sapientiam aliis venundare,' and makes *ὁμοίως μὲν, ὁμοίως δέ*, mean no more than 'pariter ac.' I am however of opinion that the meaning which I desire, and which I suppose Mr. Richards to desire, can be got from the ordinary text, and indeed that the ordinary text expresses that meaning better than Mr. Richards' emended text would do. I would translate: 'Our notion is that the communication of beauty and the communication of wisdom are creditable under the like circumstances, and that under the like circumstances they are discreditable.' This seems to me exactly the right sense. My objections to Mr. Richards' reading are, that, however he understands *ὁμοίως*, first, it is not necessary to desert the tradition, and, secondly, 'εἶναι, meaning *it is possible*,' is, not only superfluous, but even, by the substitution of 'may be' for 'are,' injurious to the sense.

HENRY JACKSON.

15 April, 1904.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS: THE THREE LITERARY LETTERS.

p. 751 (=p. 88 Roberts' text, line 15). Read ἅπαντας, ὅσοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπινοίας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν φέρουσιν ὀφέλειαν ἐπανορθοῦντες ἡμῶν <τοῖς> βίους τε καὶ λόγους. Usener inserted τοὺς before ἡμῶν: but the rule that pronouns of this class come outside the article is observed even in p. 756 (=p. 94 Roberts line 8) ἐὼ γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ γραφὰς παραφέρειν, and unmistakably in p. 757 (=p. 96 Roberts line 2) καὶ γὰρ τὰ δόγματα

διέβαλον αὐτοῦ τινες, and p. 783 (=p. 122 Roberts line 15) γνοίη δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ τὸν πόνον.

p. 780 (=p. 120 Roberts line 1). Read τῆς δὲ λέξεως ἥ Θουκυδίδης κέχρηται τὸ μὲν σημειῶδες καὶ περιέργον πέφενγεν (sc. Philistus), τὸ δὲ στρογγύλον καὶ πνικτὸν καὶ ἐνθυμηματικὸν μεμίμηται. Krüger conjectured ἐκμέμακται: the MSS have μέμικται. For the turn of expression then cf. Marcellin. 51

(quoted by Roberts p. 177 on p. 136 line 11)
τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν Γοργίων μιμούμενος.

p. 793 (= p. 136 line 19). Read γλωσσηματικά μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπηρχαιωμένα καὶ δυσείκαστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ παράλογος. For remarks by other Greek critics on Thucydides' use of this word cf. Suidas s.v. (Gaisford II. p. 2855) Παράλογον λέγουσιν ἄρσενικῶς οἱ τ' ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Θουκυδίδης, τὸ παράδοξον κ.τ.λ. Παράλογος Θουκυδίδης κ.τ.λ.

The MSS of Dionysius however are divided: PCD read ἐπιλογισμός, G παραλογισμός and the editor has courteously

pointed out to me what I had forgotten—that in *C.R.* 1902 p. 120 he proposed ἐπιθειαςμός, working from the reading ἐπιλογισμός. I had originally by an *obiter dictum* called attention to the superiority as I styled it of G, and, although this superiority is, I think, demonstrable, the editor's suggestion to me seems satisfactory—that καὶ ὁ ἐπιθειαςμός καὶ ὁ παράλογος was Dionysius' own text, and that this has produced our MSS readings. It appears however to be worth while to record the discrepancies of our four MSS for this particular letter, the second to Amineus.

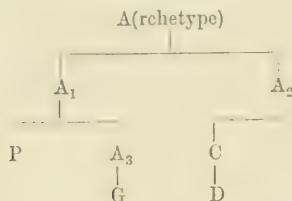
p. 789 (= p. 130 line 10)	δὴ PGCD	δὲ accepted
line 13	αὐτοῦ PCD	ἐμαντοῦ G and accepted
(= p. 132 line 1)	παραθέσεων PGCD	προθέσεων
p. 790 (= line 9)	ἱξίου PGCD	ἱξίους
(= line 15)	μικρὸν PG	μικτὸν CD
(= line 19)	τῆς PD	τοῖς GC
(= line 21)	αὐτοῦ P αὐτοῦ GCD	αὐτοῦ
p. 791 (= p. 134, 4)	ἵνα τὸ μὲν ὀνοματικὸν λέγῃται PG	CD have been emended wrongly: editors insert a clause between ὀνοματικὸν and λέγῃται
(= 13)	πρὸς τὸ σημαίνόμενον PG	CD have the correct text πρὸς τὸ σημαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαινομένου ὅποσα τε γίγνεται.
p. 792 (= 20)	ἀποστέγειν ἢ τα PGCD	

From this point, since it is clear that the PGCD are ultimately derived from one source—sometimes illegible or erroneous—, we need only notice those places where the four MSS do not show a unanimous reading.

p. 793 (= 136, 8)	ἀκούεσθαι PG (possibly rightly)	ἀκούσεσθαι CD
p. 794 (= 22)	πρεσβεῦ εἰς P	πρέσβευσις GCD
(= 138, 7)	τισαν το P τίς αὐτὸν D	τι ἐς αὐτὸ G
—	τις αὐτὸν C	
p. 795 (= 22)	ὀνοματικῶς C ὀνομαστικῶς D	ὀνοματικά PG
p. 796 (= 24)	ἦν ἐν GCD (ἢ ἡ 'ν)	ἦ ἐν P
(= p. 140 line 3)	ἀπολοφύρεσθαι G	ἀπολοφύρασθαι PCD
p. 797 (= line 23)	ἐν omit PG	insert CD: and so p. 798 (= 142, 23)
(= 142, 1)	τοῦ ἐπιμιγνυμένου PG	τοῦ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι CD
p. 798 (= 13)	ἡνίκα PG ¹	ἐνικά G ² CD
(= 15)	αὐτὸν PCD αὐτὸ G	αὐτὸν
(= 15, 16)	τῷ ἀθηναίῳ G τῶν ἀθηναίων PD τὸν 'Αθηναίων C	τῷ 'Αθηναίῳ
(= 144, 5)	αὐτῶν GCD	αὐτὸν P (but both readings are defended by MSS of Thucydides)
p. 799 (= 9)	οἶαν P οἶαν G	οἶον CD
p. 800 (= 146, 1)	ὄντως P οὕτω CD	οὕτως G
—	τὴν φράσιν CD	τῇ φράσει PG but expunged as a gloss by Usener and Roberts
(= 6)	τῷ τε G ₁ τό τε PCD	τῷ τε
p. 802 (= 148, 13)	καὶ PG	καὶ τὸ CD
(= 16)	σημαινόμενον PG	σημαῖνον CD
p. 803 (= 150, 9)	ἐλασσον PG ἐλαττον CD	ἐλάσσον'

p. 804 (= 19)	ὁ ἀνάγνωσιν P ἂν γνῶσιν GCD ἂν γνῶσιν [which throws light on the correctness of P in 796 (= 24)]
p. 805 (= 152, 15)	ον ποτέ P ἄμα τειχιστῶν P ἄμα ἀτει- ἄμ' ἀτειχίστων
(= 16)	χίστων GCD
(= 21)	ἀνομοίως ὡς P ἂν ὁμοίως ὡς G ἂν ὁμοίως CD
	οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν om. PCD ins. G
	τε PCD δὲ G and our MSS of Thucydides
p. 806 (= 154, 10)	ὄστῶν PG ὄσων CD
p. 807 (= 154, 19)	ὀρωμένους φησὶν PG ὀρωμένου σφίσιν
(= 156, 5)	ἐπικρίναι PGD ἐπικρίναι C εἶη, κρίναι
p. 808 (= 11)	τοῦτου τῷ P τοῦτω GCD

Without here considering the relations of C and D—page 798 (= 15, 16) seems to show that C is copied from D—it is evident that they follow one line of textual tradition, while P and G also are closely related. Since P is of the tenth or eleventh century, it is generally supposed that G—copied in the sixteenth—is a copy from it. But a consideration of p. 798 (= 15, 16), p. 800 (= 6), p. 804 (= 19), p. 805 (= 21), and especially of the readings in p. 794 suggests the propriety of provisionally arranging the pedigree of these MSS thus:



where A, A₁, A₂, A₃ are MSS now lost but imaginable as ancestors. If this hypothesis be sound, we may next ask whether G or P is more generally correct. Disregarding those readings in which PG agree, an examination shows that even if we give P the benefit of the doubt in p. 796 (= 140, 3), yet (reckoning $\frac{1}{2}$ for a reading which preserves the vestiges of the true reading where other MSS fail) we can only credit P with 3 successes, as against $11\frac{1}{2}$ for G. It is therefore fair to claim for this MS greater attention than it has hitherto re-

ceived. Had G preserved παράλογος, I should have been inclined to reject the addition of ἐπιθειασμός; as it is, it is more reasonable to suppose its παραλογισμός a valuable testimony that the united witness of the other MSS to ἐπιλογισμός is not the last word, but that either ἐπιθειασμός was also in the text or that the common παραλογισμός was felt to be insufficiently uncommon and was corrected into ἐπιλογισμός. It should be pointed out as having some bearing on the probability of ἐπιθειασμός that practically all Dionysius' examples are drawn from the first book of Thucydides, only one or two from Book IV.

In conclusion two oversights in Roberts' edition may here be pointed out. In p. 762 (= 102, 1) παραδείγματα δὲ τῆς ἰσχυρῆς καὶ τῆς ὑψηλῆς λέξεως ἐξ ἑνὸς βυβλίου τῶν πάντων περιβοήτων παραθήσομαι, the reading ποιήσομαι for which the editor gives παραθήσομαι is supported by ποιῶμαι in *de adm. vi dic. in Demosth.*

In p. 784 (= 122, 23) οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὡς ἔπος εἰπὲν ὠφέλειαν παρέχει, we cannot give as in p. 784 (= 122, 28) τοῦτοις τοίνυν ἅπασαν ἀφθονίαν δέδωκεν the sense of 'complete' or 'greatest' to πᾶσαν when qualified by ὡς ἔπος εἰπὲν. Hence the reading of the MSS πᾶσιν should be retained against Herwerden's emendation, and the sense is 'Theopompos' work is of use to *practically everybody*.' In p. 64 (= 102, 6) correct ἐκκῆπτον in Roberts' edition.

T. NICKLIN.

PROHIBITIONS IN GREEK.

In the *Classical Review* for July 1903, xvii 295, Mr. W. G. Headlam writes 'μὴ τοῦτο ποίει is 'do not do as you are doing,' 'do not continue doing so,' 'cease to do so':

and in a note he adds 'This I had from Dr. Henry Jackson years ago, who had it as he told me from Shilleto, who derived it probably from Hermann; see the quotation

from him in Greg. Cor. p. 864.' Mr. Headlam is mistaken in thinking that I learnt this truth from Richard Shilleto. I owe much to that excellent scholar: but it was the late Thomas Davidson, and not Shilleto, who explained to me this usage. Davidson told me that, when he was learning modern Greek, he had been puzzled about the distinction, until he heard a Greek friend use the present imperative to a dog which was barking. This gave him the clue. He turned to Plato's *apology*, and immediately

stumbled upon the excellent instances 20 ε μὴ θορυβήσητε, before clamour begins, and 21 α μὴ θορυβεῖτε, when it has begun. Ever since Davidson explained the distinction to me, I have kept a watch upon instances of particular prohibitions, and I am convinced that the rule holds. I did not know of Hermann's admirable statement until Mr. Headlam called attention to it in the *Classical Review*.

HENRY JACKSON.

15 April, 1904.

REVIEWS.

NAIRN'S *HERODAS*

The Mimes of Herodas. Edited with Introduction, Critical notes, Commentary, and Excursus by J. A. NAIRN, M.A., Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School. Pp. lxxxviii, 116. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1904. 12s. 6d.

THE actual gain accruing from this edition to the text and interpretation of Herodas is as follows: in I. 82 Mr. Nairn has restored οὐ π[αρα]λλάττ[ει]ν¹ πείσουσά σ' ἔλθον 'it was not to induce you to go astray that I came.' Successive scrutinies of the papyrus had approximated to this reading, which I do not doubt myself is right. But I doubt whether he has solved the very uncertain traces at the end of VII. 69 by reading εἰ τοῦτ' ὀκνεῖς γὰρ οὐ σε ῥῆδ' ὧς κρῆναι 'if you object to this, it is not easy to conclude a bargain so'; for what is 'so'? Does it mean 'not easy for you at that rate (οὕτω, τοῦτο ποιοῦσαν) to give your ratification'? Or 'not easy for you to determine to that effect'? The last gives no sense, so it must be the first; but Mr. Nairn should have explained, and endeavoured to remove our scruples about this use of ὧς. His other conjecture τελῶ δραχμὴν in II. 8 I shall speak of presently. This edition also incorporates for the first time on pp. 99–100 the fragments received by Mr. Kenyon in

1900: the new scraps fitted into VII 22–4 will be discussed hereafter; that inserted into VII 8–10 I will mention here:

μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ἄκανθαν ὥς ἔχει κάλῃ
ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου δῆσο[ν].—εἰ] α δῆ, [Κέρκω]ψ,
κίνει ταχέως τὰ γούνα, [μ]έζον' [ἦ δει] σε
τρίβειν ψοφεῦντα νοῦθ τῶνδε.

Crusius in his last edition (1900, p. 74) does not venture to adopt his conjecture that this scrap belongs to this place, and Mr. Nairn does not say whether it is certain. But ΑΔΗ makes it seem so, because εἰα δῆ is just the right phrase here and had been already conjectured by Diels, which was worth mentioning. The other lines, however, can hardly be right yet; no one could write μέζον' ἦ unless he meant 'greater than': there are many possibilities; τῶνδε might depend on μέζοντας (πέδας) or agree with νοθετημάτων, or μέζον ψοφεῦντα might mean 'louder.' The first line I had been supposing meant 'tie the tassel to his neck,' to keep his head from nodding; but Mr. Nairn suggests that the meaning is 'fasten his back-bone by the hump to his neck, just as he is.' In III. 80 Mr. Nairn takes φέρειν to mean 'you must endure,' which may be right; certainly the scribe would seem to have understood it so.

For the rest, Mr. Nairn's object has been to 'embody the results of the constant attention paid to this author during the past twelve years,' and with this object he has 'searched' the various periodicals 'as carefully as possible for everything bearing on the text or its interpretation.' This is a useful service; and what perhaps

¹ Mr. Nairn thinks that the Attic form in this and other words is from Herodas' hand. The matter is of small importance, but I think it highly improbable Herodas should have written so. Judgment in textual criticism depends on knowing what were the habits of scribes generally, and such forms as πρᾶττειν, γλῶττα were occasional inadvertences in Tragedy.

eventually will prove more useful still, he has given a Bibliography of these scattered publications. It is out of these that the Introduction is composed, endeavouring to blend a variety of opinions into a harmonious whole. A literary judgment formed with these resources naturally suffers from its composite origin; but at any rate there is something here from everyone who has said anything about Herodas. Whether they will all be satisfied with the way their views are represented is another matter, and I cannot feel assured, I judge by the excerpts from my own article in the *Enceycl. Brit.*; e.g. on p. xi:

They are written in the language of the common people, with its colloquialisms, vulgarisms, and a large number of proverbs, the features which are characteristic of that language, and which we find reflected, e.g. in Petronius and the Pentamerone. It is clear that Herodas, besides his personal observation, has drawn from literary sources, notably Hipponax, Sophron, and Aristophanes. However, in the manner in which he casts old material into novel form upon a small scale, and under strict conditions of technique, he is entirely Alexandrian, and reminds us of nothing so much as the epigrams of the Anthology, notably those of Asclepiades, where the qualities are those of the best work in miniature.

These sentences, except what is printed in Italics, are from different parts of the article, and the manipulation of them has played havoc with my meaning. The language of Herodas is for the most part that of the later Comedy, translated, so to speak, into the Ephesian Ionic of Hipponax; thus, as Mr. Nairn says on p. xxxi—it was my observation—the choice of form and words is Ionic, but the structure of the sentences is essentially Attic. Then Mr. Nairn tells us that though Herodas draws from literary sources, he is, *however*, entirely Alexandrian. Surely, if there is anything characteristic of the Alexandrians as a school, it is that their literature is a *bookish* literature, and requires a knowledge of previous literature in the reader. And in mentioning Asclepiades I took his epigrams as an example of that firm clarity of outline which is so marked a quality in the best writers of the period. But to say that Herodas reminds you of nothing so much as the Anthology in general is like saying he reminds you of the 'Poet's Corner' in the daily papers.

The illustration is drawn mainly from two sources, Crusius' *Untersuchungen* (1892) and a paper of mine in *C.R.* 1899 p. 151 to which Mr. Nairn fully acknowledges his debts. It was written after I had read nearly the whole of Greek literature and a good deal of Latin with this special object,

and I mention this because, with that material at my command, the nakedness of the land in the present case is somewhat unfairly evident to me. Mr. Nairn's contributions in this field are limited to a few grammatical observations, such as are hardly, to my mind, what are wanted. For example, in

II 21 εἰ δ' οὐνεκεν πλεῖ τὴν θάλασσαν . . .
βίῃ τιν' ἄξει τῶν ἐμῶν, ἔμ' οὐ πείσας,
καὶ ταῦτα νυκτός,

there are two little touches the absurdity of which would have been caught by a Greek audience, and they are intended to suggest the ingenuity of advocates in twisting arguments to serve their turn. So far from a sailor's life being thought enviable, it was proverbially unhappy: ὁ μὴ πεπλευκὼς οὐδὲν ἔδρακεν κακόν Poseidippus Πορνοβοσκός (in which the same pair of characters were probably at variance), Stob. *Flor.* 59. The humour of καὶ ταῦτα νυκτός lies in this, that it would certainly have been urged as an aggravation of the offence if it had been committed in the *day-time*, as by Dem. *Meid.* 47: cf. Ter. *Adelph.* 470: in that case Thales would have been stigmatised as κομάζων μεθ' ἡμέραν, an admitted reproach. It is merely rhetorical, as in Lysias πρὸς Σίμωνα 6 and 23. These are examples of the points Herodas makes so quietly; and the reader is not in a position to appreciate Herodas unless he knows enough to recognise them. But Mr. Nairn does not put the reader in that position by remarking 'πλεῖ τὴν θάλασσαν. A common phrase: cf.' etc.: 'καὶ ταῦτα νυκτός, *idque, et id* are similarly used in Latin.' Then at 46 ἐπὶν δ' ἐλευθερός τις αἰκίσῃ δοῦλην, διπλοῖν τελείτω the intelligent schoolboy will enquire 'why διπλοῖν?' and will only get 'Cf. v. 54 for predicative use of adj.' Again, on VII 88 we read: 'The use of σὺν in Prose and Comedy is circumscribed within narrow limits, as in stereotyped expressions like the present; T. Mommsen, *Beiträge zu der Lehre von den gr. Präpositionen* (1895).' If the theme were Attic Prose or Attic Comedy, this might find a place, but it has no place in Herodas, especially when space is found so grudgingly for explanation.

If Mr. Nairn had only been content to claim no more for his edition than the value that it has as a rapid compilation with a provisional text for the purpose of a class-book, it would have been possible to consider it as such: but he has injudiciously made use of phrases which should lead a student of literature to expect a good deal more than

he will get. 'It has been my aim' he says 'to give the student all needful assistance towards the correct interpretation of this difficult author.' I am bound therefore to express my opinion that the interpretations are often incorrect, that often the best readings are not mentioned, that in the Introduction especially there is much which is trivial and superfluous, while what really wants doing for Herodas has not yet been done.

With regard to the MS. too, when Mr. Nairn says p. lvii, 'The use of the square brackets in the text renders it easy in all cases to distinguish these restorations from the words actually preserved in the text,' I am bound to warn the reader that there are many places where he would be unwise to rely on this assurance. For example, at II 8 Mr. Nairn gives a conjecture of his own :

τελῶ δρα]χμὴν μέρος τι τῆς [πό]λεως κηγῶ.

It is in speaking particularly of this passage with a few others on p. lvii that Mr. Nairn says 'I have made the fullest use of the papyrus itself.' Now Mr. Kenyon originally gave

. μὲν τι τῆς [πο]λῆος κηγῶ
and from the papyrus itself I could get nothing more for certain positively. But it is certain that what Crusius conjectured, μέρος, is *not* the reading of the MS.; where Mr. Kenyon gave 5 letters at the beginning Mr. Nairn supplies 8, and all that Mr. Kenyon can say for this conjecture is that the letters XMHN are quite possible, though the η is not quite clear. The first letter might be X, but to me, as to Blass, it looked more like C with the relic of some previous letter; and in *C.R.* xiii. 151 I said 'The facsimile shows me CMENIHΔECTITHC which implies some form of δνσμενεία, e.g., ἐν δνσμενείῃ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς πόλῆος κηγῶ,' quoting Mr. Kenyon's opinion on it, 'ΔΥ]CMENIHΔECTI suits the remains in the MS.' It is easy to see what this would mean, for both Battarus and his opponent are μέτοικοι, and as a class both the πορνοβασκός and the ἔμπορος were regarded with disfavour. Mr. Nairn should certainly have mentioned this.

One department I should not have mentioned if Mr. Nairn had not laid special stress upon it: 'In particular I have endeavoured to assign priority in regard to emendation to the proper quarter.' I am the last to complain of editors making mistakes in that troublesome business, but it is

just a matter which Mr. Nairn, in going through the periodicals, had the opportunity of setting definitely right: if, however, he has done so in some cases, in others he has merely copied the mistakes of Crusius, and through reading Crusius carelessly has imported new ones of his own: thus in II 78 λέοντ' ἄγχοιμ' ἄν (which is right, I think; it implies 'I am as bold as Heracles with the Nemean lion') is due to Kaibel, κῆρ in VI 5, though I made it independently with the illustration, was suggested first by Mr. Richards, in VII 72 νοσσύνην πεποίηκεν was Diels' conjecture, πεποίηται merely my correction from the MS., οὐ μακρὴν ἀπώκισται was proposed a month before me by Danielssohn; it is a common phrase and more likely than ἀποσκηνοῖ: but ἀπῆλλασται (Blass) means 'divorced from,' 'alien to.' On the other hand I can claim the suggestion that Ἀ in I 25 means λείπει, and the readings αἱ πότνια in III 98, Κέρκωψ in VII 9, τὴν κόιν ἀποψήσω in 13 (where I think, however, that Diels' τὴν ἔδρην is more likely; e.g. κίνεω τάχ', ἢ σευ τὴν ἔ. ἀ.), Μητροῖ in 14, and δεῖ μάλιστα in 54. Prof. Buecheler in his edition avowedly did not name the authors of conjectures which he mentioned, and has consequently been credited with many which he did not originate or claim to have originated.

I will now take single passages from the two first mimes. Upon the rest I hope to make some comments on a subsequent occasion.

I 7 Mr. Nairn divides the words in the right way, MH. καλεῖ τίς ἐστιν; but can hardly be right in preferring the translation 'Call out: who is it,' to 'Say I am at home.' Visitors were not admitted till invited; καλεῖ or κάλεσον without the preposition (*faites entrer*) was the word used, Plat. *Charm.* 212 c, Philostr. *Apoll.* i. 29, Charito 3. 1 and 8. 2, and a slave could not have understood it otherwise. It was not worth recording Buecheler's view that καλεῖ is said by Gyllis: a visitor says ἄγγελλε or ἄγγελον, it is for the master or mistress to give the invitation.

I 10 πέντε μῆνες ἐξ οὗ σε οὐδ' ὄναρ εἶδε τις.

'This expression is usually found in negative sentences.' To take this for an affirmative sentence was a slip of Dr. Rutherford's; οὐδ' ὄναρ could not be anything but negative. They are misled by the English idiom: where we say 'It is five months since I have seen you,' Greek and Latin and other languages say 'It is five months since I have not seen you,' as Theocr. ii. 4, 157,

Lucian i. 741, Plaut. *Most.* 460, Pompon. ap. Gell. x. 24. 5, Propert. iii. 8. 33, 13. 21: we might take Theocr. xiv. 45 in the same way. *πέντε μῆνες εἰσιν ἐξ οὗ σε ὀρώ* means in Greek 'I have been seeing you continuously for five months.' Mr. Nairn has not observed my correction of this error in the *Athenaeum* of 1891.

I 18 I am glad to see Mr. Tucker's *οἷν τ' ἔτ' εἰ γάρ* adopted: cf. Hdt. iii. 28, Pausan. iv. 9. 4, and the famous question in Plat. *Rep.* 329 c.

I 19 Mr. Nairn punctuates with the majority *σίλλαψε ταῦτα τῆς νεωτέρης ὑμῖν πρόσσεστιν* comparing V. 29, which is different. When spoken with ironical defiance, the imperative in Greek and Latin, both in the 2nd and 3rd person, was used absolutely; e.g. *ἔβριζε Med.* 600, *Soph. El.* 794, *Ar. Vesp.* 1441, *δράτω P.V.* 971, *ὁ δ' οὖν ποιεῖτω 967*. Hence in *Med.* 1363 Weil rightly reads *στύγει* and in Alexis 172, I punctuate *B. ἄνθρωπε ποίει!* as in *14 ἄνθρωπ' ἐπίπαιξε!* Aesch. *Theb.* 1036 *τράχυνε!* And Eur. *fr.* 629 may have been *<πρὸς ταῦτα>* or *<πίμπρη τε>* καὶ *κάταιθε* *χῶτι λῆς ποίει*, as *Ion* 539, *Andr.* 258, *Ar. Thesm.* 749, but not, as Meineke, *πίμπρη με*. Usage is equally decisive that *ταῦτα* belongs to *πρόσσεστιν*.

I 28 *Εἰδή*, 'peace': an Alexandrian use of the word. Cf. the Rosetta stone, *τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰς εἰδὴν ἀγαγεῖν*. This is what Weil suggests; at the same time the literal sense of the word is not excluded, for the calm and settled climate of the country was notorious: Lucian ii. 361 of Ethiopia *αἰεὶ γὰρ σφέας εἰδή καὶ γαληναίη περιέκασται*: the *εὐκρασία* of Egypt, Callixenus in Ath. 196 D, Diod. Sic. i p. 13. Dio Chrys. I 361 Egypt like the Elysian plain, I 671 *εὐκρασία* among the boasts of the Alexandrians.

I 29 *νεανίσκοι*. Probably the young courtiers of Philadelphos are meant. Cf. Suidas *βασιλικοὶ παῖδες . . .* This is Meister's view, who also cites Polyb. v. 82. 13 *τῶν βασιλικῶν τινα παιδῶν*, and I suspect is right: these *pueri regii* (Liv. 45, 6) were an institution of the Macedonian court and served as the King's pages; they are called *βασιλικοὶ νεανίσκοι* by Plut. *Mor.* 760 B and correspond to the *νεανίσκοι* of Daniel i. 3.

I 42 *κείνος ἦν ἔλθῃ κάτω, τέθνηκ'* οὐ μὲν εἰς ἀναστήσῃ ἡμέας, γύναι· τὸ δαῖνα δ' ἄγριος χεῖμὼν εἴ[ς] ἐ[ν]δύ[σ]ει.

κείνος, Mr. Nairn says, is probably *Mandris*, but he does not explain what is the

force of the argument which his conjecture gives to Gyllis, 'If your husband comes below, he is dead.' One would expect her argument to be, 'you can only have one life, and had better enjoy it while you may.' There is no mention of the view which suits that argument, the view of Crisius that *κείνος* is used *ominis causa* for Death, like *A.P.* xi. 13 *ἐξαίφνης ἤξει ὁ πορφόρεος*. I think that must be right, and there may be, as Cobet thought (*N.L.* 125), a case of the same thing in Anaxippus (Ath. 404 c), a cook speaking: *ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἦ δ' ὁδ' ὕστερος, ἄρτύω φακὴν | καὶ τὸ περιδαιπνὸν τοῦ βίου λαμπρὸν ποιῶ*: 'satis apparet eum dicere voluisse ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἦ τὸ χρεῶν, ὁ θάνατος, et hac εὐφημία usum arbitror ut dixerit ὁδ' ἕτερος.' Rather, perhaps, he would have said *ὁ γ' ἕτερος*, or some adjective as *ὁ δυερός* (*δυεροῦ θανάτου Kaibel Ep.* 153), *ὁ στυγερός*.

τὸ δαῖνα, which Mr. Nairn gives as legible in the MS., he explains to mean 'By the bye,' a phrase which would come very oddly here.

I 61 *ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον μοι Μητρίχη, μίαν ταύτην ἁμαρτίην δὸς τῇ θεῷ κατάρτησον σαυτήν*.

Certainly there is no reason to read *Μητρι, τὴν μίαν ταύτην*, but Mr. Nairn defends the text by referring to examples in Goodwin's *Greek Grammar* where 'the demonstrative is equivalent to *here* or *there*.' That is not the right account; in *τὴν μίαν ταύτην* we have merely descriptive adjectives; in *μίαν ταύτην* without the article (a far more common form) we have a predicate in apposition, 'let this be one transgression granted.' *τῇ θεῷ κατάρτησον σαυτήν* Mr. Nairn explains to mean 'attach yourself to Aphrodite,' a construction which I think he will not find in Greek; they would at least have said *ἐκ τῆς θεοῦ* as Plut. *Marcell.* 8 *κατήρησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ λάφυρα*: but *καταρτῆσαι* 'to hang down' is not used in the metaphorical sense; we should have had *ἄρτησον* or *ἐξάρτησον σεαυτήν* (*ἐκ*) *τῆς θεοῦ* or *ἀνάρτησον σεαυτήν τῇ θεῷ* or *εἰς τὴν θεόν*. So *κατάρτησον σαυτήν* must be taken in the sense of *κατάρτυσον σαυτήν*, i.e. *σωφρόνισον σαυτήν, discipline, school yourself, be sensible, docile, be not froward, contumacious, μὴ τὰ θεῖα ἀγνωμόνει, μὴ θεομάχει*: I have indeed suggested that *κατάρτυσον* should be read; the *υ* in this verb is habitually corrupted to *η* or *ι*; but *κατάρτησον* is possibly Ionic in the same sense. If we take *μίαν ταύτην ἁμαρτίην δὸς τῇ θεῷ* together, it is easy to

understand 'Grant the Goddess this one indiscretion'; e.g. Aesch. *Tat.* v. 26 where Melitte pleads *ρόμιζε οὖν τὸν Ἐρωτα δι' ἐμοῦ λέγειν* 'έμοι χάρισαι τοῦτο, Κλειτοφῶν, τῷ σῷ μυσταγωγῷ: also my husband is providentially away.' 'And I was really afraid,' says Clitophon, *ἐφοβήθην τὸν Ἐρωτα μή μοι γένηται μῆνιμα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ*.—Perhaps this may be the meaning of Gyllis' excuse in v. 82 that she only came *έκητι τῶν ἱρῶν* (1), i.e. because *τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱέρ' ἀνοργαστά σοι χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἐστί* (cf. Musaeus, 141–147), where Mr. Nairn's suggestions are that perhaps some particular festival of Aphrodite may be meant, or that Gyllis merely said the first thing that occurred to her in her confusion.—I do not know what to make of Mr. Nairn's comment on this punctuation: 'Others punctuate after *θεῶ* instead of after *δός*, taking *ἀμαρτήν* *δός* *τῇ* *θεῶ* together, and translating *κατάρτησον σαντήν* by "watch yourself," "*prends garde*." *καταρτᾶσθαι* = *σωφρονεῖν*, cf. Hdt. iii. 80, ix. 66 (v. Herwerden, *Lexicon Dialecticum*, s.v.).

66 *πέισθητί μεν φιλέω σε ναί μὰ τὰς Μοίρας.*

'*φιλέω σε. Amo te.* In vii. 4 *ἐγὼ φιλῶ σε* is taken by some in this way as a formula of welcome.' But wrongly there, and welcome is wholly inappropriate to this place, and *amo te* is not a formula of welcome; it means 'Thank you,' 'I am grateful, obliged to you' for having done this. 'Please' is *amabo*, 'I shall be grateful' if you do this: the difference is well shown by Plaut. *Poen.* 250 *ad. soror, parce amabo. an. quiesco ergo. ad. amo te.* But neither 'Please' nor 'Thank you' is the meaning here: what Gyllis means is 'I speak as a true friend, for your welfare,' the same language as is used by the *προαγωγός* in Ov. *Met.* xiv. 675 *sed tu si sapias, si te bene iungere animumque hanc audire voles,—quae te plus omnibus illis, plus quam credis, amo,—vulgares reice taedas Vertumnunusque tori socium tibi selige*; and by Plangon urging Callirrhoe to *έκτρωσις* in *Charito* ii. 10 *ἐγὼ δέ σε φιλοῦσα συμβουλευῶ τάληθῆ*.

I 73 *σὺ δ' αὖτις ἐς με μῆδ' ἔν, φίλη, τοῖον φέρουσα χώρει μῦθον ὃς μιτρήiais πρέπει γυναιξί, ταῖς νέαις ἀπάγγελλε τὴν Πυθίω δὲ Μητρίχην*

'*μιτρήiais.* Cf. Servius *ad Aen.* iv. 216 *Multa lectio mitras proprie meretricum esse docet.* So Pollux iv. 151 *διάμιτρος ἑταῖρα*. These are what Buecheler cites in support of his conjecture *μιτρήiais*. The form *μιτρηός* may no doubt be admitted as Ionic for

μιτραός, which is not recorded, but I can restore it: Hesych. gives *μιτρεόν: ποικίλον*, which should be *μιτραόν: ποικίλον*, i.e. like a *Λυδία μίτρα*, which Pindar *N.* 8. 15 uses metaphorically, *Λυδίαν μίτραν καναχηδὴ πεποικιλμένην*. It does not seem likely that *μιτραός* would be applied to a *person* in the sense *ποικίλος* 'wily'; and indeed Buecheler takes it to mean 'mitred' here, for which we must remember that Greek said usually *μιτρηφόρος*. The *διάμιτρος ἑταῖρα*, Pollux tells us in iv. 154, *μίτρα ποικίλη τὴν κεφαλὴν κατεῖλεται*¹; but I must confess that *nulla lectio* leaves me very doubtful whether the class of *ἑταῖραι* or *μαστροποί* could be specified by the epithet *μιτρήiais* or *μιτρηφόροις*.

When *μίτρα* is symbolical in Greek, it means the *girdle* as the symbol of virginity; but allowing it to mean a *turban* here, 'turbaned women,' I imagine, would mean nothing more distinctive than 'old women,' and in that sense I prefer the other reading *γρήiais*, for *μῦθον ὃς γρήiais πρέπει γυναιξί* is *μῦθον γρασπρεπή* (Damascius) or *μυθῆριον γρασπρεπές* (Michael Syncell.), which admirably suits *ταῖς νέαις*, for a *γραιῶν* or *τιτθῶν* *μῦθος* was that told by old wives and nurses to the young. I take it that Metriche's answer is the same as Arachne's in Ov. *Met.* vi. 37 to Pallas in the disguise of an old woman: *mentis inops longaque venis confecta senecta, et nimium vivisse diu nocet: audiat istas si qua tibi nurus est, si qua est tibi filia, voces.* The exact reading (*ὃς μὲν γρήiais* or what else) is complicated by the doubt whether *μῆδ' ἔν* is adverbial or not.

78 *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων, φασί, τῶν λόγων Γυλλίς δέϊται.*

A later hand in the MS. has corrected *οὐδέ* to *οὐχί*: rightly, I think, for *οὐχί* is not uncommonly corrupted, and *οὐδὲ τούτων* could only mean 'not even these,' which gives no sense. Mr. Nairn, however, keeping *οὐδέ*, takes it as though we had *ἀλλ' οὐδέ Γυλλίς: οὐδέ*. Metriche did not want to listen to Gyllis; neither (*οὐδέ*) does Gyllis on her part wish to hear more than "yes" or "no." That is quite impossible. The meaning surely is 'But that's not the sort of talk, as they say, that's wanted, Gyllis,' or 'that Gyllis wants to hear,' *φασί* being added because this was a formula for changing an unpleasant subject, like *ἄλλα λόγια* in Modern Greek, *ἄλλου λόγου μέμνησο P.V.* 538, *Hel.* 120, *φέρε λόγον ἀψώμεθ' ἄλλων Ion* 556, *ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τοῦ λόγου μῆκέτι*

¹ Lucian iii. 450 *ταῖναις κατειλημένους τὴν κεφαλὴν*.

μνησθῆς Hdt. 7. 159, δεῖ δ' οὐ τοιούτων (ἐπὼν) O.T. 406.

The emphasis is determined by the position of the words, and I am obliged to insist upon this matter until it becomes recognised, because it is so important. In VII 5 Mr. Nairn punctuates with Crusius Δριμύλω φωνέω πάντων καθεύδεις; though it is not the second but only the first time that the order has been given. What however makes it certain that the somnolent slave—an established type—is addressed with πάντων καθεύδεις; 'asleep again!' as another in Anaxiprus is addressed with πάντων ὑστερεῖς: 'late again!' is the position of the words: 'I say again' would have been πάντων φωνέω, as in V 47. Again, in V 77 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περ οὐκ οἶδεν ἄνθρωπος ὦν, ἐωπτόν αὐτίκ' εἰδήσει (as Mr. Nairn punctuates it) would mean 'he shall soon know himself': it should be ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περ οὐκ οἶδεν, ἄνθρωπος ὦν, ἐωπτόν, αὐτίκ' εἰδήσει 'he soon shall.' There is another violation of this principle in VI 31.

II 1

τῆς γενῆς μὲν οὐκ ἔστ' ἐ
ἡμέων κριταὶ δῆκουθεν οὐδὲ τῆς δόξης,
οὐδ' εἰ Θαλῆς μὲν οὗτος ἀξίην τὴν νῆν
ἔχει ταλάντων πέντ', ἐγὼ δὲ μὺς ἄρτους,
δίκη ὑπερέξει Βάτταρον τι πημήνας'

This would mean 'nor . . . will he get the better of me in law': but surely the construction of the sentence must be as Dem. 1070. 17 ἔστι δ' ὁ νῦν ἀγὼν καὶ ἡ διαδικασία οὐκ εἴ τις ἕτερος πρότερος ἢ ὑστερος τέθηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ προσήκει ἐξελαθῆναι, 791. 17 οὐ γάρ, εἰ μὴ πᾶν ὅσον ὄφλειν ὀφείλει, νῦν ἡ κρίσις, οὐδ' ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εἰ ὀφείλει: 'the question before you is not (μέν) our relative γένος or δόξα or πλοῦτος, but whether Thales is to wrong Battarus with impunity,' ἀλλ' εἰ ὑπερέξει, or as one would rather expect, ἀλλ' εἰ παρέξει . . . δίκην or the like; the mistake is common.

In v. 15 στενωῶς (Blass) τεθώρηγμαῖς could not, I think, mean 'I am closely protected'; στεγνῶς could. Cf. Callim. h. Del. 23.

44 μὴ πρὸς τε κυσὸς, φησί, χά τάπης ἦμιν,
τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο, λήϊος κύρσι.

Mr. Nairn thinks that the reference is to a man who was robbed of his blanket and then tossed in it. This is based on a suggestion tentatively thrown out by Crusius in 1892 that there might possibly be some connexion between this passage and the description of tossing in a blanket in Libanius iii. 259—a prank which will be remembered by readers of *Don Quixote* and of *Tom Brown's School-days*. But there is nothing there about stealing a blanket, and

nothing in Herodas about tossing. Mr. Nairn translates it 'lest my προκτός suffer, and furthermore my blanket be stolen,' as if the Greek were μὴ ὁ τε κυσὸς καὶ ὁ τάπης γε πρὸς or καὶ πρὸς ὁ τάπης: but Buecheler's rendering is not more possible, *ne insuper etiam culus praeter stragulam*, for πρὸς cannot come first as though it were σύν. 'There is no difficulty,' says Mr. Nairn, 'about the separation of φησί from its subject,' which he takes to be τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο. But where does he find an example of φησί τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου? τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου and τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον τοῦτο and the like occur innumerable, but they are used in apposition, not as a subject to a verb. φησί here could only mean *ut aiunt*, which seems unlikely when τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο follows. φησί, then, is not improbably corrupt. Now κυσὸς is masculine (VIII 4 and elsewhere), therefore it is not governed by πρὸς: it remains that πρὸς can only stand *in tmesis*; but προσφῆσι gives no reasonable sense: it follows that it is corrupt, and therefore I read μὴ πρόσθε κυσὸς φθῆσι, or better, perhaps, μὴ πρὸ ὁ τε κυσὸς φθῆσι *i.e.* προσφῆσι, and explain the passage by Lucret. iv. 1026 *etc.* taking κυσὸς to refer to the ὀπή of the κλεψύδρα just mentioned. I am strengthened in this view of the meaning by a riddle in Eubulus (II. p. 202 K.) on a κημός or κηθίς, the plaited funnel-shaped instrument, perforated from top to bottom, through which the voting-shell was passed into the urn:

ἔστιν ἄγαλμα, κεχηρὸς ἄνω τὰ κάτω δὲ μεμνυκός,¹
εἰς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς τετρημένον ὀξὺ διαπρὸ,
ἀνθρώπους τίκτον κατὰ τὴν πυγὴν ἐν
ἐκαστον.

To this conjecture Mr. Nairn objects that 'the changes made in the MS. reading are extensive, and the form φθῆσι requires more support than the solitary ἴδωμι, iii. 43.' Why, φθῆσι is in Hom. Ψ 805, and in iii. 43 Mr. Nairn himself accepts the reading ἴδωμι without question, saying merely 'For the termination -μι of the first pers. sing. of the subj. (common in Homer) cf. Monro, *I Homeric Grammar*, § 82.' Now, as every Homeric scholar knows, the subjunctive in -ωμι hardly survives at all in the MSS. of Homer, having been corrupted to -οιμι or -ωμαι (as in Σ 63, the only other place where ἴδωμι is found, there is a v.l. ἴδωμαι, while

¹ At any rate, if the MS. had this (which agrees with schol. *Vesp.* 99) instead of βεβηκὸς ἄνω τὰ κάτω δὲ κεχηρὸς, no one certainly would ever have found any difficulty. Plat. *Rep.* 529 B has the words ἄνω κεχηρὸς ἢ κάτω συμμεμνυκός.

most have ἴδοιμι); though it has been restored by Aristarchus and modern critics in many places against the MSS. But if we grant Herodas to have used ἴδωμι, there should be no hesitation in allowing him -ησι in the 3rd person, for that was always recognised as an Ionicism: see Lobeck *Path.* ii. 263 sqq., Bergk *P.L.* III.⁴ 240, Monro *H.G.* §§ 81, 82, and add ὅς ἄν λάχῃσι from Bacchylides (Ionic metre). ἴδῃσι therefore might well be right for ἴδῃ in IV 63 (as in Plat. Com. 153. ὅ κἄν μὲν πίπτῃσι τὰ λεύκ' ἐπ' ἄνω it is natural to find a v.l. πίπτῃ), and θῶμι for θῶμαι in VIII 9; possibly in VII 113, where Mr. Nairn gives φέρ' ὥδε τὸν ποδίσκον· εἰ σίνος, θῶ μιν 'Let me put it on, to see if there is any fault'—in 'it,' I suppose, i.e. the shoe. But μιν should refer to ποδίσκον, and σίνος is an 'injury,' a 'hurt.' Blass' reading εἰς ἕχρος, 'let me put it into a shoe' or 'on a sole,' is not mentioned.

II 60 ἐγὼ δ' ὅκως ἄν μὴ μακρηγορῶν ὑμέας, ὠνδρες δικασταί, τῇ παροιμίῃ τρύχω, 'τῇ παροιμίῃ. The ordinary meaning "pro-

verb" is fitting enough. Herodas wishes to bring out the ignorance of Battaros, who takes μακρηγοροῦντα τρύχω to be a proverb, but does not take μὲς ἐν πίσσῃ as one.' This is one of the places where readers would probably have welcomed the assistance of a translation.

87 ἦν δ' οἶον ἐς τὰ δοῦλα σώματα σπεύδῃ . . . μοῦνον ἢ τιμὴ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἔστω. Mr. Nairn adopts Buecheler's perverse reading οἶον, 'Si ul in servilia corpora ruit,' meaning what? It should be οἶον 'solely'; and the meaning, which has not been explained correctly, is: 'If, however, he is set solely upon the test by examination of slaves under the rack, as an alternative to evidence in court': see J. W. Headlam in *C.R.* vii. p. 1, viii. p. 136.—'The τιμὴ is probably intended here to cover any loss' caused to the master by torture of the slave.—Undoubtedly: as may be seen from Ar. *Ran.* 623 and schol., Dem. 978. 8 and the πρόκλησις in 1387.

W. HEADLAM.

WALTZING'S MINUCIUS FELIX.

M. Minucii Felicis Octavius in usum lectionum suarum edidit J. P. Waltzing. Pp. 290. Louvain: Peeters, 1903. Fr. 7.50; the translation, fr. 2.50.

To critical students of the text of the *Octavius* this cannot fail to be an acceptable book. The edition of Halm, which, with Firmicus *de errore profanarum religionum* forms the second volume of the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* appeared in 1867. It was executed with the judicious tact of all Halm's critical work; only those emendations are adopted in the text or quoted in the *app. crit.* which approach verisimilitude. Yet even then the list of writers who had contributed to the explanation or emendation of the *Octavius* was in strange disproportion to the actual bulk of the work; and since then these have been reinforced by a new series of critics trained in the various artifices of modern palaeography. It is to this palaeographical class of students that Prof. Waltzing's new edition particularly appeals; a whole host of German scholars, besides Dutch, Belgian, French, Swiss, Italian, Spanish, Russian, and English names, have discussed from every side the chief problems

which the treatise raises, especially the relation of Minucius (1) to Tertullian's *Apologeticus* and *Libri ad Nationes*, (2) to Cyprian's *de idolorum vanitate*, and the question, did Minucius reproduce Tertullian or Tertullian Minucius? or did they both draw from a common source?

It is the great and peculiar merit of Waltzing to have presented in the edition before us something like a complete sketch of the controversy on these points: a task of no slight labour or difficulty. English readers, who only know the edition of H. A. Holden, which is mainly valuable on the exegetical side, will be surprised to learn how extensive a literature on the *Octavius* has grown up within the last forty years. Of this, as well as of the various articles written before 1867,—in all amounting to 187 distinct works or dissertations, Waltzing has given a complete catalogue; the names amount to 155. On the priority of Minucius or Tertullian, he expresses himself in favour of the former. But his whole analysis of the question, as presented mainly by the Germans, will be read with interest; and perhaps most readers will be inclined to side with his view.

An account of the unique MS. on which the text is based will be found on p. 9. It is of the ninth century, No. 1661 in the National Library of Paris. A facsimile of a portion of it is given on p. 76. Sabaeus, who was the first to copy and edit it in Rome 1543, has been thought to have found it in the Vatican Library of which he was librarian; but it is now believed that he discovered it in Switzerland or Germany. It is written in Carolinian minuscule, but with the words only rarely separated from each other. It is preceded by Arnobius *adversus nationes* and in the MS. is headed as the eighth book of that work, a fact which accounts for the lateness of its discovery as an independent treatise. The Brussels Library possesses what seems to be a copy of this made in the fifteenth century, No. 6851: about this we should be glad to have more particulars: the writing, of which there is a facsimile on p. 147 cannot be as late as century XVI.

Waltzing's constitution of the text seems on the whole very judicious. While acknowledging his obligations to Halm, he often deviates from him, and is, on the whole, more conservative and less inclined to adopt merely possible emendations. Of the *Octavius* it is particularly true that a correct text is the work of centuries, and that some of the best corrections have been made by obscure individuals and published in journals where they might easily have remained unnoticed. It was one of Halm's great merits to record these in his preface; and his work has been continued by Waltzing. I confess, however, that many of the corrections made since Halm's edition of 1867 and now recorded by Waltzing seem to me of a very hazardous and tentative kind, especially those of Bährens and Cornelissen, whose names perhaps figure rather more prominently in this edition than the intrinsic merits of their suggestions can claim. Many of them are ingenious: very few convincing. Judging from the extracts, I should suppose Svoboda to be one of the more sane critics who have written on the *Octavius* of late years; but his actual writings I have not seen. Klusmann, whose criticisms on Fronto are excellent and widely known, has also written on Minucius, and many of his remarks are, as might be expected, weighty and considerable. *Sed de his alii alia iudicabunt*: meanwhile no reader of early Christian literature, no scholar who cares to study the critical history of a text preserved in only one MS., and that MS. often depraved, but will acknowledge with

gratitude the service which Prof. Waltzing has rendered by his new *app. crit.* and will trace in this ed. of the *Octavius* a remarkably interesting type of what has happened in other more distinctly classical works, notably in Velleius Patereulus, whose text depends on the single now lost Murbach MS. and is far more desperately corrupted than that of the *Octavius*.

I have mentioned only a part of M. Waltzing's volume. It includes however much besides; the Latin inscriptions of M. Caccilius Natalis found at Cirta; the citations from the *Octavius* which occur in Lactantius, Jerome, and Eucherius; the Analysis Logica of the dialogue drawn up by Lindner (ed.² 1773), Cyprian's treatise *de idolorum vanitate*; the Passio Sanctorum Scilitanorum, or acts of the martyrdom of certain Christians of Scili in Numidia, July 17, A.D. 180; 52 pages of parallel passages from Greek and Roman writers which illustrate Minucius and must have been known and used by him, particularly Cicero *de n. deorum* and *de divinatione*, and Seneca. The resemblances are in many cases striking, and quite justify the boast of St. Jerome that Minucius in his *Octavius* had drawn from the whole body of gentile literature, a remark to which the words of Minucius at the end of the dialogue form a good parallel (39 fin.) *et argumentis et exemplis et lectionum auctoritatibus adornasset*. On the other hand the express references to the Bible are rare; the work shows learning and erudition rather than scriptural knowledge; or at least its author is sufficiently aware of his apologetic character not to parade his Christianity offensively.

The passage of Tacitus describing the persecution of the Christians under Nero (*Ann.* xv. 44) and the letter of Pliny with Trajan's rescript (Waltzing, pp. 207-220) are followed by a table of proper names and some of the Latin words which seem to call for particular explanation. I have found this very useful.

The chief defect in this otherwise complete edition is one which its plan makes almost inevitable: it has no exegetical commentary. It is true that the *app. crit.* often introduces exegesis by way of explaining why particular readings are preferred; but this is only incidental. The want of a commentary is however to a great extent supplied by the French translation of the dialogue which Prof. Waltzing has published simultaneously in a separate volume of 48 octavo pages (Louvain: Peeters, 1903).

In re-perusing the *Octavius* I think it

worth while to make one remark which has struck me more and more. The so-called *Ciceronianism* which many editors find in it has been unduly exaggerated: it is only true superficially and in a limited sense. Compared with the *de natura deorum* or the *de divinatione* it is intricate, obscure, and even difficult. Probably this traditionally Ciceronian style of the *Octavius* may have been caused by its superiority to the curious and involved Latin of Tertullian, in comparison with which it is no doubt limpid and easy. But even now that three centuries and a half have cleared it from many of its obscurities, it cannot be said to attain to

anything like the lucidity of Cicero. Any one who wishes to test this may do so by reading a single page; he will halt more than once, I had almost said, again and again. And this is not the fault of the MS., which is a very good one, though hardly rising to the excellence of the single MS. of Orientius which we now possess, and which within the last year has been so carefully re-edited by the poet's compatriot, M. Bellanger: it is inherent in the style which partly, indeed mainly, classical, bears notwithstanding no slight admixture of a quite different and much later epoch.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

SANDYS' HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

A History of Classical Scholarship from the Sixth Century B.C. to the End of the Middle Ages. By JOHN E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Cambridge Univ. Press. Large crown 8vo. Pp. xxiii + 672. Cambridge, 1903. 10s. 6d. net.

THE complete history of any long-continued phase of intellectual activity is rarely written, until it has either run its course or has ceased to occupy a conspicuous or, at all events, a commanding position in the cultural movements of an age. This may possibly serve as a partial explanation for the otherwise strange circumstance, that we have had to wait until now for a comprehensive survey of classical scholarship; for we cannot close our eyes to the deplorable fact that the Humanities are at the present day virtually on the defensive and in many quarters in imminent danger of being relegated to the background as a superfluous literary luxury, merely calculated to retard the rapid acquisition of a materialistic education which our strenuously scientific age now demands. But while in this struggle for existence the survival of the fittest may be confidently predicted, the present might, indeed, seem an opportune time for a retrospect of the labours that during more than two milleniums have been spent upon the matchless literature of Greece and Rome. This task, as grateful as it is herculean, has fallen to the lot of Dr. Sandys, who needs no introduction to classical scholars.

The first of two volumes now before us comprises the period from the sixth century

B.C. to the beginning of the Renaissance within the extremely modest compass of 650 pages. To review a work of this nature in a way to do anything like adequate justice to it is manifestly impossible within the limits to which I am necessarily confined, so teeming is it with detailed and varied information on an astounding multiplicity of most interesting topics, so difficult is it to convey to one who may not himself have had occasion to traverse the extensive area here covered a vivid conception of the immense labour and the constant exercise of a discriminating judgment involved in the finished product. But as the learned author, by rising to the level of his stupendous undertaking, has produced a work which no student of the classics can neglect with impunity, the reviewer is, at least, happily relieved of the necessity of tabulating its varied contents with a view to whetting the reader's appetite for its perusal. It will suffice for our purpose to enumerate the principal headings of the six books into which the volume is divided and to discuss, as briefly as possible, such items as, in the judgment of the present critic, call for special comment.

After a preliminary chapter on the meaning and use of such terms as *scholar*, *philology*, φιλόλογος, γραμματικός, and κριτικός (pp. 1-13), bk. I. deals with *The Athenian Age* (c. 600-300 B.C.) in seven chapters (pp. 17-102); bk. II. takes up *The Alexandrian Age* (c. 300-1 B.C.) in two chapters (pp. 103-164); bk. III. is devoted to *The Roman Age of Latin Scholarship* (c. 168 B.C. - c. 530 A.D.) in four chapters (pp. 165-260);

bk. IV. to *The Roman Age of Greek Scholarship* (c. 1 B.C.–530 A.D.) in eight chapters (pp. 261–375); bk. V. discusses *The Byzantine Age* (c. 530 – c. 1350) in two chapters (pp. 376–428); bk. VI. finally, which comprises almost one-third of the entire volume (pp. 429–650), treats of *The Middle Ages in the West* (c. 530 – c. 1350) in nine chapters. Interesting paleographical facsimiles, portraits, and allegorical illustrations, which are all learnedly elucidated, a selected list of the principal sources consulted (other bibliographical references are given in profusion in foot-notes) are some of the external features of the book. But by far the most useful of these adjuncts is furnished by no fewer than twelve *chronological tables*, ‘doctis, luppiter, et laboriosis.’ They give a complete and accurate conspectus of the literary and philological activity of Europe for nearly 2,000 years. They contain in all about 900 names, with dates and a mass of sundry but valuable information regarding the foundation of famous monasteries, schools, and universities. Particularly welcome are the three last tables, covering the period from 600–1400, for the names and dates here conveniently classified are comparatively little known and, so far as I am aware, no similarly comprehensive conspectus has hitherto been accessible, the data having to be laboriously compiled from a variety of sources. Dr. Sandys aptly compares these ‘Chronica’ to the *liber Annalis* of Atticus, of which Cicero admiringly said, ‘ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem,’ but the author’s modesty doubtless forbade him to add, that they will also be found far more trustworthy than Cicero’s chronological *vademecum* can be shown to have been, confined though it was within considerably narrower limits.

Bk. I. *The Athenian Age*: In the treatment of this period, Dr. Sandys has endeavoured to combine the eidographic and chronological methods, dealing with such subjects as the study of epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry, the development of prose style and rhetoric. Such a topical arrangement is not without its advantages, but they are neutralized by the fact that it is not carried far enough. Thus the survey of Homeric criticism is of little value, when, as here, it is restricted to the Athenian age. Again, this method of treatment necessitates some awkward repetitions, the ‘philological’ work of Plato and Aristotle in particular, having to be taken up at various points, which prevents the student from getting a

comprehensive view of the contributions of these men in the domain of classical scholarship. The account of the lyrical poets (pp. 43 ff.) seems to me somewhat irrelevant, for it is apparently inserted solely for the purpose of pointing out to what extent they exerted an influence upon or were cited by later writers, notably Plato and Aristotle. This information would have been more appropriately given under these names, but the author was prevented from doing so by the method which he follows in this first book.

Dr. Sandys seems to me to do scant justice to *Protagoras*, whose work is briefly referred to on pp. 27 and 78. We may readily grant that, if measured by absolute standards, it possesses few, if any intrinsic merits, but when we remember that, so far as we know, he was the first human being who became scientifically conscious of grammatical moods and gender and recall how long it was before any genuine progress was made in the field of Greek Grammar, the pioneer-work of this highly talented man, is, historically considered, an epoch-making achievement which well merits the plaudits of posterity. The profound sensation which his discoveries created is still reflected in the ridicule of Aristophanes who, as so often, is merely the mouthpiece of conservative public opinion.—Nearly two pages are devoted to the great comic poet, one, in briefer type, giving a synopsis of the *Frogs*. This is, as it should be; for this immortal play is the very cornerstone, in any case, the earliest extant specimen of literary criticism, and yet, in a history of classical scholarship, I cannot but think that the long list of plays, either directly cited or alluded to, according to the scholiasts, together with the number of lines parodied by him, ought to have been given, in order to convey a more vivid idea, not only of the extent of his reading, but of the keenness and the minuteness of his criticism, prejudiced and unfair though it undoubtedly often was.

Four pages in smaller type are given to a synopsis and discussion of Plato’s *Cratylus*. I do not object to the space accorded to this exceedingly interesting and important dialogue, but on the basis of comparative and intrinsic values the little more than two pages reserved for the *Poetics* seems a very meagre allowance. Regarding the Cratylean etymologies themselves, I regret to see Dr. Sandys still clinging to a view which, since the time of Schleiermacher has, indeed, been advocated by many illustrious

scholars. It is argued that, since the Platonic etymologies are, with but few exceptions, nothing short of ludicrous, they must be regarded in the light of caricatures or persiflage, as a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* of the etymological vagaries of his unscientific contemporaries. But this contention, I have always been convinced, is wholly unwarranted. It proceeds on the assumption that 'the king can do no wrong,' and it utterly ignores the well-known fact that etymology has only in very recent days been put upon anything like a scientific basis. It is psychologically improbable that Plato who, with the intuition of genius, discerned, as it were, in the distance, and in a few instances actually anticipated some truths regarding the origin and growth of language, universally accepted to-day, that Plato, I say, would have consciously invented such grotesque etymologies, had he been in possession of more accurate information. If they were all concocted in a spirit of Aristophanic badinage, then it is certainly passing strange that two milleniums were allowed to elapse before their satirical humour was discovered. No! Plato was as serious as ever Varro was in his *de lingua Latina*. Etymology exercised a strange fascination upon the ancient mind, poets, historians, and philosophers being as irresistibly attracted to it, as the moth to the light, and with equally disastrous results. The etymological monstrosities of a Plato and a Varro are, moreover, hardly worse than some of those perpetrated by G. Hermann or Hemsterhusius who had less excuse for them and whom no one would ever accuse of having indulged in playful fancy. Nay, some of the etymologies which find their way into print to-day still have a decidedly Cratylean flavour. We can, therefore, ill afford to smile at Plato for his etymological failure, but at the same time let us cease placing him on a pedestal to which he has no justifiable claim.

Aristotle, as already remarked, unfortunately does not receive a separate treatment, but his Homeric studies, his *Didascalie*, his contributions to Rhetoric and Dramatic Criticism are discussed under these various headings, while a chapter is devoted to Plato's and Aristotle's criticism of Poetry in general. A synopsis of the *Poetics* is, of course, not lacking, and it is duly extolled as a masterpiece which was not to be rivalled till the appearance of the *περὶ ὕψους*, to which exactly double the space accorded to the *Poetics* is assigned

(pp. 282-286). I yield to no one in my admiration for the immortal rhetorical essay of the Anonymus, but if we consider the brilliant inductions, the analytic acumen, the depth and breadth and catholicity of observation, and above all the marvellous influence upon dramatic literature and aesthetical canons of the brief and fragmentary Aristotelian treatise, the value of the *περὶ ὕψους* sinks into utter insignificance.

Aristotle's *περὶ ποιητῶν* Dr. Sandys thinks may have contained materials for his *Poetics* (p. 75), upon which he would thus have built his theoretical superstructure, as the *Πολιτεία* e.g. constituted the basis of the *Politics*. But the *περὶ ποιητῶν*, as can still be demonstrated, was one of the popular dialogues which discussed for a reading public the same or similar topics dealt with in the esoteric treatise which was never intended for publication and, indeed, there is *not a trace* in extant sources that the *Poetics* were ever consulted. The sporadic references in Themistius, in Diogenes Laertius, and certain parallelisms in Plutarch and even in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, whether directly or through the medium of Neoptolemos of Parion, were, if Aristotelian, ultimately derived from the *περὶ ποιητῶν*. If Dr. Sandys' surmise (p. 63) that Aristotle must have mentioned Thespis as introducing the prologue and the *ῥῆσις*, 'either in the fuller form of the *Poetics* or in some other work,' be correct, which I am disposed to doubt, we should not hesitate to ascribe these statements also to the 'other work,' i.e. the *περὶ ποιητῶν*, nor can I see any warrant for the assertion (p. 64), that Aristotle clearly preferred the poets of the Middle Comedy to those of the Old, because he labels Aristophanes a 'lampooner.' He certainly merits this epithet, but that Aristotle at the same time saw in him, as we do, a great deal more, is evidenced by the significant fact that, well acquainted though he was with the entire comic drama, he yet selected the 'lampooner' as its foremost and typical representative, just as he selects Homer for the Epos and Sophocles for Tragedy (Cp. *Poet.* ch. 3). Moreover, in view of such plays as the *Odyssees* of Cratinus and the *Aiolosicon* and *Plutus* of Aristophanes himself, to which even ancient critics assigned of *τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας τύπος*, it is extremely doubtful, whether he would have been able to recognize the subtle and artificial differentiation between the Old and Middle Comedy, which latter is a purely

transitional phase at the best, the distinction in question having been made possible only by the rise of the New Comedy which Aristotle did not live to see.—It may be remarked in passing that Dr. Sandys at the close of this first book, inserts an almost full-page illustration of the Spada Palace statue, without a word of comment. But this statue, as long known, has nothing whatever to do with Aristotle, for not only did the present head not belong to it originally, but the basic inscription (ARISTO) itself proves that it was never intended to represent the Stagirite, but probably *Aristippus* (See Visconti, *Iconogr. Grecque*, Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom* I. No. 1174, Studniczka, *Röm. Mitth.* v. p. 12, Helbig, *Führer*, ad. loc.).

Bk. II. While the Athenian Age takes up about eighty pages, the treatment of the *Alexandrian* is comprised within but sixty. This, it would seem, is out of all proportion to the actual achievements of both periods, so far as classical scholarship is concerned. In the earlier, indeed, philological research as a profession or pursued as an end in itself can hardly be said to have existed, whereas in Alexandria it was developed to the highest point which it was destined to reach in antiquity. No new discovery marking progress, with the possible exception of Greek Syntax in the hands of Apollonius and Herodianus, is met with in later Graeco-Roman days. With the Alexandrian methods of textual and literary criticism all future scholars, including the Roman, rested satisfied. In the field of exegesis also, they left nothing for subsequent commentators to do but to compile, to condense and, in general, to feast upon the richly laden banquet provided for them. It is true, we possess not a single work of these Alexandrian savants, but from their 'disiecta membra' we can still acquire a perfectly adequate conception of their methods, the scope of their studies and, at least, the titles of most of their writings have been rescued from oblivion. With one exception, to be mentioned later, Dr. Sandys has, indeed, omitted nothing of salient importance. The story of the Library and the Museum, the names, data, and works, with an occasional brief estimate of the labours of the most noted scholars of this age, are all given with the requisite bibliographical references and the entire treatment is marked by that scholarly accuracy which distinguishes the work as a whole. And yet, I doubt, if any student, not already thoroughly conversant with the subject,

will rise from the perusal of these chapters with any other impression than that these 'dusty Alexandrians, pent up for ever between sea and sand-hills, drinking the tank water and never hearing the sound of a running stream,' as Charles Kingsley characterized them, were after all nothing but γωριοβόμβυκες, mere 'doctores umbratici.' This unjust conception is primarily due to the fact that the author, in his otherwise laudable striving for utmost conciseness and rigid objectivity, has neglected to give, either in an introduction or in retrospect, the requisite cultural background or perspective, which might have enabled the student to see more clearly the peculiar causes and conditions which made Alexandrian literature and scholarship what it is. The critical estimate of the Byzantine period, based on Krumbacher, Wilamowitz, and Frederic Harrison (see p. 417, 424 ff.) may show how adequately, though briefly, this might have been done. The evolution of the cultured man of leisure into the professional scholar, the shifting of the intellectual focus from democratic Athens to monarchical Alexandria, the fact that, with Menander, Greek genius had virtually ceased to be spontaneously creative and original, nearly all the forms of literary expression having been developed to their artistic culmination—these are some of the salient considerations which will help us better to understand and appreciate Alexandrian achievement. These scholars simply fulfilled the mission to which they were historically assigned. They took an inventory of their priceless literary inheritance and bequeathed it to posterity. The poets, having no longer a nation for an audience in the strict meaning of that word, and with no great objects to kindle their imagination, were compelled to appeal to a highly cultured, but small reading public. Artificiality of expression, erudition, and formal elaboration thus naturally took the place of the simplicity, spontaneity, and inspiration which distinguished the Golden Age of Greek Literature, and which was recognized as irrevocably past. But true as this is, our knowledge of Alexandrian literature is after all too fragmentary to warrant the somewhat sweeping, though traditional condemnation found on p. 115. In any case, Theocritus must be exempted, who, typical Alexandrian though he was in many respects, is admittedly one of the world's immortal poets. Yet he is referred to but briefly and 'kühl bis ans Herz hinan,' the author having nothing further to say of his matchless Idyls than

that they must have charmed these urban Alexandrians by their pictures of rural life. Strictly speaking, the whole paragraph on Alexandrian Literature is somewhat irrelevant, for we learn nothing of the studies which poets, like Apollonius, Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus, devoted to their predecessors, for it is only on this score that they can have any just claim upon our attention in a history of classical learning. Still, perhaps not too much stress should be laid upon the above desiderata in a first attempt at a complete survey of the entire subject, the author being only too naturally drawn to inspection rather than to introspection, to synthesis rather than to analysis, and I doubt not that in a second edition Dr. Sandys, relieved of the initial task of collecting, sifting, and arranging the vast concrete material, will not fail to add at proper intervals in his book illuminating comments, such as I have indicated, so that the student may more readily recognize definite and characteristic landmarks in the development of classical learning.

In matters of details, I note the following: The sceptical attitude assumed toward the *librarianship of Callimachus* seems to me unwarranted. It is, to say the least, as authentically attested, as that of Zenodotus, Eratosthenes, or Aristarchus. The pinacographic labours of Callimachus, as Dr. Sandys himself admits, would alone render such an assumption intrinsically plausible, and it would be still further strengthened, if Th. Birt's ingenious hypothesis (*Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 486 ff.) be correct, as it may well be, that the famous saying of Callimachus, μέγα βιβλίον, μέγα κακόν (to cite it in its current, shortened form) was not a satirical allusion to the long-winded epic of Apollonius, but referred rather to an innovation of Callimachus, by which the hitherto prevalent but cumbersome 'Grossrollensystem' was discarded for the more practicable 'Kleinrollen,' a change which would in a measure correspond to that from the ponderous folio to the lighter octavo in more modern times. But the author, in company with some scholars of repute, lays stress upon chronological difficulties which are alleged to militate against the librarianship of Callimachus. These objections do not, however, in my judgment, possess any genuine validity. The traditional data of the lives of Zenodotus and Callimachus, as well as the birth of Eratosthenes, are admittedly mere approximations, and even if Zenodotus did die not far from 234, nearly 90 years old, there is not the slightest reason

for supposing that he held the onerous position of librarian for more than 50 years, even granting that he received the appointment as late as the accession to the throne of his pupil, Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, in 285 B.C. He may, for aught we know to the contrary, have retired at the age of sixty or even earlier, being succeeded by his pupil Callimachus, who would then have been not more than fifty, probably somewhat younger. After an incumbency of this office of about 25 years, he was in turn succeeded by Eratosthenes who, according to the generally accepted chronology, was called to Alexandria just about the time of Callimachus's death (c. 235 B.C.). The elasticity of our available data, therefore, our complete ignorance, in particular, of the length of time Zenodotus held the librarianship, the positive and unimpeachable statement that Callimachus was appointed to the same position, the strong collateral evidence, finally, pointing in the same direction—all these considerations ought to be sufficient to warrant the acceptance of the *librarian* Callimachus without any philological compunctions of conscience.

On p. 118 we are told that Aristarchus had criticized Philetas in a special *ὑπόμνημα*, entitled *πρὸς Φιλητᾶν*. But this is clearly an error, shared by many others. It was, I am convinced, nothing more than a kind of supplement to the *Ἀτακτα* of Philetas, the first Greek Dictionary known to us and which seems to have enjoyed a wide celebrity, being probably still extant in the time of Athenaeus, who quotes from them a dozen times. See esp. ix. 383 c. In like manner Aristophanes composed a book *πρὸς τοὺς Καλλιμάχου πινάκες*, i.e. additions to the great Catalogue, and Callimachus himself wrote *πρὸς Πραξιφάνην*, his teacher, which was, therefore, presumably not of a censorious nature, but, like the *πρὸς Κομανόν* of Aristarchus, merely designated the recipient by way of dedication. If the treatise *πρὸς Φιλητᾶν* had been of a polemical character, we should have expected *κατά* (contra) rather than *πρός* (ad), this preposition being used *hostili sensu* only if it does not refer to a proper name. Cp. e.g. Aesch. *κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος*, Josephus *κατὰ Ἀπίωνος*, Hippolytos *κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων*, Proclus *κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*, by the side of Aristarchus *πρὸς τὸ Ξένωνος παράδοξον*, Sext. Emp. *πρὸς μαθηματικούς*, Origen *πρὸς . . . Κέλσου ἀληθῆ λόγον* etc.

There is a wide-spread belief, though the 'canons of best authors,' compiled at

Pergamum and Alexandria, in a measure disprove it (see p. 156), that, with the possible exception of Plato and Aristotle, the philological labours of Alexandrians were virtually confined to poetry, while their Pergamene rivals devoted themselves with almost equal one-sidedness to prose, and it is this belief that has had not a little to do with the general acceptance of the view that the Canon of the Ten Orators originated in the school of Crates. Under these circumstances an otherwise insignificant bit of evidence, preserved among papyrus scraps, brought to light by Grenfell and Hunt, but unfortunately overlooked by Dr. Sandys, at once assumes a singular importance. It is this: 'Ἀριστάρχου [εἰς τὸ] Ἡροδότου α' ὑπόμνημα (Amherst Papyri II <1901> No. 12). Not only have we here the first proof that Aristarchus occupied himself with the 'father of history,' but we are also justified in inferring that the alleged neglect of the prose master-pieces of Greek literature is probably an unwarranted assumption, not unnaturally caused by the almost complete silence of our sources regarding this phase of Alexandrian research, although we shall not be far wrong in supposing that, if their activity in this field had not been incomparably inferior in bulk and quality to their consummate achievements in the criticism and exegesis of poetry, we should have known a little more about it than we admittedly do. In the brief note (p. 136) on the calculation of the ἀκμῇ, that peculiar chronological panacea of Eratosthenes and his disciple Apollodorus, I miss a reference to the brilliant and fundamental article on

the subject by Diels (*Rhein. Mus.* 31 pp. 1 ff.) to whom we owe the rediscovery of this ancient method and the knowledge of its influence. P. 155: The statement in Strabo that, according to Crates, Menelaus had sailed from Gadeira to India, probably suggested, as may be remarked in passing, the same idea to Columbus, as I have endeavoured to show in the *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circulars*, Dec. 1902.

Excepting a few minor details, such as the non-Homeric contributions of Aristarchus, the only serious omission in the account of Alexandrian scholarship seems to me the failure even to mention *Demetrius Magnes*, a contemporary of Cicero. One need but glance at the long but certainly far from exhaustive list of homonyms, such as the Apollonii, Apollodori, Demetrii, Dionysii, etc., in Wissowa's *Lexicon*, to feel that the very idea of Demetrius' works, entitled *Περὶ συνωνύμων πόλεων* and *Περὶ τῶν συνωνύμων ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων*, was in the nature of an inspiration. Such treatises must have filled a long-felt want, as is, indeed, evidenced by the extensive use made of them in many later writers, and the chapter on Deinarchus, fortunately preserved to us by Dionysius, also shows what circumspection, learning, and scholarly accuracy Demetrius applied to his grateful but difficult task. The loss of the second work, in particular, is most deplorable, so that its author eminently deserved, at least, a passing mention in a complete survey of classical scholarship.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

(To be continued.)

BRIEFER NOTICES.

A Greek Grammar: Accidence. By GUSTAVE SIMONSON, M.A., M.D., author of *A Plain Examination of Socialism*. Swan Sonnenschein. xiii + 351 pp. 6s. 6d.

THIS Grammar has many good points. It is written with a considerable knowledge of modern discovery, and avoids most of the old mistakes in matters of form. Thus the facts about $\sigma\sigma$: $\tau\tau$ are correctly stated (p. 6); evidence is given for the pronunciation of internal aspirate in certain compounds (12); the sounds of the symbols are carefully stated, and (a useful addition) the Latin transliterations of some are given (p. 11);

the verb-forms have been carefully sifted, and such tables as the Synopsis on p. 125 or 126, with its classified stems, are excellent; the sections on the formation of words and the classification of compounds, at the end, are clear and compendious; the print is good. On the other hand, in a book of so much detail, we should have expected more. The author has not studied the history of the alphabet, or he would not write that *Sampi* is 'evidently a combination of C (= *σάν*, i.e. *σῆγμα*) and *πῖ*': it is of course the old sibilant M. Both F and Q are found in inscriptions, as should have been stated. On the

whole, the inscriptions have been insufficiently studied, and in one paragraph about them (p. 111) Γ with short limb is printed with an ordinary *gamma* Γ . More should be said of the dialects in a book of this compass, and they should be discussed separately; Prof. Ridgeway's attractive theory, of the points in common between Old Attic and Aeolic, might have been mentioned. A few further points may be indicated. ' τ , for which Attic often has σ ,' is not accurate (p. 2); Attic $\sigma\iota=\tau\iota$. The supposition that the modern Greek newspaper jargon is a 'process of purification' (p. 8) is a ludicrous travesty of the truth. The proper phonetic distinction of breathed, voiced, and aspirate, should be substituted for 'smooth, hard, and rough' (p. 13): the last seems to be an unfortunate choice. In 31. 2 the distinction between $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\nu\sigma$ (= $\epsilon\nu$ -) and $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omega\nu\sigma$ (= $\epsilon\kappa$ -), which are both found, should have been stated; the former alone must have had the nasal sound, the latter being *eggonos*. The order of the mutes (p. 14) should be made to correspond to their place, moving forward from the throat: gutturals, dentals, and labials. Under crasis, space might be found for $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$, $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$, and $\theta\omicron\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$. $\omicron\upsilon$ final accented does not take κ before a vowel in prose (p. 25). The modifications of final sounds in external combination might have been illustrated from inscriptions: $\tau\eta\mu\ \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon$, Cretan $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\delta\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$, etc. 'Internal' should be inserted in § 135. 1 before 'position'; the statement is not true of a short final in position.

W. H. D. R.

Lectures on Classical Subjects. By W. R. HARDIE, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1903. Pp. x, 348. 7s. net.

THESE lectures the author remarks, are not addressed to the professional scholar, who 'will not find much, if anything, that is new to him in this volume.' The first five pass in review some of the more important passages in the ancient authors which illustrate their feeling for Nature, their beliefs about immortality and the supernatural, the legend of an Age of Gold, and the Vein of Romance in Greek and Roman Literature. Two deal with the language and the metrical form of poetry. The last three are on Literary Criticism at Rome, the Revival and Progress of Classical Studies in Europe, and Aims and Methods of Classical Study.

Professor Hardie has the skilful lecturer's eye for the interesting aspect of his subject, and he is not afraid of a generalisation. It would be easy to pick out statements which in a treatise would need qualification. But that is not the point. At a time when Classical Studies are attacked as useless, it is well that books of this kind should be written for the general reader who remembers a little of his Greek, and understands the meaning of culture. The junior student, also, who has forced his way through the thorn-hedge of grammar, is sometimes glad to breathe an ampler air. The professional teacher will find, if not profound reflections, at least not a few suggestions that will interest him.

F. M. CORNFORD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR CLASSICAL STUDENTS.

IN a recently published book, *Lehrs' Kleine Schriften* (p. 476), is given a set of ten commandments for philologists; this code, however, by the very nature of the educational situation in Germany, is hardly adequate for English and American students. We suggest the following:—

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before Syntax.

2. Thou shalt not set up unto thyself modern authorities: thou shalt bow thyself down before the original sources, and them only shalt thou serve.

3. Thou shalt not take the name of the latest German in vain; for the reviewers will not hold him guiltless that taketh the name of a German in vain.

4. Remember thine author: peradventure he is not spurious.

5. Honour prose composition, when thou teachest: that thy pupils may rejoice and thy pile of exercise books increase before thine eyes.

6. Thou shalt not murder thy native language.

7. Thou shalt read the journals.

8. Thou shalt pronounce proper names: moreover, thou shalt pronounce them fluently.

9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against the text of a poet by filling up the lacunae therein, until thou shalt have trans-

posed the verses and turned them end for end.

10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's horse.

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REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—HILARY TERM, 1904.

ON February 5th a paper was read by Mr. WARDE FOWLER in support and amplification of the view put forward in Heinze's *Virgil's Epische Technik* (Berlin, 1903) that Virgil meant the character of Aeneas to grow during the action of the poem. Aeneas is always *pius*, but his *pietas* is only realised at its highest point in the last six books, and only as the result of the descent into Hades, and especially of the 'Heldenschau' in the Sixth Book, which is thus the pivot on which the whole story turns, and the crisis of the hero's life. In the first five books he shows manifest signs of weakness, e.g. in i. 92 foll., and even of *violentia* in ii. 314 foll., 594 foll., of forgetfulness of his divine mission in Bk. IV., where there is an undoubted reference to the narrow escape of the Empire from destruction at the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. In the Fifth Book the character improves, becoming more typically Roman; but even up to the latter part of Bk. VI. Aeneas is continually looking backwards instead of forwards—not yet fully realising that nothing that he has yet achieved is the real work of his life. In the last six books he never looks back or hesitates; and though the characterisation is not strong, and the real interest lies elsewhere, the poet meant his hero in these books to reach the heroic type of the Aeneas of the *Iliad*, in combination with the Roman qualities of *pietas* and *humanitas*.

On February 12th a paper was read by Professor COOK WILSON on the Problem of the Greek Modes. Through the accident of being asked by Professor Bywater to consider a passage in Aristotle's *Politics* (1276. a. 35) for another purpose, the writer had come across a piece of evidence which seemed inconsistent with any current theory of the Greek Modes. By some strange mischance this passage, as well as another—important but much less explicit—from Theon of Smyrna (Hiller, p. 48, l. 12), seemed to have been quite overlooked in the controversy, and it contained information of a kind supposed entirely wanting in the classical period about the internal constitution of a Mode.

It was contended that the passages usually quoted from Plato, Aristotle, Athenaeus, and Plutarch, while confirming Monro's view that a difference in pitch was essential to the difference between the Modes, proved that the Modes must also have differed in the arrangement of their intervals, i.e. as scales. The quotation in Athenaeus from Heraclides Ponticus was of special importance, and the exact drift of it seemed to be generally misunderstood. The result obtained from these passages was confirmed by the new evidence from Aristotle, which seemed to necessitate that the Modes differed as scales, and *inter alia*

could not be different species of the octave of the same compass. They must differ both in pitch and in interval, and thus somehow unite the characteristics of both keys and scales. Octaves taken at different positions in the same Perfect System would differ in this way; but such octaves as Westphal's would not do, because in an order of pitch contrary to the tradition about the Modes. That order had been supposed by Westphal to apply only to pure keys and not to the Modes at all; for it probably seemed that, if two systems were said to differ in pitch by a tone, &c., they must differ by this interval throughout and thus be different keys of the same scale, and hence the distinction would be inapplicable to octaves at different parts of the same Perfect System. It was suggested that this difficulty might be got over by supposing that the interval of pitch between two such octaves was measured by the interval between two notes in them occupying relatively the same given position in order in each of them; and similarly for a system of octaves.

It was shown that, if this was so, the traditional order of pitch given for the Modes, $1\frac{1}{2} \ 1\frac{1}{2}$, would be best accounted for by supposing that the fifth note from the bottom of the modal octave, the true paramese in the central and standard octave and the thetic in the rest, was the note measured from. This would lead to a system of modal octaves in the traditional relations of pitch, such that the Dorian coincided not with the *c-c* octave, which has the intervals of the later so-called Dorian species of octave, but with the *f-f* octave. This not only agreed with the statement in Plutarch that the tetrachord hypaton was excluded from the Dorian Mode, and with his record of the interval of the Mixolydian—the only notice of the kind in a reliable author—but was further confirmed by the fact that it gave a simple solution of a standing puzzle—the story in Plutarch of the treatment of the Mixolydian Mode by a certain Lamprocles. Further, the system of Modes, when taken in connexion with an hypothesis based on Ptolemy about the manner in which the later modal names for the species of octave and for the keys arose, would also give a simple solution of another puzzle, which has occasioned much speculation, the ancient notation for the Hypolydian key; for this would be a necessary consequence of the position assigned to the Dorian Mode. The general relation of these Modes to one another seemed again to make fully clear the meaning of the criticism attributed to Heraclides Ponticus in Athenaeus.

The passage from Aristoxenus i. 37 was discussed. The transposition in it, proposed by Westphal, was defended by a curious circumstance in the text itself, which seemed to have been overlooked; on the other

hand it was shown that Westphal was wrong in supposing that this text, in another part, contained a contradiction.

On February 19th a paper was read by Dr. FARNELL on the Attic Thargelia, discussing (a) the vegetation-ritual, (b) the piacular ceremonies. The former part of the festival fell on the seventh day of Thargelion, that is, about the 20th of May, and was evidently an early harvest-thanksgiving or a consecration of first-fruits immediately preceding the harvest; it falls into line with other European peasant-ritual which has been minutely examined by Mannhardt, and which does not in itself imply any highly organised system of personal deities; it was certainly pre-Apolline at Athens, being taken over by the higher religion as much agrarian primitive religion has been taken over by Christianity. The chief interest and much perplexity attach to the second part of the festival, the piacular ceremonies, which took place on the preceding day; the question concerning the actual immolation of the pharmakos, of great importance for the history of Attic civilisation, was discussed in the light of the positive and negative evidence, and was shown to depend partly on the determination of the date of Socrates' death, which again requires a careful consideration of the Delian festival-calendar, and of the relation of various Delian festivals to the Attic Thargelia. The conclusion to be drawn from the varied evidence is that at least from the fifth century onwards there was no actual sacrifice of the human scape-goat at Athens, though human sacrifice was not unknown in the legend nor even in the ritual of Apollo. A further question was raised as to the exact significance of the religious figure known as the pharmakos; it was pointed out that the piacular conception of the scape-goat does not explain all the facts about him, and that we must also regard him in the light of a divine incarnation; the story for instance that he was put to death because he had stolen certain sacred vessels from Apollo's temple could naturally arise if the pharmakos was carried in procession bearing libation-cups in the character of a god; but if the pharmakos embodied a deity, it must have been an old vegetation-deity other than Apollo.

On February 25th Professor ROBINSON ELLIS read a paper on the following passages:—

Caesar *B.C.* iii. 69: *Omniaque erant tumultus timoris fugae plena adeo ut cum Caesar signa fugientium manu prenderet et consistere juberet, alii dimissis equis eundem cursum confugerent, alii ex metu etiam signa dimitterent, neque quisquam omnino consisteret.*

Confugerent seems to be an error for *confunderent*. A scene is described in which foot-soldiers and cavalry are in turbid retreat. Some of the horse-soldiers dismount and thus become indistinguishable from the rest of the retreating army.

Val. Flacc. iii. 670:

En egomet quocumque vocas sequar: agmina ferro
†Plura metam.

In reconstituting 670 Langen is followed. The Vatican MS. gives *Et ego et quocumque voces qua tegmina ferro*. To Heinsius is due *En egomet*, to Jacobs *vocas sequar: agmina*. For *Plura* Edl. have offered *Prima, Rapta, Dura*. Possibly the word was *Pulsa*.

Prop. iv. 8. 58:

Territa vicinas Teia clamat taquas.

Possibly *amas*, water-buckets. Juv. xiv. 305: *Dispositis praedives amis vigilare cohortem Servorum noctu Licinus jubeat*. The word occurs in these

in Pliny's *Epistles*. He combines it with *siphones* and other *instrumenta ad incendia compescenda* (x. 33. 2).

Prop. iii. 13. 32:

Aut variam plumae +viricoloris avem.

So NF; this points to *viricoloris* rather than *versicoloris*; some bird whose feathers were green or tinged with green.

Sen. *Apocol.* viii.:

Quare, inquis, quaero enim, sororem suam? 'Stulte, stude: Athenis dimidium licet, Alexandriae totum.' 'Quia Romae, inquis, mures molas lingunt.'

The American editor, Mr. Peasley Ball, explains *molas* as 'meal.' Is this meaning possible in the plural? The usual sense of the plural is 'mill-stones.' Seneca says incestuous connexions between brother and sister were not uncommon at Athens, recognised at Alexandria, only furtively permitted in Rome. This is thus expressed: 'You mean, because at Rome (*i.e.* if we look to our own country) the mice only lick the mill-stones where any flour has been left, not venturing on anything more open, *c.g.* where the flour lies freely on the floor, or has been collected in a bag or bin.'

Theogn. 894:

ὅς δὲ κυψελίζων Ζεὺς δλέσειε γένος.

κυψελίζων is the reading of the best MS. A. Mr. Harrison prints *Κυψελιδών*, and discusses the question what *Κυψελος* is meant in an appendix. Might not *κυψελίζων* be a corruption of *Κύψελε σόν*? This is a merely palaeographical guess, and only offered as such.

Theogn. 898-902:

Κύρῳ εἰ πάντ' ἀνδρεσσὶ καταθητοῖς χαλεπαίνει
γινώσκειν ὡς νοῦν οἶον ἕκαστος ἔχει
αὐτὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι, καὶ ἔργματα τῶν τε δικάων
τῶν τ' ἀδίκων, μέγα κεν πῆμα βροτοῖσιν ἐπῆν.

Professor Ellis would change *χαλεπαίνει* to *χαλέπῃ* ἦεν and *οἶον* to *χοῖον*. The construction would thus be clear and the meaning not unintelligible. 1059, 1060 *Τιμαγόρα, πολλῶν ὀργὴν ἀπάτερθεν ὀρῶντι γινώσκειν χαλεπόν, καίπερ ἔνυτι σοφῶ* implies that the discernment of men's characters by distant observation, though difficult, is not impossible. In the four lines 898-902 the same thing is asserted, with the addition that, if such distant discernment of what others do or think were so hard as to be impossible, it would be a serious misfortune for the world.

Theogn. 1085, 6 he would write thus:

Δημῶναξ, σὺ δὲ πολλὰ φέρειν βαρὺς· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσθη
τοῦθ' ἔρδειν ὅ τί σοι μὴ καταθύμιον ᾖ.

A gives *Δημων αξιοί δε πολλὰ φερειν βαρυ* (altered from *βαρυν*, according to Bergk³). The other MSS. point with equal clearness to *Δημῶναξ, φέρειν*, and some inflexion of *βαρὺς* in which either *s* or *v* is retained. Bergk conj. *σὺ δὲ πολλὰ φέρεις βαρὺ*, which necessitates an unpleasant hiatus, but seems very likely to be right in *σὺ δέ*. Harrison gives *σοὶ πολλὰ φέρειν βαρὺ*, objectionable as a repetition of *σοὶ*. If *σὺ δέ* is right, as seems more than probable, and *φέρειν*, as both A and the other MSS. agree, *βαρὺς*, so far from being an awkward attempt to emend, will be necessary. And surely this personal sense 'resentful' is particularly idiomatic, whereas *βαρὺ* would be commonplace, a fault of which Theognis is not often guilty.

Ennius *Ann.* i. 67, Vahlen:

Brakman Frontoniana p. 36 reports the Fronton palimpsest as having beyond doubt *Constitis jluivius*.

This must be (*Postquam*) *constitit is, fluvius*, a type of hexameter quite according with Ennius' prosody elsewhere.

Professor Ellis also suggested that the explanation of the abnormal *Regis opus, sterilitis diu palus aptaque remis* (Hor. *A. P.* 65) is to be found in some peculiarity of pronunciation in which the syllables were slurred. A trace of something of the kind seems to be found in the reading of the Fronto palimpsest p. 228 Naber PLAUDIRUS for PALUDIRUS, and in the Oxford MS. of Catullus (Canon. Lat. 30) *plaudesque for paludesque* (cxv. 5). And so *plaudicolum* for *paludicolum* in the ninth century MS. at St. Gallen of an epigram in the *Anthologia Latina* 395. 6 Riese.

At the same meeting Mr. POWELL read a paper on two passages of Virgil's Georgics.

i. 410 *Presso gutture*. The meaning of 'hushed, pressed, soft,' which all the editors give, seems inappropriate, both to the context and to the ornithological fact. A clear note of joy is described; and the evidence of observers shows that 'indrawn throat' does not express the action of a rook in cawing, although the neck may be strained forward. *Pressus* has a special meaning of 'distinct,' 'clear,' in the technical language of rhetoric. In Cicero *de Officiis* i. 133, *presse loquentium* means 'with a clear distinct enunciation.' In Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 43, *oris pressu* means 'distinct articulation,' and so in iii. 45. In Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 149 *sonos vocis distinctos et pressos* are made by the tongue. *Presso* then combines, in Virgil's usual way, the physical meaning of effort, of pressing forward, not drawing back, the neck, and this literary use; and the phrase may be translated 'with clear, deep note.' Virgil's exact knowledge of rooks may be illustrated by *Georg.* i. 382, *corvorum cœrecilus*, which refers not merely to their numbers, but to their military precision and discipline.

iv. 141 *Ille tiliac atque uberrima pinus*. The meaning of *uberrima* has been missed by the editors, who generally take it as meaning 'fruitful,' which makes good sense at first sight, as the Stone Pine (*pinus pinea*), the pine of Italy and the Tyrol, was much prized for its nuts in Pliny's time (*N.H.* xvi. 41), which are still eaten and called *Pinochê*.

But the lines 139 to 141 refer to gardens from the point of view of bee-keepers; Columella, ix. 4, and Palladius, i. 37, give both the *tilia* and the *pinus* among the list of trees which a bee-keeper should plant; the trees in this list are all either of the class of early-flowering trees, or resiniferous. There is no need to accept the reading *tinus*, which Philargyrius apud Servium ad loc. says was left by Virgil in his own handwriting as a variant, although *tinus* is an early-flowering shrub. *Uberrima* means 'rich in pollen.' Conifers are rich in pollen, and an observer writing in the *Spectator* of March 10, 1894, speaks of the pines attracting the early bees, and of the pines being crowded by working bees in the warm early spring of 1893 for the rich supplies of pollen. A bee-keeper will plant early-flowering trees which will be in flower before the spring flowers, and give food for the comparatively barren months of March and April; hence the appropriateness of *saepes florem depasta salieti* in *Ecl.* i. 54, willows being early to flower. Again, conifers are resinous, and are said to provide the propolis, (which is probably the meaning of *fucus* in *Georg.* iv. 39 and of *gluten* in 160), just as in 183 the *tilia* is called *pinguis* from the gluten on the leaves; and many of the other trees given in Columella's list are resinous. *Uberrima* may then be translated 'honey-laden.' *Tiliac* (lime-trees) are

mentioned, because bees are notoriously fond of them as supplying honey and propolis; pines are mentioned, because, besides these two advantages, they are early in flower. Virgil always writes carefully about bees and trees; Suetonius' memoir (§ 1) says that Virgil's father 'silvis coemendis atque apibus curandis auxisse reculam fertur.'

On March 4th a paper was read by Mr. Ross on some passages in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. A 1071. a. 33-b. 2; i. 33, η may be defended as introducing (1) an explanation of $\omega\delta\iota$ or (2) a limitation of $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$. In l. 34 $\omega\delta\iota$ is right, pointing forward to $\delta\tau\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon$ which explains it. $\epsilon\tau\iota \tau\delta \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\upsilon \epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (the *primum movens*, opposed to the *prōton* $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$, cf. *Eth.* iii. 1112. b. 23) sc. $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\omega\upsilon \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\upsilon$, is a third reason for saying the causes of all things are the same, the first being given in ll. 33-34, the second in ll. 34-35. But the word *prōton* leads Aristotle to mention *prōta* in another sense—proximate causes—which are different for different things. For the juxtaposition of the two senses cf. *H.* 1044. a. 16 with 18, and A 1070. b. 27 with 34, and for the meaning of $\epsilon\tau\iota \tau\delta \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\upsilon \epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ cf. especially 1070. b. 34. $\upsilon\sigma\alpha \tau\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ is appropriate, since $\tau\delta \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omega\upsilon \epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ has no contrary (A 1075. b. 22). $\tau\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\iota\alpha$ are pairs of qualities related as $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ to $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and acting as mutual proximate causes. But we must not count as one the qualities which can be grouped under one generic or ambiguous term; we must count the individual instances separately, or else there would not be always different causes for different things.

1072. a. 32—b. 7; i. 34, read $\pi\omega\varsigma \epsilon\chi\omicron\nu$. b. 2. Christ's emendation $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\kappa\alpha \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ must be right; it is confirmed by Averroes' quotation of Alexander (ed. Freudenthal). $\tau\delta \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ (sc. $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$) refers to $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\tau\delta \delta' \omicron\upsilon\kappa \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota \tau\omega\iota$. L. 5, the MSS. all read $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$, and it is not quite clear that Alexander omits it. $\eta \kappa\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ must refer to what follows. Read $\omega\sigma\tau' \epsilon\iota \eta \phi\omicron\rho\alpha$ (subject) $\eta \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (predicate) $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu$, $\eta \kappa\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta \gamma' \epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma \epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \tau\acute{\omicron}\pi\omicron\nu$. If the spatial motion of a thing is the primary spatial motion (the circular, and therefore the primary motion in general, for spatial motion is the primary motion), and is an $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (not a mere $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, i.e. $\kappa\iota\upsilon\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau' \omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\nu$), the thing is contingent in that respect in which it is moved, i.e. in place, even if not in substance (i.e. even if it is eternal, as the *primum mobile* is).

1074. a. 12-14. The theories as to the number of the spheres have just been stated as follows:—

	Eudoxus.	Calippus.	Aristotle adds counteracting spheres.	Total.
Saturn	4	4	4-1	7
Jupiter	4	4	4-1	7
Mars	4	5	5-1	9
Venus	4	5	5-1	9
Mercury	4	5	5-1	9
Sun	3	5	5-1	9
Moon	3	5	...	5
	26	33	+ 22	= 55

'Not adding to the moon and to the sun the movements we have mentioned' would naturally mean deducting the four Calippus added, and the two sun-spheres which Aristotle added to counteract the two sun-spheres added by Calippus. This would reduce the total to forty-nine, not to forty-seven as is heretofore stated. If Aristotle meant to deduct four counteracting spheres from the sun, he was giving up the principle of counteracting spheres, for two of Eudoxus'

sun-spheres would remain uncounteracted and disturb the movement of the moon. Alexander makes three suggestions:—(1) that Aristotle forgets there are only two moon-spheres to be subtracted, (2) that he forgets there are only four sun-spheres to be subtracted, (3) that *ἐννέα* is the true reading. Simpl. on *de Caelo* 503. 10—504. 3 adds nothing valuable. Schw. and Bon. accept Krische's view that the movements to be deducted are the eight reverse movements of Mercury and the sun which prevent their forward movements from affecting the sun and the moon respectively. K. thinks these might be omitted because of the great distance of the sun and moon from the planets and from each other. But (1) the last point is wrong, for the spheres touch one another. *Meteor.* 340. b. 10, 341. a. 2; *de Caelo* 287. a. 5, (2) the reverse spheres of Mercury and the sun were not added to the sun and the moon, though for their good, (3) K. ignores *de Caelo* 291. b. 35 *ἐλάττους γὰρ ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη κινεῖνται κινήσεις ἢ τῶν πλανημένων ἀστρῶν ἐνια*. On K.'s view only reverse movements have to be deducted; the sun and the moon would still have five movements each, which is not fewer than the number of movements of any of the planets; for five is the largest number assigned to any of the planets in the theory either of Eudoxus or of Calippus. If the total number of movements (backward and forward) assigned to the sun and the moon is, as A. tells us, to be reduced from fourteen to six, and if the sun and the moon are each to have less than five, either one must have four and the other two, or each must have three. No known theory agrees with the former alternative, while that of Eudoxus agrees exactly with the latter. Aristotle, then, goes back to the Eudoxean theory, subtracting—just as his words suggest—all the additions made by Calippus and himself in respect of the sun and the moon. This coincides with Alexander's second interpretation. His third interpretation is tempting; but *ἐννέα* goes back to the time of Sosigenes (50 B.C.) and *ἐννέα* still leaves the main difficulty—why Aristotle should give up the additions made by himself and Calippus. We have no light on this: but, in view of the obvious differences between the sun and moon and the planets, it is not surprising that Aristotle should have abandoned, with regard to the former, a theory which he accepted with regard to the latter. If our view is correct, Aristotle might have said in *de Caelo* that the sun and the moon have fewer motions than any of the planets; but his point is that the movements do not become regularly more complex as one passes from the *primū mobile* inwards to the earth.

On March 11th a paper was read by Mr. LOUIS DYER on 'Early Relations between Arcadia and Olympia.' The Peloponnesian war ultimately revolutionised these relations, but not until the foundation of Megalopolis, the forcible occupation of Olympia, and the celebration of the games by Arcadians in 364 B.C., known as the An-olympiad. Recent labours on Olympian inscriptions, on the Oxyrhynchus list of victors from *Ol.* 75–83 (Robert), and on cc. i.–xviii of Paus. vi. (W. Hyde), enabled the writer to draw a sharp line at the Anolympiad, before which Arcadians and Eleans indiscriminately, and as one community, achieved the highest standard in athletics. Pausanias catalogued 188-odd victors. Of these 168 were approximately dated; and only one Arcadian among them came after 364 B.C., and he won in 360 B.C. He was of Lepreum, which must count as Arcadian. No inscription records an Arcadian victor after the Anolympiad, though Arcadian local games flourished until at least 200

B.C. From 168 dated victors, subtract 65 who come after the Anolympiad, and 103 remain, 52 for all other parts of the Greek world, while 51 are left who came from Arcadia and Elis. Of these 30 are Arcadians and 21 Eleans. This doubtless resulted partly from the superior numbers of the Arcadians, but chiefly from their superior athletics, which in turn depended on their highly developed local games and their easier access to the Nemean and Pythian games, as well as on the exclusion of Eleans from the Isthmia. Xenias in Cyrus's 10,000 showed the Arcadian devotion to games, and Lyeomedes's boast as to Arcadian bodily vigour had a sound basis in fact. Local Arcadian games, unsupplied until the foundation of Megalopolis with Stadia and Hippodromes, were plainly little more than a training ground for the metropolitan contests at Olympia. The Eleans so greatly excelled in *savoir faire*, that, under great provocation, the Spartans continued them as overseers of the games, judging the rival claimants as incompetent *χωρίται* (Xen. *Hell.* III. ii. 31). Arcadians won no chariot-races, and excelled chiefly in boxing and wrestling, not in the pentathlon. Their boy victors were proportionately more numerous than the Eleans', perhaps because grown up Arcadians went forth as mercenaries.

In the matter of the sculptors chosen to make statues of Arcadian and Elean victors, indications of a common taste are not lacking. Barring scattered choices, we find nine Eleans and seven Arcadians falling upon four sculptors, all from Sicyon, obviously nearer to Arcadia than to Elis. Close scrutiny of dates indicates that Arcadians took the initiative in choosing sculptors, and were followed by Eleans. Arcadians introduced Sicyonian sculptors, patronised by them and Eleans just when the Sicyonian treasury was built at Olympia. Arcadians at an earlier time introduced Pythagoras of Rhegium and Nicodamus of Maenalis to the notice and patronage of all Greece. After their withdrawal from Olympia there was a collapse of good taste. This is suggested by shoals of monuments of degenerate taste that met Pausanias' eye at the end of his first, and throughout his second, round among victors' statues. These, with few exceptions, were set up after the Anolympiad, and their grouping suggests a survival in the mind of the Eleans of the notion that Elis and Arcadia were still the 'home-counties' of the games, and perhaps an expectation of future Arcadian victors. Before the Anolympiad, at all events, the grouping of victors' statues is a record of long comradeship between Arcadians and Eleans. It was Arcadia and Elis against the world. Arcadians and Eleans were grouped together, and always in the best places. The three groups east of the front of the Great Temple of Zeus contained 35 Arcado-Eleans, a group presumably near the Great Ashen-Altar contained 3, and the group south of the Heraeum 6.

Further evidence that for social and religious purposes the Eleans and Arcadians often figure as one people, is found in Xenophon's and Plutarch's casual allusion to individual Eleans as Arcadian (*Anab.* VI. iv. 10, *De Fraternali Amore* p. 479 B), in Thucydides's (I. 10) subdivision of the Peloponnesus, alluded to by Pausanias at the beginning of Book V, as well as in Pindar's Sixth Olympian Ode. This is further emphasised by the known facts about Elean and Arcadian coinage, and by Pausanias's unsuccessful, though repeated attempts to indicate the boundary between Elis and Arcadia. The boundary between Heraea and Pisatis he knows as a cantonal boundary, but nevertheless puts the whole district of Phloe into Arcadia, and places Mt. Lapithas there also, in

spite of giving the river Diagon as the limit of southern Pisatis eastward. Only by reading *Φρυγίας*,—not known as a topographical designation,—for *Πιστίας* in a puzzling passage, can Blümner and Hitzig disguise the fact, recognised in the index to Teubner's text, that Pausanias regards Pholoe as an Arcadian mountain, although it is in Elis, just as he looks upon Mt. Lapithas as Arcadian, although

west of the river Diagon. The testimony of legends here is overwhelming, and to this may be added, for the earliest times, that of deep-level Olympian excavations. These must have come from an area including at least the whole region watered by the Alpheus and all its tributaries.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE.
Hon. Sec.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

SAUER'S LABORDE HEAD AND PARTHENON PEDIMENTS.

Der Weber-Laborde'sche Kopf, und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon. B. SAUER.
Berlin: Reimer, 1903. Pp. 117. Three plates, eight cuts. 5 mk.

THE head belonging to the Comte de Laborde has long been familiar in cast and photograph to all interested in the Parthenon. It was brought in the time of Morosini from Athens to Venice by a member of the Sangallo family, and identified at Venice by Weber in 1823 as belonging to the Parthenon Pediments. Prof. Sauer, who has done very valuable work already in his exact and detailed examination of the floor and background of the Pediments as they exist *in situ*, has submitted the Laborde head to a long and serious course of research. The results are striking. He shews that the head has been twice restored in plaster, first by Ferrari and then by Simart. The lower part of the forehead, the whole of the nose and mouth, and the front part of the chin are modern. So much a trained eye can easily discern from a careful examination of the plaster casts of the head, though certain French archaeologists are most unwilling to allow that the profile is a modern creation. But Dr. Sauer made a further discovery, by the help of old casts preserved at Giessen and Dresden. Every one who has studied it must have observed how impossibly deep the head is from front to back. This turns out to be the fault of Simart, who finding the back of the head damaged and part of the top indented, added plaster at the back and top to a depth of 1 to 2 centimetres, say three-quarters of an inch. The restoration of the face was perhaps legitimate, but the distortion of the whole form of the head was unjustifiable.

Taking his discovery as a starting point, Prof. Sauer has certainly used it for all it is worth, perhaps for somewhat more, though

one must always forgive the ardour of the man who unearths a new fact. He seeks in an exhaustive investigation to prove that the slight recessing of part of the top of the head proves exactly how it must have stood in relation to the cornice of the pediment; and further that it must be assigned, not to the Western Pediment, but to the central portion of the Eastern, which has disappeared ages ago, all but three or four fragments. Prof. Sauer tries to support with fresh arguments the restoration of the East Pediment which he proposed in 1891, but which has not met with the general acceptance of which, not unnaturally, its originator had thought it worthy. He also makes a contribution to the West Pediment in the form of a newly identified foot, which he attributes to the male figure seated on the lap of mother or nurse.

The facts as to the Laborde head with which Prof. Sauer sets out seem clear and certain. For these at least we owe him gratitude. His tendency to get out of facts more conclusions than they will warrant appeared in his work on the Theseium. In dealing with the Parthenon Pediments he is on safer ground: and his method, even if carried to excess, is far preferable to the arguments from one's subjective notions of fitnesses and probabilities which have played so great a part in some reconstructions and interpretations of the sculptures of the Parthenon.

P. GARDNER.

WALTER'S GREEK ART.

Greek Art. By H. B. WALTERS. (Little Books on Art) Methuen & Co. 1904.
Pp. x, 242. 40 illustrations. 2s. 6d. net.

'It is easier to criticize than to execute,' wrote Xeuix over one of his pictures, and Mr. H. B. Walters might well have prefixed the quotation to the volume on

Greek Art which he has contributed to the 'Little Books on Art' series. Certainly the general editor shewed great courage in inviting him to write a history of Greek Art in (approximately) 42,000 words, but he shewed even greater courage in accepting the invitation. To a person totally ignorant of the subject the task might not present difficulties, but Mr. Walters is an expert in at least three important branches of Greek Archaeology, and he must have spent anxious days and sleepless nights in trying to bring his stores of knowledge within the limits enjoined by the series. We have heard of the 'Tyranny of Tears,' but what is that to 'the Tyranny of the Series'? Forty-two thousand words are enough for a treatise on 'Enamels,' or 'Christian Symbolism,' or the work of a single painter, and therefore an author, whose subject includes the development of sculpture, painting, metal-work, architecture, and gem engraving during 450 years, is expected to confine himself within the same limits! 'Which is absurd.'

Mr. Walters goes a long way towards proving the falsity of the axiom that 'the less cannot contain the greater': his book contains a great deal more information than could reasonably be expected. After a short introductory sketch of the beginnings of Greek Art, he treats his subject in sections, dealing with each branch of it in turn by choosing in it a few salient points for discussion and illustration. Of these he writes pleasantly with a due regard to the unavoidable limitations of his readers. The chapters devoted to the minor arts are the most satisfying because as there is less to say about them than about sculpture a more complete view of each can be given in such a limited space.

On one point only is it possible to quarrel with the arrangement of the book:—the chapter on *Architecture* (v) might with advantage have preceded those on *Sculpture*, (ii, iii, iv), for in the latter a great deal of space is devoted (and rightly) to sculpture employed decoratively in Greek temples, and some of the terms used in describing its position will be unintelligible to the average reader, who may possibly know that the 'pediment' of a Greek temple is a 'gable-end,' but is certainly ignorant of the technical meaning of the terms 'metope' and 'cella,' used in discussing the Parthenon and other sculptures (page 65), whereas if the chapter on *Architecture* had come first the meaning of these terms and of many others would be quite clear. A side eleva-

tion of a Greek temple shewing the main differences between the Doric and Ionic styles would have been a welcome addition to the plans with which this chapter (v) is enriched, even if it had involved the omission of the ground plans of 'decastyle-dipteral,' or 'pseudo-peripteral' temples (p. 105).

All museum visitors will be grateful to Mr. Walters for including, in his chapter on vase-painting (vii), outline drawings of seventeen of the principal vase shapes with their Greek names, and readers who take the trouble to master the information in this chapter will be rewarded by thoroughly enjoying their next visit to the British Museum galleries, instead of being utterly bored by the vases which they will have learnt *not* to call 'Etruscan' (page 139).

Later chapters deal in the same careful way with bronzes, terra-cottas, gems, and coins, all well illustrated by an admirably selected series of plates, mostly from objects in the British Museum. Many readers would undoubtedly have liked to see a representation of the Mycenaean lady in the 'elaborately flounced and to all appearance divided skirt of the period' (page 209).

May not this horror merely be an 'artistic rendering' of the tendency of all full skirts, especially when flounced, to fall in between the knees? The Academy critic of *The Tailor* has dreadful tales to tell of sartorial atrocities perpetrated by artists, in rendering their sitters' clothes, and as the last porcelain figures found by Mr. Evans in Crete (a priestess or votary with serpents) do not shew this peculiar falling-in of the skirt, it would be only kind to give the Mycenaean ladies the benefit of the doubt.

Mr. Walters has added to his book a very useful 'Chronological Scheme of Greek Art,' and a carefully compiled index, both of which will be much appreciated by his readers. The book itself, which is well printed and prettily got up, with its forty monochrome plates, is a marvel of cheapness at half-a-crown.

C. A. HUTTON.

TALFOURD ELY'S *ROMAN HAYLING*.

Roman Hayling. A contribution to the History of Roman Britain by TALFOURD ELY, D.Lit., M.A. (Lond.), F.S.A. With Plan and Illustrations. London: Taylor and Francis, 1904. 5s. net.

THIS dissertation deals with the results of excavations carried on in Hayling Island

by Mr. Talfourd Ely since 1897, in which he has had the distinction of having wielded both the spade (single-handed) and the pen. Remains of a large Roman settlement were discovered. The finding of a *dupondius* of Domitian (struck in 95), which looks almost as if it had come fresh from the mint, leads Mr. Talfourd Ely to connect the settlement with Vespasian's operations in the Isle of Wight at the time of Plautius' invasion. He would date the building about 45 after Christ or a few years later. The discovery of an early Roman settlement on Hayling Island is of considerable interest, though the connection with Vespasian's campaign is only a possibility.

F. H. M.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Crete.—Mr. Arthur Evans telegraphs that on a headland north of Knossos he has unearthed the remains of a great stone mausoleum. It is in the form of a square chamber, rising to a lofty gable, with arched entrance passage. In one corner, below the floor, was found a cist grave. Though nearly all the metal objects had been removed in ancient times, several relics of various kinds were found, including clay impressions of a royal signet, painted jars in fine palace style, a carved stone lamp with crystal pommel, an Egyptian basalt bowl, many alabastra, and an Egyptian necklace of lapis lazuli with pendent figures. Mr. Evans thinks that the grave was that of one of the last Minoan kings.¹

ITALY.

Pitigliano (S. Etruria).—Numerous vases have been discovered in Etruscan tombs. Of the *bucchero nero* the most noteworthy is a vase decorated on the handles with female heads in relief, and on the body with a frieze of animals, twice repeated. An cenochoe of orientalizing style is adorned with palmettes and lotus flowers. A rude model of a two-horsed chariot in terracotta was found in one of the tombs together with vases of the same type as the foregoing. Attic black-figured vases were also present, the most interesting being a kylix decorated with eyes and figures of Silenos. From another tomb came a seated Egyptian figure in porcelain. The tombs are of the 6th century B.C.²

¹ *Times*, April 27th.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, part 7.

Sulmona (Paeligni).—A head of veined marble has been found in course of demolishing a wall on the Via Peligna. It is about 8½ in. high, and appears to be a good copy of a Greek ideal head, perhaps representing Apollo.²

Bolsena.—Excavations carried on since 1901 in the neighbourhood of the Roman city have led to the discovery of numerous sculptures, architectural fragments, and inscriptions, mostly of the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ. Remains of pre-Roman walls, however, make it probable that the Roman Bolsena was built on the site of an old Etruscan settlement.³

SARDINIA.

Fordongianus (Forum Traiani).—A preliminary excavation of the *thermae* shows that enough remains to give an idea of their general structure and arrangement. Further excavation would probably lead to the discovery of much interesting epigraphical material. Two statuettes in trachyte which have been found are curious. The one is a caricature of a male figure with exaggerated trunk and feet and very short legs; he wears a loin cloth and has a snake twined round his l. arm. The second statuette lacks the extremities of the hands and feet, but has the head preserved. It is about 3 ft. high, and represents a similar grotesque figure, with some differences of detail. Possibly the serpent has some reference to the healing properties of the warm springs. Perhaps, too, we can trace Carthaginian influence in these monstrous figures, though they are probably of Roman date.⁴

Near Fordongianus a tomb was recently discovered containing (1) A pear-shaped glass vase, (2) two gold rings, (3) a necklace of porcelain, white glass, amber, and carnelian beads, (4) a bronze bracelet, (5) a bronze key with ring, and (6) a denarius of Q. Pompeius Rufus (58 B.C.).⁴

SICILY.

Camarina.—Excavations in 1902 and 1903 led to the discovery of several tombs, chiefly of a very poor class. Most of them belong to the second half of the 5th or first half of the 4th century B.C. A few are as late as the first half of the 3rd century. None of the vases found are remarkable for their designs, but they are in a good state of preservation. They include ten large craters with red-figure designs. The bronzes found

Ibid. part 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* part 9.

are poor, consisting of several strigils and one mirror.³

Gela.—A bronze patera, decorated with nine figures of horses and asses, and with a flower in the centre has been found on a farm near Gela. It is an imitation of the well-known Phoenician paterae, but is probably of Greek workmanship. Date, 7th–6th century B.C.³

Grammichele.—Beneath the foundations of a square building a number of noteworthy objects have been found. Unfortunately they have suffered from unskilful excavation. The principal finds are (1) an archaic terracotta statuette of a seated woman (second half of 6th century), (2) a male marble torso of good execution, perhaps an Apollo, of about the same date, (3) a male head of local limestone, bearded, (4) many fragments of black-figured vases, and (5) three amphorae and two alabastra of glass. Apparently these objects are the remains of an archaic temple treasure.³

Syracuse.—To the W. of Lysimelia a deposit of terracottas has been found, consisting in the main of female heads of the Hellenistic period. Near this same place two archaic tombs have been excavated. The first contained a cinerary *lebes* and many vases, of which the most interesting is an alabastron with pointed base. It is covered with enamel and is probably of Phoenician workmanship (7th–6th century B.C.). Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, iii. p. 732, Pl. vi. 2. In the other tomb was a large crater with volute handles and wide mouth. Below the rim is a black-figure design, divided into two parts; on both are represented a combat of two warriors, and warriors departing in their chariots. There is variation of detail. The vase belongs to the second period of Attic b.-f. vases (about 500 B.C.).⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Numismatic Chronicle, 1904. Part 1.

Sir H. Howorth, 'Some coins attributed to Babylon by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer.' On certain coins bearing the name of the Satrap Mazaios, also double-darics, &c. Howorth contends that it is *a priori* unlikely on historical grounds that Alexander the Great would have permitted his satrap to strike coins at Babylon with his (Mazaios's) name, nor is it likely that Alexander would have continued the issue of

the daric archer-type at Babylon. The coins are criticized in detail, and the writer considers that they were not minted at Babylon, but 'somewhere on the southern sea-board of Asia Minor or in Syria.'—J. G. C. Anderson. On the Era of Sebastopolis in Pontus, dating from B.C. 3, autumn. Also on the Era of Comana in Pontus which had been approximately ascertained to begin A.D. 34 or 35. Anderson shows from an inscription that it began in A.D. 34.

Jahresheft. des österreichischen archäol. Institutes. Bd. VII (1904) contains an interesting numismatic paper by Dr. B. Pick, 'Die Tempeltragenden Gottheiten und die Darstellung der Neokorie auf den Münzen.' It deals with the type of a figure—usually the city-goddess—holding a small temple, like Saints and Donors in mediaeval art. The earliest representations occur under Domitian, and with the exception of two towns in Thrace, the type is confined to Asia Minor (Smyrna, Lesbos, Nicomedia, Tarsus, Side, etc.). A mention of the Neokorate generally occurs in the accompanying inscription and the temple of which a model or a reproduction is shown is usually the temple built by the coin-issuing town in honour of the Emperor. These types as treated by Pick throw some welcome light on the Neokorate question at various cities.

With regard to the types of Greek Imperial coins generally, Pick suggests a classification that may prove a useful clue through an intricate maze as yet but incompletely explored by numismatists. (i) Conventional types common to the whole Graeco-Roman world (e.g. Tyche, Asklepios). (ii) Types of local significance, usually reproductions of a cultus-statue. (iii) Types commemorating some historical event, e.g. the building of a temple in honour of the Emperor, as on the coins discussed in this paper.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. 1904. Parts 3 and 4.

H. Gaebler, 'Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens.' This is the fourth of Dr. Gaebler's valuable series of articles on Macedonian numismatics, and deals with the Imperial period (pp. 245–338: a second part to follow). The coins principally discussed are those issued under the authority of the *Κοινὸν Μακεδόνων* the diet of the Province which was presided over by an *ἀρχιερεὺς* and the functions of which were chiefly religious and connected with the provincial cultus of the Emperor and the celebration of the Games. Many of the types relate to Alexander the Great. The article also contains a great deal of learned matter—which might, perhaps, have appeared more conveniently in a separate monograph—on the early history of the Neokorate, at Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, etc.—R. Zahn, 'Siegerkrone auf einer Tonlampe.' An object on Greek Imperial coins usually described as a prize-urn (awarded to victors in the games) has been lately shown by Dr. Dressel to be probably a ceremonial head-dress assumed by victorious athletes. (Dr. Pick in the article summarized above, considers that the prize-urn as well as the head-dress is to be found on the coins.) This object occurs on the terra-cotta lamp here described (Berlin Mus., of third century A.D.).—*Obituaries.* Th. Mommsen by H. Dressel. Ulrich Köhler by R. Weil.—*Bibliography of Greek and Roman Numismatics* by K. Regling. The first part (57 pages, covering the years 1901 and 1902) of a most acceptable work.

WARWICK WROTH.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, part 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* part 9.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1904.

2 Mar. *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*. Supplementum Sylloges Inscr. Graec. ed. W. Dittenberger. I. (W. Larfeld), very favourable. *Demetrius on Style*. The Greek text edited by W. Rhys Roberts (H. v. Arnim) II. 'For Germany this edition compares unfavourably with Radermacher's.' A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (R. Asmus), favourable.

9 Mar. *Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Expedition nach Kleinasien*, von J. Jüthner, Fr. Knoll, K. Partsch und H. Swoboda. *Studia Pontica* I. *A journey of exploration in Pontus*, by J. G. C. Anderson. Murray's Handy classical maps, *Asia Minor*, ed. J. G. C. Anderson (G. Lang), favourable. V. Ussani, *Sul valore storico del poema lucreo* (J. Ziehen), very favourable. C. Brakman, *Frontoniana* (C. W.), unfavourable. A. Bechtel, *Sandelae Silviae Peregrinatio*. The text and a study of the Latinity (C. W.). C. Hesselung, *Les mots maritimes empruntés par le Grec aux langues romanes* (G. Wartenberg).

16 Mar. F. H. M. Blaydes, *Spicilegium Sophoclium*. Not without value. Fr. Kaehler, *Forschungen zur Pytheas' Nordlandreise* (Fr. Matthias), favourable. *Ciceronis epistulae*. II. *Epistulae ad Atticum*, rec. C. Purser (W. Sternkopf), favourable. G. Riedner, *Typische Äusserungen der römischen Dichter über ihre Begabung* (K. P. Schulze), favourable. *Florilegium patristicum*, digressit G. Rauschen. I. *Monumenta aevi apostolici* (J. Dräseke), very favourable. A. Huemer, *De Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani re metrica* (C. W.), favourable.

23 Mar. H. Francotte, *L'administration financière des cités grecques* (Fr. Cauet), very favourable. *Caroli Léveque libellum aureum de Plutarcho mentis medico denno edendum* eur. J. J. Hartman (Th. Eisele), favourable. E. Vitranò, *De Cutilia auctore* (J. Ziehen). 'A useful contribution.' C. Synnerberg, *Randbemerkungen zu Minucius Felix*, II. (Boenig), favourable.

30 Mar. E. Drexler, *Homer Die Anfänge der hellenischen Kultur* (A. Höck), very favourable. A.

Oddo, *Pisistrato* (Fr. Cauet). *Horatius*, von O. Keller und J. Häussner, 3. Aufl. Th. Fritzsche, *Die Wiederholungen bei Horaz* (K. P. Schulze), favourable. *Georgii Acropolitae opera* rec. A. Heisenberg. II. (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

6 Apr. S. Eitrem, *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (H. Steuding). 'The combinations are uncertain.' *Demosthenis orationes*, rec. S. H. Butcher, I. (P. Uhle), very favourable. A. Mau, *Führer durch Pompeji*. 4. Aufl. (Gillischewski), very favourable. Kottmann, *De elocutione L. Junii Moderati Columellae* (W. Gemoll), favourable. P. Lejay, *Lexicographie latine* (P.). *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae iussu Institutii Savigniani compositum*. Fasc. IV. (W. Kalb).

13 Apr. E. Capps, *The introduction of comedy into the City Dionysia* (A. Körte), favourable. L. Pollak, *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiedarbeiten in Besitze A. J. von Nelirow* (W. Amelung). *Demosthenes, Ausgewählte Reden*, von A. Westermann. 2 Bändchen, 7. Aufl. von E. Rosenberg (P. Uhle), 'Much to be commended.' C. Hubert, *De Plutarchi Amatorio* (W. Nachstädt), favourable. M. von Schwinds *Philostratische Gemälde*, herausg. von R. Förster (Fr. Spiro). 'A very artistic gift.' R. S. Radford, *Use of the suffixes -ānus and -ūnus in forming possessive adjectives from names of persons* (A. Zimmermann), favourable.

20 Apr. C. Wachsmuth, *Athen* (W. Dörpfeld), favourable. F. Wipprecht, *Zur Entwicklung der rationalistischen Mythendeutung bei den Griechen*, I. (H. Steuding), unfavourable. W. Christ, *Die überlieferte Auswahl theokritischer Gedichte* (K. Kunst), favourable. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie, A. Schöne dargebracht. Four articles (1) *De Cicerone et Torquato Epicureo* by J. Klaussen, (2) on *Juv. vii. 40* foll., (3) *Deuteroskopie bei Homer*, (4) *Bemerkungen zur Ciris*. The last three are by G. Wörpel.

27 Apr. *Euripide Electre*, par H. Weil, 3. éd. (K. Busche). S. Zebele, *Ἀρχαῖα* (B. Bursy), favourable. L. Snichotta, *De vocum Graecarum apud poetas Latinos dactylicos ab Enni usque ad Ovidi tempora usu* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Careful and well written.'

ADDENDUM to P. 241.

Aesch. *Supp.* 568 On νόσος ἔθικτον Stanley had already noted: 'Porro hodie in Aegyptia metropoli Cairā ad primum incrementi Niliaci momentum subsedit Pestilentia. Nemo tum moritur, licet pridie quingenti.'

W. H.

The Classical Review

JULY 1904.

HERONDAS, VII. 96.

. . . . 'Αλλ' εἰς κνῦσα καὶ κακὴ λώβῃ,
ᾧστ' ἐκ μὲν ἡμέων ΑΙΟΛΕΟCΕΩ πρήξεις,
ταύτῃ δὲ δώσεις κτέ.

So P is read by Professor Blass, and (if one may judge by the facsimile) this seems more faithful than the reading of Crusius who finds Δ, not Α, in the first letter. His restoration δις <τὸ τ>έλος, ἔω, besides being in itself weak, is unsatisfactory on this account. Bücheler's ἀπλετος σέω πρήξεις may be set aside on several grounds. We require, as Mr. Nairn says, a word to express the idea of an exorbitant price, or of a person who would extort such a price. I suggest Αιολέος <πλ>έω πρήξεις, in favour of which the following considerations may be urged.

It only needs the insertion of πλ, the letters of the papyrus being retained as they are. This πλ may have been lost before πρ. The text from which the writer of P copied was defective here—at all events the scribe could not understand it, and he has recorded his perplexity by a marginal stroke. πλέω occurs in iii. 85—ἦν πλέω γρύξης.

Assuming for the moment that Αιολέος (with synizesis of course) is right, it might be explained on either of two lines. The word was capable of being used metaphorically to denote an exceedingly rapacious person, for among its meanings we find, given by Hesychius, that of ὁ καϊκίας ἄνεμος. It is hard to believe this to have been a mere fiction of his—that it came either *de*

suo or *de nihilo*. If, however, it be authoritative, we may, perhaps, assume that the word Αιολεύς bore this sense among the Ephesians (the scene of vii. is probably Ephesus) or at all events within the range of the spoken language from which Herondas derived his vocabulary. Thus the shoemaker, Kerdôn, would be taunted with a rapacity worse than that of a violent wind.

The other line of possible interpretation, and that which I prefer, is the following. Αιολεύς as a racial or national name may, especially (as would here have been the case) in the mouths of neighbouring Ionians, have contracted an invidious or vituperative connotation. We know how easily such names, in the speech of contiguous races, sharply engaged perhaps in trade competition, lend themselves to the conveyance of malicious imputations. When, moreover, we reflect on the various formations for stems of the same root as Αιολεύς which (from the time of Σίσυφος Αιολίδης) were used to designate craftiness and deceit, it seems not improbable that the word Αιολεύς itself may have had some such sense in Ionian parlance. In Plato *Crat.* 409 A, we read—τὸ δὲ ποικίλλειν καὶ αἰολεῖν ταῦτόν. Aeschylus in *fragment* 185 (Dind.)—*χρημάτων ἀπαιόλη*—uses *ἀπαιόλη* for fraud, which, by the way, Aristophanes in the *Nubes* 1150 personifies as Ἀπαιόλη. Aeschylus also in the *Choephoroe* 1002 has the term *ξένων ἀπαιόλημα*. The Schol. in Theocrit. i. 56 writes (on the adjective Αἰολικόν) αἰολίζειν γὰρ τὸ ἀπατᾶν—a statement which may be

taken *per se*, irrespectively of its relevancy or value as a note on the line of Theocritus. Sophocles *Fr.* 815 (if Toup's probable correction of 'Sophocles' for 'Hierocles' be adopted) has μηδ' αἰόλιζε ταῦτα: where αἰόλιζε = ποικίλλειν, in the special sense of dealing subtly or disingenuously. Αἰολίζειν, properly = 'to speak or act like an Aeolian,' is analogous to αἰγυπτιάζειν, κικιρίζειν, formations which implied the practice of treachery and fraud, regarded by their neighbours as characteristic of Egyptians and Cilicians. If, then, the leading derivative of Αἰολεῖς (which, not αἰόλος, must give the stem of αἰολίζειν in the above uses) bore the sense of 'swindling,' the noun, to which there is but one step back, may well have borne the meaning of a swindler *par excellence*. Thus Αἰολέος πλέω πρίξεις might be ren-

dered 'exact more than an Aeolian,' *i.e.* than a 'prince of extortioners,' would. We have in some modern race-names analogies which would easily enable one to supply a term corresponding to Aeolian here. Herondas himself was not insensible to the racial antipathy expressed in the invidious αἰολίζειν. In his *Proëm*, he tells us that his commission from the Muses directed him to write expressly for the *Ἰωνοῖσι*, *i.e.* the Ionians. Though, then, there may be no other instance of Αἰολεῖς actually so used, yet it certainly *could* have been so used; and if its assumption here restores sense with a minimum of violence, it may perhaps be allowed to stand until something better is proposed.

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ON XENOPHON, *MEMORABILIA* 1. 6. 13.

IN the last number of this *Review* Dr. Henry Jackson refers to my note (xvi. 270) on *Xen. Mem.* 1. 6. 13. I do not take ὁμοίως there in his sense of *under the like circumstances*. Indeed I very much doubt whether it could mean that at all. In any case, when it is used with regard to two things (here *ᾠρα* and *σοφία*), there is surely a strong presumption that it means *equally* or *alike*,

as in the parallel passages cited by Kühner. Reading adverbs for adjectives, I translate 'beauty and wisdom may be both alike creditably and both alike discreditably disposed of.' If I understand Kühner rightly, he gave ὁμοίως yet a third sense, *as well as*, (*discreditable as well as creditable*).

H. RICHARDS.

THE METRICAL DIVISION OF COMPOUND WORDS IN VIRGIL.

IN the interesting and almost complete collection of facts and rules respecting the Virgilian Hexameter, recently published by Mr. Winbolt, the treatment of the topic above indicated, or rather the want of any treatment, suggests that attention may profitably be called to it.

On the subject of *Tmesis* (p. 212) it is said in parenthesis that

We omit a fanciful form discovered by Müller which he says occurs when a part of a compound is separated from the verb by caesura.

On p. 85 a foot-note to the verse

navibus, infandum, amissis unius ob iram

says that

M. Plessis would defend it by counting a caesura by *tmesis* after the first syllable of

infandum. Such caesura he says is permissible by *tmesis* between the prefix of a compound word and the rest of the word: thus *de-|torquet*, *im-|mensus*.

Nothing more, so far as I have observed, is said on the topic, and the impression thus suggested is that it has no general importance, and perhaps little reality. This however is not the truth. In Virgil's metre the *tmesis* of compound words has an importance second only to the division between one word and another. Without professing to exhaust the subject, we will illustrate it in one very important application, the metrical division of the third foot. For this, the general rule in Virgil may be stated thus:

The third foot of the hexameter, unless

contained in a Greek word or a proper name, should be divided either by a caesura or by a *tnesis*.

This is true with exceptions not only rare but almost always explicable by special considerations. But without the last alternative the statement would be wrong.

Take for example the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*. It contains, if I have counted right, 36 verses which have no caesura (proper) in the third foot. In 11¹ of the 36 the third foot is contained in a proper name, as

in foribus letum Androgeo: tum pendere
poenas—
talibus adfata Aenean, nec sacra moran-
tur—
praecipue pius Aeneas. tum iussa Sibyllae—
Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaue
sorori—

and where this is the case, it seems to be indifferent whether the name is a compound or not: the indivisible name *Aeneas* is so placed in the verse with a frequency almost tiresome. To give exceptional treatment to proper names is the habit of Virgil, and indeed of poets generally. But of the remaining 25 verses² all except one exhibit a third foot divided by *tnesis*, so that the missing caesura is at least partially represented by the division of a compound:

praeterea iacet ex-animum tibi corpus
amici—
coniciunt, pars in-genti subiere feretro—
his actis propere ex-sequitur praecepta Si-
byllae—
Tisiphone quatit in-sultans, torvosque sinis-
tra—
en, huius, nate, au-spiciis illa incluta
Roma—

and the like. Even the one exception (327) is an exception only apparent—

nec ripas datur hor-rendas et rauca fluenta—

for, though the word *horrendas* is not etymologically divisible, there can, I suppose, be no doubt that, for the sake of effect and with a view to its meaning, it is here to be divided, in pronunciation and for the ear, as above indicated, each *r* being separately heard and strongly rolled; so that the case is only a more subtle application of the general rule.

¹ 20, 40, 176, 250, 261, 447, 480, 529, 703, 830, 897.

² 99, 100, 143, 149, 186, 197, 213, 222, 236, 254, 345, 382, 408, 414, 415, 428, 465, 571, 607, 614, 684, 698, 781, 831, — 327.

It need not be said that Virgil uses countless non-divisible words, such as *fundabat*, *natorum*, *reginae*, *venturi*, *seminibus*, etc., etc., which, as far as prosody is concerned, might be so placed in the verse. But as a general rule they are excluded in favour of divisible compounds, a preference which can be explained only by supposing that the division of the compound was to the poet's ear significant, and served, by compensating for the caesura, to preserve the balance of the verse.

Thus in

navibus, infandum, a-missis unius ob iram

we should notice, as more important than the divisibility of *infandum* (though that is material), the divisibility of *a-missis*: it is this which brings the verse within the ordinary limits of the poet.

The severity of *Aeneid VI* is, as we might expect, a little beyond the common standard, though the tendency and principle is the same elsewhere. In *Aeneid I* I find the following abnormal verses:

25 needum etiam caussae irarum saevique
dolores—
540 permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur
arenae.

In the following, from the same Book,

180 Aeneas scopulum inter-ea conscendit, et
omnem—
224 despiciens mare veli-volum terrasque ia-
centes—
418 corripuere viam inter-ea qua semita
monstrat—

we have *tnesis* at the trochee, of which Book VI, I think, does not happen to give a specimen.³ In Book II we have

137 nec mihi iam patriam antiquam spes
ulla videndi—⁴
222 clamores simul horrendos ad sidera
tollit—⁵
300 Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta
recessit—

In Book IV:

99 quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque
hymenaeos—
201 excubias divum aeternas pecudumque
cruore—

³ Cf. *Aen.* 2. 57; 4. 291, 465; etc.

⁴ But Virgil probably (and perhaps rightly) conceived *ant-iquus* to be a compound and separable.

⁵ Cf. 6. 327 above.

405 convectant calle *angusto* ; pars grandia
trudunt—

431 non iam coniugium *antiquum*, quod
prodidit, oro—

538 iussa sequar? quiane *auxilio* iuvat ante
levatos—

633 namque suam patria *antiqua* cinis ater
habebat—

In Book V :

170 radit iter laevum *interior*, subitoque
priorem—

250 victori chlamydem *auratam*, quam plu-
rima circum—

316 corripunt spatia *audito* limenque relin-
quunt—

468 ast illum fidi *aequales* genua aegra
trahentem—

608 multa movens, necdum *antiquum* satu-
rata dolorem.

In most of these it will easily be perceived that the exception is rule-proving ; either in the weight of the word, or in the general sense and rhetoric there is something which justifies to the ear the unusual rhythm. If any may be regarded as a mere license, it is II. 300, not one of the poet's strongest or happiest lines. Those verses, which obey the rule and show tmesis, are everywhere the vast majority.

It is worth notice, though not strictly within the limits of our subject, that almost every one of the exceptions here quoted exhibits an elision before the exceptional word, and has thus an 'apparent caesura' (in Mr. Winbolt's terminology) at the penthemimeral place. And this is usual, though not absolutely universal ; see *Georg.* 2. 5, an interesting case.

Many other applications of the principle may be observed. Thus, although Virgil's

per conubia nostra, per in-ceptos hyme-
naeos

is partly shaped by recollection of Catullus, it exhibits a Virgilian nicety in the tmesis which marks the place of the hepthemimeral

caesura, and thus brings the verse almost within the ordinary Virgilian rules. Catullus, in his similar verse, has the indivisible *optatos* at that place.

Again, a common combination of caesurae in Virgil is this

infandum, | regina, | iubes | renovare dolorem

occurring, Mr. Winbolt says,¹ about once in 11 verses. Much more rare, 'about 1 in 400,' is the type having only the two latter of these three caesurae

cornua detorquentque ; | ferunt | sua flamina
classem.

Now in these circumstances we cannot treat as indifferent the fact that in the much more rare type the missing caesura is represented by a tmesis. Every one of Mr. Winbolt's four examples shows this phenomenon, which is scarcely less important for Virgilian metre than the caesurae themselves : add to the above

omnia cor-ripuisse : | metum | iam ad limina
ferri—

impulit ef-funditque | solo, | Turnusque secu-
tus—

moenia, sub-limemque | feres | ad sidera
caeli.

Whether this rule is universal I have not ascertained, and probably exceptions may be found. But it is manifest that Virgil felt the tmesis, and calculated on its rhythmical effect.

To treat the topic fully is not the purpose of this note, still less to make any complaint against Mr. Winbolt. It is the very fullness of his treatise which leads me to suppose that a topic, for which he does not find adequate place, requires some further notice. And indeed I have never seen any treatment answering quite sufficiently to the facts.

A. W. VERRALL.

¹ P. 83.

ON THE FRAGMENTS OF AN EPITOME OF LIVY DISCOVERED AT OXYRHYNCHUS.

By the kindness of Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and Mr. Warde Fowler, I have had the advantage of studying in proof the

portion of the new Oxyrhynchus volume which contains these fragments. A good many of the suggestions made by me

privately have been used in the publication; but much matter more or less debatable the editors were of course unable to use. In the present article I propose to confine myself to the most necessary task, the constitution of the text, dealing with subject-matter only in close connexion with the text, and leaving over many aspects of the new discovery for discussion in a future article. In studying the fragments (which, or their compiler, I denote by O, indicating where necessary the original by O¹ and the corruptions by O²) one is struck by their close correspondence with the actual words of Livy when those have been preserved. Much of Livy's wording has filtered down into the works of late compilers, and the safest guide to the restoration of the epitome, where Livy is lost, is the extant literature. I have endeavoured to avoid repeating matter contained in the publication by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, along with which this article is intended to be read. The references to lines are to those of the published text. I use Epit. (with GH) for the old Epitome of Livy.

BOOK 37.

Lines 1-6: the compiler has an eye for the Spanish peninsula throughout. The excerpts from Livy 37 only begin with c. 46 § 7, but they include two references to Spanish affairs. The names of the consuls for 189 B.C. are taken from c. 48 and the story of the pontifex maximus and the flamen from c. 51. It is natural therefore to refer l. 3 [*Aetoli*]s *pax iterum data est* to c. 49. But, curiously, that passage displays the hostility of the Romans to the Aetolians as extreme. Has O been misled by the mention earlier in the book of *indultiae* twice accorded to the Aetolians? (c. 1 § 1 and c. 7 § 6.) Or has O anticipated the mention of the peace in 38 cc. 11-12? Against this is the fact that he adheres almost slavishly to Livy's order. It is curious indeed that in his extracts from 38 he does not mention the final peace. It is more likely that the text here is wrong, and that *non* has dropt out before *data*, or rather that *data* is an error for *negata*, for which cf. l. 202 *praemium negatum* and Liv. 37 § 1 *negari pacem*. The *iterum* refers back to c. 1. In ll. 5, 6 *proficisci in Sardiniam* [. . .] *ant*, the letters *ant* represent a corruption of a perfect ending in *vit*, the word being perhaps *impedit* or even *denegavit* rather than *retinuit* or *tenuit*, which are less suited to the infinitive. In l. 5 perhaps the sight of *Quirinalem* in Livy's text caused the use of the wrong case.

l. 7: [*vastati*]. Livy here has *fusi fugatique*; cf. ll. 13; 83. As to *Rhodia desoli deducta*, the original compiler may have mentioned (like Epit.) both the Rhodian embassy about Soli (c. 56) and the foundation of Bononia. Perhaps our scribe ought to have written either *Bononia de seto deducta* (Liv. 37, 57 § 7) or *B. de Boiis d.* (*ib.* § 8 *de Gallis Boiis*).

ll. 8-10: the verbal errors in the account of Glabrio's candidature are not easy to explain. For *minantes* [*accusa*]tionem *compellitoribus* perhaps *minanti a. competitori* (Cato) should be adopted. For *composito* GH give *proposito*, but the word may be right ('by arrangement'); it would describe fairly the withdrawal of the candidature by Glabrio, along with the dropping of the fine by the tribunes.

BOOK 38.

l. 12: this first sentence like the first in Epit. covers cc. 1-12.

l. 13: no battle was fought with the Gallograeci in Pamphylia, but O has been deceived by the mention of that district in c. 13 § 11 and c. 15 § 7.

l. 14: [*tota Asi*]a *liberata* must be right, in view of c. 16 § 12 and c. 48 §§ 1, 5.

ib.: O has taken *captiva* from one sentence of Liv. (c. 24 § 2) and *Orgiagontis* from the next, while *nobilis* (unless deduced by O from the story) represents *eximia forma*. Both Epit. and O go beyond the text in saying that the lady slew her oppressor.

ll. 15, 16: *aurum admit* [*t . . .*] *poscentem occidit*. A crabbed passage. It is natural to suppose with GH that O¹ had *pensantem*, which is in Livy; but how to complete the reading with this is hard to see. Maybe *poscentem* is a mistake for *portantes*, referring to the *duo ne plus necessarii* who were allowed to bring the ransom. In that case read *admittentem*, which would partly account for the change of *portantes* to *poscentem*; for assimilation is a besetting sin of O; cf. ll. 33, 37, 95, 100, 115. This solution I now prefer to my earlier conjecture *admissos suos poscentem*.

l. 18: from cc. 26-34, but a misdescription. There was much killing, but no *proelia* between Achaeans and Lacedaemonians.

ll. 20, 21: read [*immensa p*]raeda *per Thraeces rapta*.

l. 26: in the account of the trial of P. Scipio, *ne revocaretur* represents Livy's *ne causam dicat*.

ll. 27, 8: *L. Cornelius Scipio dam*[*natus*

...]. *eni*. Comparing Liv. c. 55 § 9 we may with probability write *L. C. S. d. XL pecuniae*.

BOOK 39.

l. 30: *Ligures perdomiti*. A stronger statement than Livy's.

l. 31: *ϕ[iae Flaminia e]t Aemiliana munita[e]*. So GH. But this gives only a loose correspondence with Livy's words *viamque a Placentia usque Ariminum perduxit* (sc. *M. Aemilius*), which appear in Epit. as *M. Aemilius . . . viam Placentia usque Ariminum perductam Flaminiae iunxit*. One would at least expect in *O iunctae* (or possibly *unitae*) if the rest of the reading given by GH be kept.

l. 32: *Latinorum [multitudo hom]inum coacta ab Roma re[dire]* would accord with Liv., who has *redire* and *multitudine onerante* in § 6 and *multitudinem* above. Another possible restoration, looking to Liv., is *Latinorum [civium per Terent]i[n]um*, but this is less likely.

l. 33: (triumph of Manlius). Liv. suggests *Cn. Manlius de Gallograecis in triumpho tulit aurum*. The *m* before *de* is a remnant of *Manlium* written for *Manlius* (cf. n. on ll. 15, 16)) and the termination of *aurum* was written *am*. The words that follow, viz. [*pe*]cunia quae trans[lata erat]tis p[er]soluta must be further emended from Livy's text: *senatus consultum factum est ut ex pecunia quae in triumpho translata esset, stipendium collatum a populo in publicum, quod eius solutum antea non esset, solveretur. Vicos quinos et semisses in milia aeris quaestores urbani . . . solverunt*. Hence read *e pecunia quae translata erat XXVS aeris persolutum* (probably this word in *O*² has been assimilated to *pecunia*).

l. 38: *Rutilius* for *Rutilus*, as in l. 50 *Licinio* for *Licino*.

l. 40: the Bacchanalian conspiracy. Probably *O*¹ had *indiciu[m] deferentibus* not *referentibus* (cf. Liv. c. 14 § 2 *delata*). In this connexion *deferre* was so familiar all through the Imperial time that it is not likely to have been changed. The gap after *Bacchanalia sublata* may be filled up by *per senatum* or *s-consulto* (less likely). Some mention of the senate is highly probable.

ll. 40, 41: it is curious that *Hispani subacti* is taken from a hypothetical statement in Liv. c. 22 § 10 *H. subacti forent* etc.

ll. 45 sq.: here Livy's order is not followed. The words *Gallis in Italiam transgressis* come from c. 22 § 6 *Galli Transalpini transgressi in Venetiam*. But in c. 45 § 7 these Gauls are still in the valley

of the Po, and a praetor receives orders to attend to them. Marcellus is not named before c. 54. He requires L. Porcius the proconsul to call on the Gauls to surrender, and they comply. The word *persuasit* is odd, as the barbarians were driven out (c. 55 § 4 *Gallis . . . exactis*). I should write [*p*]ersuasit [*ut Italia excedere*]nt rather than *trans Alpes redirent* (GH); relying on Liv. c. 54 § 13 *Galli . . . Italia excesserunt*.

l. 49: *Ligures fu[gati]* *illis accepta*. Nothing in Liv. explains *accepta*, which must be corrupt. Some words in c. 32 § 2 *Sempronius . . . Ligures vastando urendoque vicos et castella*, seem to lead on to *Ligures fusi*, *vicis castellis accensis*; or *L. fusi*, *vici et castella accensa*. At first I thought . . . *illis accepta* might be a relic of *repulsis acceptis* in reference to the consular elections narrated in Liv. c. 32, where (in most texts) *repulsis* twice occurs. But syntax renders the solution difficult.

l. 51: *homini ccd ∞ [.] effici dammati*. This should probably run *hominum ad ∞ ∞ Naevio pr. veneficii d.*; cf. Liv. c. 41 § 6 (*Naevius*) *ad duo milia hominum damnavit*.

l. 52: write *L. Quintius Fla[minius cos. in] Gallia* and compare c. 42 § 5 *consularem*; § 8 *in Galliam provinciam*; Cic. Cato m. 42 *cum esset L. Flamininus consul in Gallia*.

l. 56: perhaps a *Cato*ne cen[s. senatorio loco motus, in accordance with c. 42 § 6 *senatorio loco movit*.

l. 60: *per triduum* should fill the gap; see c. 46 § 2 *P. Licinii funeris causa . . . ludi funebres per triduum facti*. A little later I should prefer *defunctum quod* to *evenit id quod* (GH) because of Livy's *defunctosque volgo ferebant quod inter fatalia vates cecinissent*, a passage which also indicates *vates cecinerat fato* (or *fatale*) *tabernacula in foro futura* for the remainder of the sentence in *O*.

l. 63-5: the cure of these lacunose lines is not easy. The first portion is related beyond question to Liv. c. 50 § 11 *memoriae mandatum est tres claros imperatores eo anno decessisse, Philopoemenem Hannibalem P. Scipionem*, and probably the remainder concerns Hannibal's death in c. 51. The original may have run nearly thus: *interisse tradunt* (or *traditum*) *Philopoemenem Hannibalem P. Scipionem. Flamininus Hannibalem obire* (or *mori*) *coegit*.

BOOK 40.

l. 68: something like *Ligurum bellum decretum a senatu*, from c. 1.

l. 69: only the mysterious *ellitesin* is preserved in this l., which was probably drawn from c. 1 in *Hispaniam utramque quae ducerentur quattuor milia peditum civium Romanorum et ducenti equites* etc. Hence the l. may be completed thus: *equites pedites in Hispaniam utramque scripti*.

l. 70: the tale of Theoxena is from c. 4. The following will give the gist, at least, of the original: *Theoxen[a enecatib liberis] in mare[m] fugiens se iecit*.

l. 72: (the strife of Demetrius and Perseus). For the queer *grimonibus* the most likely correction is *criminibus* as in c. 12 § 6 *conficti . . . criminis*, also c. 13 § 1, and c. 23 § 8 *Persei criminibus*. But *fictis querimoniis*, a phrase found in literature, is also possible. The story in O was fashioned somewhat thus: *D. fictis criminibus [accusatus a fratre] per patrem coactus [causam] perorare*, or *peroravit* if *coactus* is an error for *vocatus* (cf. c. 8 § 4 *vocari . . . iussit*).

l. 74: the error in *Lentulo* is due to Liv. in whose text O perhaps also found *quod* for *quot*.

l. 75: perhaps O abbreviated *libri* to *li*, and l. 82 possibly ended with *lis fuit*.

BOOK 48.

l. 83: *adversus Cha[r]taginienses* may have been preceded by a reference to the mighty battle between the forces of Massinissa and Carthage which Scipio witnessed from an eminence, even as Zeus looked on at the Homeric battles. (The comparison is Scipio's own.) Kornemann's suggestion that in Epit. 48 *Servius Sulpicius Galba male adversus Lusitanos pugnavit*, the expression *male* means 'perfidiously' not 'unsuccessfully' seems to me improbable. The good fortune of Galba is represented by Appian. *Ib.* 58 as trivial; his defeat as crushing. Orosius omits mention of his luck and says that only he and a handful of his men escaped destruction. Epit. takes the same line as Orosius, but O has (perversely) laid stress on the unimportant successes, unless we suppose that *Lusitani vastati* is a blundering version of *Lucullus consul, cum Claudius Marcellus cui successerat pacasse omnes Celtiberiae populus videretur* (Epit.). Or again, O may have had before him in Livy something coinciding with Appian's account of Galba's operations when he began to recover from disaster: *Ib.* 59 [Λούκουλος] τὴν Λουσιτανίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἐπόρθει. ἐπόρθει δὲ καὶ ὁ Γάλβας ἐπὶ θάτερα.

l. 84: that O mentioned a Cethegus charged with *stuprum* is certain. It is just

possible that this may be C. Cornelius Cethegus who attacked Galba (Epit. 49). In that case we are reminded of a charge of indecency which was hurled by Galba at another antagonist, L. Scribonius Libo (Cic. *De Or.* 2, 263). The P. *Decim* of O recalls indeed Liv. 39, c. 39 § 1 where a C. Decimius and a P. Cornelius are brought together, but it is a coincidence merely. If *Decim* be supposed a fragment of the name *Decimius*, two of the name played a part in the politics of the period, a C. *Decimius* several times mentioned in Liv. 42-5, while L. *Decimius* appears in 42. If however *su* is part of a *cognomen*, we may read P. *Decii Subulonis*; this name occurs several times in Liv. 43-5. On the whole this seems more likely. Kornemann's conjecture that Cornelius is a centurion who was 'mori coactus' in prison because of *stuprum* in the case of an *adulescens ingenuus* (Val. Max. 6, 1, 10), occurred to me also, but I rejected it because it is hard to reconcile *damnatus* in l. 86 with *mori coactus*. To all appearance in O there is allusion to a trial for *stuprum per vim illatum* and to a pecuniary penalty imposed. The letters *dcu* (or *i*) in l. 85 point to a sum of money, perhaps *DC aeris*. I still think *ancillam* the most probable correction for *a.ictum*.

BOOK 49.

ll. 88, 9: Oros. 4, 22 § 1 and Epit. 49 shew that Liv. is closely followed.

ll. 89, 90: *Utic[enses] [b]enigne locant auxiliare*. The corruption is deep; perhaps underlying it is the Livian phrase *benigne locuti auditique* (43, c. 17 § 4). If *auxiliati* (sc. *sunt*) is the true lection (GH), *locant* may have sprung from *legati*; cf. *Uticenses legati* in Epit. 49. What one would have expected is some mention of the *editio* as in Polyb. 36, 1, 1; App. *Lib.* 75 and Epit. 49. But there is no room for it, and the word *editio* would not occur twice in two lines.

l. 90: in spite of appearances and Epit. I think one embassy is indicated here, not two; viz. that which met the consuls and surrendered the armaments of Carthage (Polyb. 36, 4, 6 and Epit.). Orosius 4, 22 §§ 2, 3 in the same way passes over the mission to Rome, and describes the surrender of weapons, the new demands, and the outbreak of war, all in one sentence.

l. 92: read *mo[ta ira ad arma] redierunt*, on account of Flor. 2, 15, 8 *quod . . . movit iras ut extrema mallent*. *Comploratum igitur*

publice statim et pari voce clamatum est 'ad arma.'

l. 93: probably Roman[os equitē]s Carthaginienses *pepulerunt*, alluding to losses inflicted by Himilco (Phamea) the cavalry leader. See App. *Lib.* cc. 97, 100, 104 and Zonar. 9, 27 Μαρίλιος κακούμενος ὑπὸ Ἰμίλκωρος τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἱππάρχου. The word *Scipio* which follows *pepulerunt* in O may be part of a statement that Scipio was the only man whom Phamea feared. The twenty-one missing letters may give *Scipio[n]is pugnam ritavit Phamea*; cf. Polyb. 36, 6, 1 ὁ Φαμέας . . . ἐξέκλυε τὰς πρὸς Σκιπίωνα συμπλοκάς and App. *Lib.* 100.

ll. 95 sq.: the broken tale *Aemiliani fidem* p I would complete by aid of Diod. 32, 7, who says that Scipio alone of the Romans τὰς δοθείσας πίστεις ἐτήρει; so no besieged Carthaginian would surrender unless he were a party to the terms. The reputation of Scipio in Spain is similarly described by Appian *lb.* 54; and we have like accounts of Tiberius Gracchus, father and son. We may therefore write *Aemilianus fidem* p[rae]stitit *hostibus*] with some confidence that the drift of the original is rendered. For the assimilation of *Aemilianus* to *Aemiliani* which immediately follows cf. n. on ll. 15, 16. Next comes the rescue of a besieged Roman force by Scipio, which looks not so much like the exploit at Nepheris (GH) as the repulse of the Carthaginians at an earlier date from the Roman camp. With *liberatus* cf. Epit. *liberatum* and *castrorum liberatorum* and App. 102; Dio *fragm.* 69; Plin. *n.h.* 22, 13. This won for Scipio the *corona obsidionalis* (*Vir. ill.* 59), and is the kind of personal achievement to which O inclines. Next comes a gap of sixteen letters followed

^h
(mysteriously) by *per Caridemum poe* [. . .] after which we have the attack on Galba for his misdeeds in Lusitania. We may choose between two remedies. We may imagine O to have recorded the famous quotation of Cato about Scipio, οἷος πέννυται κ.τ.λ. of which many writers speak. It is mentioned in Epit. just before the case of Galba. This alternative inclines to something like a *Catone laudatus per Homerum poemate*. The other assumption is that the excerpt about Galba began immediately after *liberatus*, and if that be so the substance of it may be contained in *vir perfidissimus* (or *summae perfidiae*, Val. Max. 9, 6, 2) *per Scribonium* (i.e. *Libonem*) *pro rostris* (Val. Max. 8, 1, 2). O often corrupted names deeply. The first alternative is preferable.

l. 98: the narrative about Galba must

have been somewhat of this fashion: *Ser. Galba a Lusitanis reus product[us] II filios duxit et Galli fili[um] quos flens commendavit*. I prefer *commendavit* to *complexus* (Epit. and GH) because of Cic. *Brut.* 89 *Galba . . . cum suos filios tum C. Galli etiam filium flens commendabat*; also *De Or.* 1, 228 *commendasset*; Val. Max. 8, 1, 2 *liberos suos et . . . Galli filium flens commendare coepit* (where *populo*, inserted by some MSS. and edd., is needless). It is clear on a comparison of Epit. 49 with Val. Max. 8, 7, 1, where Cato is represented as defending the Hispani against an *accusatio* by Galba, that Val. Max. knew Galba's case from Livy. But Livy appears to have copied Cicero; cf. *interposita fide* in *Brut.* l.c. with the same phrase in Val. Max. 8, 1, 2.

l. 100: Zonaras 9, 28 closely resembles Epit. and supports my conjecture (in GH) *Persei se Philippum*; cf. too Vell. 1, 11 *Pseudophilippus . . . qui se Philippum . . . ferebat*, followed by *armis occupata Macedonia*. For *Philippi* by assimilation, see n. on ll. 15, 16. O can hardly have fallen into the mistake made by Ampel. 16 *cum ex similitudine formae Philippi filium se esse persuasisset*.

l. 102: the twenty vanished letters may have alluded to the embassy of P. Scipio Nasica (Zonar. 9, 28) or (less probable) to some facts of the early history of Andrisceus (as Epit.).

Book 50.

l. 107: for want of information elsewhere this line cannot be filled out with any certainty. Perhaps in *ultimum Graeciae finem repulsus latitabat*.

ll. 109 sq.: this passage certainly touched on the murder of Prusias, King of Bithynia, by his son, Nicomedes II. The authorities suggest hero [*per Nicomedem filium Prusias rex Bithyniae occisus est*. There is no escape from the conclusion that *positus* is a blunder for *occisus* or some word of equivalent sense. Next probably came *ad Attalum regem et Prusiam* (in is a distortion of the *n*) *Pergamum missi sunt legati*. It may be noted that Epit. mentions the murder of Prusias before the embassy. Its first destination must have been Pergamum not Bithynia as Plutarch *Cat. m.* 9 says. Polyb. 37, 1 shows that the murder was expected when the envoys left.

ll. 111-5: *Marco* [.] *gricus* corresponds with Μάρκος Λικίνιος ἄνθρωπος ποδαγρικὸς in Polyb. In O *Licinius* was probably shortened to *Lic*. Then comes *L. Hostilius Mancinus capite* [.] *a quondam*, possibly for *comminuto* or *deminuto* or *comminutus*

or *deminutus qu.* The word *quondam* has a parallel in ποτε of App. *Mithr.* 6 τὴν κεφαλὴν ποτε λίθῳ πηλῆεις, describing this man. In l. 114 read *qui cum ob legationem dixerint* (i.e. in the senate). Cato was obviously addressed by them (προσαγορευόμενον in Polyb.). For the proverb *nec caput nec pedes* see Otto, *Sprichwörter d. Römer* p. 74; the addition of *nec cor* is Cato's own. As to the envoys, the only known M. Licinius who is possible is the praetor peregrinus of 186 B.C. If the *praenomen* be wrong, he may be one of the three Licinii Nervae who figure in the last decade of Livy. Regarding L. Man[ili]us Vulso I can make no guess. A certain A. Hostilius Mancinus is the hero of a dateless story in Gell. 4, 14; he certainly in peculiar circumstances received from a stone a wound in his head conspicuous enough to be exhibited publicly when he tried to prosecute the offender (a woman). If this is the man, the anecdote may have formed a piquant portion of Cato's speech. But Gell. got it from the 'Coniectanea' of the great lawyer C. Ateius Capito. The ultimate source of information about this embassy for all later writers was doubtless Polyb.

l. 115: Mr. Warde Fowler's suggestion that we have here the passing of the *lex Scantinia* deserves consideration. On the other hand *Scatius* (O) is a possible name, and *Scantius* (a known name) an easier correction, and (2) a trial fits the passage more readily than legislation. Perhaps *M. Scantius X aeris multam tulit in stupro deprehensus*. Cf. Cic. *Deiot.* 36 *multam sustulerat*; of course *poenam ferre* 'to come off with punishment' is common. For the *X aeris* cf. Quint. 4, 2, 69 *decem milia quae poena stupratori constituta est*; also 7, 4, 42. It is not likely that O had *de in stupro deprehensis*. The case of *deprehensi* was assimilated to that of *aeris*.

ll. 118-120: there does not seem to be much probability that the compiler of O wrote *Masinissa liberos IIII reliquit decedens, cuius regnum natu maximis filiis per Aemilianum distributum* (GH). The original figure was more likely LIV; cf. Val. Max. 5, 2, 4 *quattuor et quinquaginta filiorum numero relinquens* (doubtless from Livy); Eutrop. 4, 11 *mortuo XLII filii relictis*. For other curious statements about Masinissa's children see App. *Lib.* 106; Diod. 32, 10; Zonar. 9, 27. The passage of Appian concerns us here because it intimates that Scipio distinguished not between older and younger sons, but between legiti-

mate and illegitimate. We should therefore read *III legit[imis] filiis for natu max[im]is f.* The missing word before *reliquit* in l. 119 can scarcely be anything but [*superstite*]. In l. 120 *regnum . . . distributum* is a more correct expression than *regni dividendi* in Val. Max., and *divisit* in Oros. 4, 22, 8; for the kingdom was not split into three. Polyb. 37, 3, 5 and others after him mention a son four years old when the father died. Polyb. says there were four others, but have the words καὶ πεντήκοντα dropped out after τέσσαρας? As the child was adopted by one of the legitimate sons (Micipsa) it is not likely that he was reckoned among the legitimate (GH).

BOOK 51.

ll. 122, 3: (the murder of Hasdrubal in the Curia at Carthage). In Epit. suspicion falls on him because he is *propincus Gulussae* (i.e. sister's son, as is seen from App.). Livy cannot have used *adfinis Masinissae* (l. 122) to convey this relationship. For the beginning of l. 123 I conjecture [*is per fragmen*]ta *subselliorum <orum> occisus est*; *socius* for *occisus* has arisen from the transference of the first *s* in *occisus*. Cf. Oros. 4, 22, 8 *subselliorum fragmentis*; he also has *occisus*, while Appian gives ἐποβάθοις = *subsellis*. O, like his brother stylist Obsequens, is fond of *per*; see ll. 20, 22, 30, 73, 98, 102, 107, 120, 135, 138. For *subsellia* broken into weapons cf. Vell. Pat. 2, 3, 2 *fragmine subelli ictus* (Tib. Gracchus) and Val. Max. 2, 4, 2; also Suet. *Ner.* 26 *cum . . . subselliorum fragmentis decerneretur*; and Cic. *Sest.* 79 where a tribune is attacked *fragmentis saeptorum*.

l. 125: the successes of Manilius are not traceable elsewhere, except in Epit. I cannot remember to have seen *dimicari* as deponent; it seems to be a piece of barbarity.

l. 127: I prefer [*Andriscus a*] *Metello captus to Philippus* (GH) for *Pseudophilippus*. Epit. 52 calls him *Andriscus* in speaking of the triumph.

ll. 127, 8: possibly O did not mention the sacred laurel of which Obsequens speaks. In that case we should restore *sacrarium* [*una cum omnib*]us *sacris* (for *soci*) *maximo incendio* [*inviolatum*]. Or, if the laurel was mentioned, *sacrarium* [*Iovis et laur*]us *sacra*. So when the *sacrarium Saliorum* was burned the *lituus Iovis* was untouched; see Val. Max. 1, 8, 11, who records two other miracles of this sort. For the *sacrarium* of the Regia cf. Gell. 4, 6, 2.

ll. 132 sq.: possibly something such as this was in O¹: [captos] *Carthaginiensis Hasdrubal crudelissime interemit. Lon<g>e obsidentes Romani non [cepere Carthaginem] crebris proeliis*. The corruption of Hasdrubal's name is portentous; but the only reference possible is to his savagery as recorded by App. *Lib.* 118, where not only the cruel torture and execution of prisoners is reported, but also the murder of Carthaginian senators, which might suggest in l. 132 *patres Carthaginienses*. The order of words is thus better, but *crudelissime* is less appropriate. Of course *longe* for *diu* unaccompanied by any other indication of time did not occur in the text of Livy. In l. 133 *Romanos* in O for *Romani* is paralleled by l. 135 *Romano*; l. 5 *Quirinalem*; l. 8 *minantes*; l. 111 *Marco*; l. 201 *interfectores*. In some or all of these instances the compiler took the wrong case from Livy's text and did not trouble to adapt it.

l. 136: the reading *subacti* for *subalti* (GH) is difficult. One can scarce imagine that the compiler carried away from the story of Vetilius and Plautius (App. *Ib.* 61 sq.) the idea that the Lusitani were *conquered*, particularly as he relates fresh disasters a few lines further on. A mere raid is indicated in ll. 83, 210 by *vastati*, which is preferable here, and the corruption may be partly caused by transference of letters, for which cf. n. on ll. 122-3. The case in l. 77, where *subacti* occurs, is far different; brilliant successes are summarised (Liv. 40, cc. 39-41).

ll. 139 sq.: (the death of Hasdrubal's wife.) Polyb. in book 39, of which we have but fragments, was the ultimate authority (probably an eye-witness) for this episode as told by App. 130; Liv. *Epit.*; Zonar. 9, 30; Flor. 2, 17, 15; Oros. 4, 23, 4; Val. Max. 2, 2, 8. The narrative of course gathered embellishments as time went on. The following restoration of O will represent the general sense: *qu[um duci exprobra]visset uxo[r impietatem]* (or *perfidiam* or *proditionem*) *duobus fil<i>is secum incensis se] potestate [liberavit Scip<ionis> Aemilia<ni> qu[o modo] Dido regina*. This outline is drawn from the authorities; cf. especially Val. Max. *exprobrata impietate*; *πρόδοσιν γενόμενον* in the wife's speech in App.; *ἐξοριδαῖσα* in Zonar. Also Flor. *l.c.* *imitata reginam quae Carthaginem condidit*; Oros. *l.c.* *eundem nunc exitum faciens novissima regina Carthaginis quem quondam prima fecisset*. These two passages make it highly probable that there was in Liv. and O a glance at Dido; the shape taken by the

later tale must have owed something to the legend.

BOOK 52.

l. 146: I do not feel sure that Kornemann is right in referring this passage to the death of Diaeus, the Achaean general, who poisoned himself after killing his wife. In *Epit.* 52 this incident precedes *Corinthon . . . diruit*, while immediately after come the three triumphs and then Viriathus. It is not unlikely, I think, that O touched on some event in the unhappy married life of Viriathus (Diod. 33, 7, Dio. *fragm.* 75). O had little interest in the Eastern Mediterranean. He kept an eye on sensational scenes in which ladies were involved, but as between an Eastern scene and a Western, he would choose the latter.

l. 147: the *clades* seems to be that spoken of by Oros. 5, 4, 1, who says that during 146 *Viriathus maximo terrori Romanis fuit*, words closely resembling *Epit.* 52. Perhaps the *clades* is the disaster of Vetilius.

ll. 149-151: I am not convinced that there was here anything about the dispatch of a consular army against Viriathus (GH). The records of this period of the Spanish war are curious. Only in Cicero (*De Off.* 2, 40, *Brut.* 84) do we hear that Laelius broke the neck of the war and made it easy for his successors; only in App. 67 of Fannius. Oros. 5, 4 has nothing to say of the commission given to the consul Fabius; after mentioning Vetilius and Plautius he goes on: *post etiam Claudius Unimammus* (or *Unimannus*) *cum magno instructu belli contra Viriathum missus quasi pro abolenda superiore macula, turpiorem ipse auxit infamiam* etc. Florus 2, 17, 16 mentions both Claudius and Fabius, while *Vir. ill.* 71 adds Nigidius, who appears nowhere else. Appian, like *Epit.*, omits Claudius. In l. 150 *M. Petroni* can hardly be right, unless some obscure man's exploit was narrated, like those of Occius later, or like those of the Spanish *Olyndicus*, recorded only by Flor. 2, 17, 14. [Can he be the same as the Πούνικος of Appian?] It is, however, far more probable that the name is a corruption of that of Plautius, the praetor who (most likely) succeeded Vetilius. Comparing *contra Viriathum missus* in Oros. *l.c.* with *adversu[s]* in l. 151, I suppose O ran somewhat thus: *C. Plaut[io] fugato* (cf. *fugavit* in Oros.) *Claudius Unimannus]* *adversu[s Viriathum missus*. It is just possible, but less likely, that the condemnation of C. Plautius was the theme (*re*

male gesta adversus Viriathum), for which cf. Diod. 33, 3.

ll. 152-6: Kornemann is certainly right in changing *L. Metellus* to *Q.* (i.e. Macedonicus). O here recorded his success at the election held in the summer of 144 for the consulship of 143 B.C. His two *repulsae* must have occurred in 146 (after the triumph) and 145. The reference to *Vir. ill.* 61 for *qui invis[us] plebi* is excellent, but what can *petitur v[er]* in l. 156 indicate? It seems to introduce some prosecution for a fine, perhaps involving some such words as *multa petita* followed by a sum of which *V* is part. In that case the *invisus* or *invisi* may have been the culprit or culprits, possibly competitors with Metellus for office. The question whether Macedonicus was entrusted with both provinces at once, depending mainly on the reading *utramque Hispaniam* in Val. Max. 9, 3, 7 (see GH p. 110) is also affected by another passage, Val. Max. 7, 5, 4. After a mention of the triumph it is there said that the *populus* denied the consulship to Metellus, *cui mox duas clarissimas provincias aut daturus erat aut debiturus, Achaïam et Macedoniam*. If *mox* is sound, *Achaïam et Macedoniam* must be excised as a gloss, and *aut daturus erat aut debiturus* is nonsensical. An original reading *daturus* was glossed by *aut debiturus*, which got into the text, the first *aut* being then added. Thus corrected, the passage refers again to the two Spanish provinces.

l. 157: *Syria vastata*. This bears on the wars between Demetrius and Alexander Balas, but is a little out of chronological order, through Livy's fault, most likely. Rome had recognised the pretender. L. 158 begins with *content[io]*, continuing, probably, the excerpt about Eastern affairs.

BOOK 53.

ll. 161-3: may be restored with some confidence from Val. Max. 5, 1, 5 somewhat thus: *Rhoetog[ene] invito Q. Metellus ne] liberos e[ius] caedi pateretur] proposito a[bs]tinit. Rhoetogenes was ready to sacrifice his own children, that Metellus might capture the town, which Val. Max. calls *Centobriga*; it is in all probability the same as *Nertobriga* in Flor. 2, 17, 9 *cum (Metellus) Contrebiā memorabili cepisset exemplo et Nertobrigae maiore gloria pepercisset*. In App. *Ib.* 49-50 appears Νερύβριγα, a town of the Arvaci, with whom Metellus fought, and in Diod. 33, 24 Κόντροβρις is supposed to be *Contrebia*. Perhaps Val. Max. partially confused the two names *Contrebia* and*

Nertobriga; there were also other names in *-briga* rather similar. In Val. Max. Rhoetogenes appears as a voluntary prisoner in Roman hands, but he joined the Numantines (App. *Ib.* 94) and perished with them (Flor. 12, 8, 15).

ll. 163-5: there is comparatively little difficulty about the restitution of these lines. An objection to *sagulo remisso* is that it is not readily referred to the Spaniard, as Occius is subject through the sentence. Probably *sagulum* is right with *remissum*; also *iunxit* rather than *dedit*. The peculiarly Spanish *sagulum* is described by Appian, Strabo, Val. Max., and others.

l. 167: I hesitate to accept the statement of O, *[M]etellus cos. a Lusitanis vexatus*, as expressing fact. We have already seen, of course, that important events of these Spanish wars have only come down to us by casual mention in unexpected places. But here *cos.* may easily be an error for *procos.*, and the occurrence may be an incident in the siege of Contrebia during the proconsulate (Val. Max. 7, 4, 5).

ll. 168-9: the information about the distribution by Mummius of works of art brought from Corinth is interesting. I would complete l. 169 thus: *distribuit circa oppida et Rom[am] replevit*, relying on Plin. *n. h.* 33 § 36 *Mummius Achaïa devicta replevit urbem*, and *Vir. ill.* 60, 3 *cum totam replisset Italiam*, which illustrates *oppida* here. In l. 168 the true reading may be *Corinth[ium] aes M[ummius]*; cf. Plin. *n. h.* 34 § 12 *Mummi victoria Corinthum quidem diruit sed e compluribus Achaïae oppidis simul aera dispersit*. Also Frontin. *Strat.* 4, 3, 15, *L. Mummius... non Italiam solum sed etiam provincias tabulis statuisque exornavit*. Could Mummius give away treasures not belonging to his *manubiae*? The rest would naturally be sold for the benefit of the treasury (cf. Plin. 33 § 148); and as to an auction in Greece see an amusing story in Plin. 35 § 24. Dio *fragm.* 76 speaks of Mummius as having many treasures at his disposal. Some of inferior class he gave to a Pergamene general; see Pausan. 7, 16, 8, who says M. was the first Roman to make dedications in a Greek temple. Not easily reconcilable with the anecdotes about his contempt for art, which probably have little foundation.

BOOK 54.

l. 175: not quite the earliest recorded contact between the Romans and the powerful Celtic Scordisci, who crushed a consul 27 years later. See Obseq. 75 (156 B.C.).

1. 177: *Appius Claudius evicit ne duos* [*defectus*] *annus haberet* (so Greenidge, ap. GH). But whether the ordinance is conceived as permanent or as applying to the one year only, I doubt the correctness of the reading. The military grievances of which we hear as rife at this time are, first, the corrupt and capricious selection of persons for service, which was remedied by resort to the ballot (App. *Ib.* 49), and the extension of service beyond 16 years (*ib.* cc. 65, 78). A dispute was carried on in this period about the presence of a new governor in a province before his predecessor had departed. One of Cato's speeches was entitled *ne imperium sit veteri ubi novus venerit* (Gell. 20, 2). Conceivably O had *duos praetores* or *imperatores*; some reference, however, to provinces would be expected. But I am inclined to think that O recorded the result of a struggle between the two foes, Claudius and Aemilianus, and that *annus* is a remnant of the latter name; cf. *miliaannum* in l. 120. Possibly the famous embassy of Scipio to the Eastern kings caused a contest in the senate. According to most of the authorities the envoys were three; see Diod. 33, 28a, 1; Plut. *apophth.* Sc. min. 13 f.; Justin. 38, 8, 8. But *Vir. ill.* 58, 7 ignores this version, saying that only two slaves and Laelius accompanied Scipio, and Cic. *Acad.* 2, 5 contradicts it. There was, most likely, a second version, that he went unaccompanied. If Livy and O referred to this, the *duos* may be the two whom he was not allowed to take (*ne duo s[ecum] Aemili] a[n] n[on]us haberet*). But, if we believe the accounts of the great powers bestowed on the embassy, we may suppose that Scipio wished to confer pomp on the mission by increasing its number beyond the usual three, and O² may have omitted *plus* before *duos*. Justin alone gives the names of the two envoys, Sp. Mummius, whose presence might be inferred from Cic. *Rep.* 3, 47, though it is only there said that he and Scipio were together at Rhodes, *nuper* (i.e. in relation to 129 B.C.); and L. Metellus, consul of 142, about whose name there is difficulty. If the date now usually accepted for the embassy, viz. the time immediately following the censorship, which ended in the middle of 140, be correct, we must either suppose that L. Metellus was not an envoy, or that he was not proconsul for two years in Gaul, as has been believed on the strength of inscriptions (Münzer in Pauly-Wissowa). Is the story, of which we have seen traces, that Scipio went Eastward alone, the true one after all? In any case, it is strange if he took with him a

brother of a strong opponent, Metellus Macedonicus.

1. 183: the words *interpellantem profectionem suam* are unsuited to the exercise of the tribunician veto (GH), and point rather to some personal insult, such as the pronunciation of the *divae* by the tribune against the consul (as in the case of Crassus departing for Syria), or the *consecratio bonorum* (Cic. *dom.* 123). The use of force to repel the veto is hardly intelligible.

1. 186: *pacem fecit*: this corresponds with Epit. and with App. *Ib.* 69. But Dio *fragm.* 75 speaks of abortive negotiations with Popilius, which appear from Oros. 4, 5, 12 to have been actually carried on with Fabius. Diod. 33, 21 seems to correspond with Dio *l.c.* Flor. 2, 17, 17 on another occasion substitutes Popilius for Servilius Caepio. There may have been two conferences with Fabius, or (less probable) the peace may have been really concluded with Popilius.

1. 187: possibly [*exceptus i*] *n* *insidiis*.

1. 188: that some sanctity attached to the Anio appears from an obscure fragment of Cato's speech against L. Veturius *de sacrilegio commisso* ap. Priscian. vi. p. 684 P: *aquam Anienem in sacrarium inferre oportebat. Non (nam) minus XV millia Anien abest*. This may account for the preference given to it in the interpretation of the oracle. Perhaps the line should begin with [*depugnavit*] and *inaederota* is possibly a corruption of *inaedificata*, referring to the repair of the Anio Vetus. Frontin. *Aq.* 1, 7 (whose authority was Fenestella) might suggest *vindicata*. The cutting off of the water from the Capitol when Saturninus was killed is recorded by Plut. Oros. Flor. App. Auct. *Vir. ill.*

1. 193: *verna* is strange but apparently sound; perhaps *verna* [*natus*].

1. 194: possibly [*procos.Q.*] *Servilius*.

1. 196: a comparison with Dio *fragm.* 78 raises the question whether *clava* could mean a billet of wood suitable for burning. The soldiers piled logs round Caepio's *praetorium*, meaning to set it on fire, and he had to flee. If this were possible we might read *lav[us] cinctus paene ustus est*.

1. 197: may be completed by [*consilio Caepionis*] from Epit. Cf. also Vell. 2, 1, 3 *fraude . . . Servili Caepionis*, in the same connexion.

Book 55.

1. 201: *interfectores* in Eutrop. 4, 16. Appian. *Ib.* 71 says that after the murder Caepio allowed the assassins ἀδείως ἔχειν ὅσα ἔχουσι (*impunitate promissa*, Val. Max. 9, 6, 4)

but as to the reward which, according to App., he had promised, he referred them to Rome. The recompense was refused by the 'Romans' (Oros. 5, 4, 13). According to *Vir. ill.* 71, 4 the 'victory' was not approved *a senatu*; hence *a senatu* might be inserted here after *praemium negatum*. Dio *fragm.* 80 and Eutrop. 4, 16 testify to a tradition which held Caepio blameless and placed in his mouth a high-minded utterance.

l. 202: Val. Max. 3, 7, 3 shews that Curiatius and Scipio Nasica were at variance about another matter, the supply of corn in a time of scarcity. The tribune Licinius may be the man named in a passage of Valerius Antias given by Gell. 6, 9, 9: '*peposci*' quoque non '*poposci*' V. A. libro *annalium XLV scriptum reliquit*: '*denique Licinius tribunus plebi propter perduellionem et diem dixit et comitiis diem a M. Marcio praetore peposcit.*' An objection is that Gell. 6, 9, 12 quotes book xxii of Val. Ant. for an event of 136 B.C. But the figure may be wrong, or Val. Ant. may have quoted the case of Licinius to illustrate a much later prosecution. Unfortunately the praetor cannot be identified. Licinius might well have treated the refusal to exempt men from punishment as *perduellio*. There are, of course, passages scattered about where *multa* = *poena*; but *multa remissa* seems to point to something unconnected with *perduellio*; possibly touching *consecratio bonorum*.

ll. 205-7: an important and difficult passage. One is surprised that the people should have interceded for an unpopular man like Nasica (cf. Cic. *Planc.* 51; *De Off.* 1, 109; Val. Max. 7, 5, 2). My first idea was that O had *mul[t]a remissa ex decreto trib. pl.* But against this is the passage in Pliny *n. h.* 21 § 10, obviously important in this connexion: *florum quidem populus Romanus honorem Scipioni tantum habuit. Serapio cognominabatur propter similitudinem suarii cuiusdam negotiatoris. Obierat in tribunatu plebei admodum gratus dignusque Africanorum familia, nec erat in bonis funeris impensa. Asses ergo contulit populus ac funus elocavit.* The annals of the Nasica family are notoriously obscure; ancient writers confuse them, and Cicero tells us of a Nasica in his time who was at sea about the family history. Here Pliny contradicts Epit. and Val. Max. 9, 14, 3, who say that the name *Serapio* was imposed on the consul of 138 B.C. (*ab irridente Curiatio*, Epit.; *vulgi sermone*, Val. Max.). The idea of Pliny that the *funus stipe collata* necessarily implied poverty in the person so honoured can be shewn to be an error.

Such an honour was usually reserved for persons of very great eminence; but that it was not impossible in the case of a tribune is proved by a legend, related with absurd seriousness by Plin. *n. h.* 18 § 15 and 34 § 21. We may also compare the *stipis collatio* for raising statues to M. Marius Gratidianus, as recorded by Plin. 34 § 27, and similar tales in 34 §§ 25, 32. The passage in Plin. 21 § 10 has most often been interpreted as referring to Nasica Coreulum, the father of the consul of 138. But how could Pliny or his authority (probably Fenestella) suppose that he died as tribune, or how could Pliny accept such a statement at second-hand without question? To suppose, with Mr. Warde Fowler, that an unknown Nasica was the tribune in question leaves large difficulties untouched. For a solution I would look in another direction. On comparing O with Epit. it clearly appears that the death of the popular person is closely connected with the strife between Nasica the consul and the tribunes; it is interposed in fact in the middle of the story. If the death be that of Coreulum, who was honoured by a popular funeral, it becomes easy to understand why the populace at such a moment induced the tribunes to abandon their prosecution. But about the tribune? Comparing Plin. 7 § 54 [*qualis causa imposuit cognomen*] *Scipioni Serapionis; is erat suarii negotiatoris vile mancipium* with 21 § 10, it looks as if the latter passage were incomplete and had lost words corresponding to *vile mancipium*. If so, another word *multa* may have dropped out before *obierat*, 'he had done much service.' The imperfection of the records makes it quite possible that Coreulum had been tribune before his aedileship (168), in 170 or 169. Popular agitations were certainly going on at the time, and there is nothing remarkable either in Coreulum having taken the popular line, or in the people remembering it thirty or more years later. Turning to O the gaps may be filled, in accordance with this suggestion, as follows: *precibus populi multa remissa* [*patris causa*]. *Trib[unus] pl[ebis] pro commodis pop[uli] multa obiit* (or *obierat*). At the end of l. 204 some epithet in agreement with *precibus* seems to have vanished, or possibly *totius* or *universi* (*populi*).

l. 207: perhaps write *communi delectu*. Of course *desertores* is applicable to those *qui nomina non detulissent*. Curiously Epit. only mentions one, though O shews the number was great. For the tribunician protest cf. the case in Val. Max. 2, 7, 15. A curious fragment of Cato *ap. Fest.* 234 M

relates to the sale as slaves of Romans who shirked service.

l. 210: this passage opens up the inquiry whether Scipio Aemilianus did not prosecute his enemy L. Aurelius Cotta (the *trico nummarius* of Lucilius) more than once. It is not easy to get over the repeated statement of Cicero that a trial took place after Scipio had been censor and twice consul (*Mur.* 58; *Div. in Caec.* 69); particularly as he knew speeches made in the case (*Brut.* 81-2). The language of Cic. in these passages (and in *Pont.* 38) taken with App. *B.C.* 1. 22 proves the case to have been one of *repetundae*. But observe that Val. Max. 8, 1, 11, speaks of a trial before the *populus*; his language closely resembles that of O here.

l. 211: if *magnitudinem* is right, *per* was

in the preceding line; but perhaps read *magnitudine*. The whole phrase may have been [*fugit per*] *magnitudinem nom[inis eius]* or [*solutus*] *magnitudine[m] n.e.*

l. 211: probably *cae[de ingenti] Lusitani vastati*.

l. 217: the crossing of the river Oblivio (*Limia*, *Limaea*, or *Limius*, mod. *Lima*) was evidently regarded as important. The native name may have resembled *Oblivio* and this may have accounted for soldiers' superstitions. Though the name *Oblivio* (Ὀβλίω in Greek writers) often occurs, it is not given in recent maps of Ancient Spain. In spite of improvements, maps are still often unsatisfactory accompaniments to the study of ancient historical literature.

J. S. REID.

SOME EMENDATIONS IN STATIUS' *THEBAID*.

i. 172:

miseraque oculos in matre reliqui.

Perhaps *miserosque* 'that sinned in the matter of my mother'; *miseraque* arose by attraction to *matre*: similar cases of attraction are frequent in P: e.g. i. 223, i. 301, iv. 378. [In a fourteenth century MS. in the Phillips Library I find *maligni* as a variant (*sec. man.*) for *reliqui*.]

ii. 638:

etiamnum in luce codd. *plerique*.
et adhuc in nube Codex P. *Vlamingii*.

Read *leti iam in nube*.

iii. 231: *cuncta perosi*. Read *tuta*: 'let them, hating peace, love thee.'

iii. 378-379:

licet optima conjux
auditusque iterum revocet socer.

Perhaps

licet optima conjux
suaudet usque torum, revocet socer.

(In iii. 343: *saudet* for *suaudet* P. v. 169. *audet* for *audit* P.)

iii. 522:

Sed similes non ante metus, aut† astra
notavi
prodigiosa magis.

What have *astra* to do with augury? I would suggest *tesca*. For the meaning of *tesca* in augury cf. Varro *L. L.* vii. 6. 'templum tescumque finito in sinistrum' (*sub. arbor*).

iv. 757-758:

tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris
pro Jove, tu refugas vires . . (reple 759)

Perhaps

tu nunc undis—pluvioque rogaris
pro Jove—tu refugas etc.

vi. 551:

<i>aluitque</i>	<i>vultus</i>	} P.
<i>latuitque in corpore</i>	<i>virtus</i>	
<i>patuitque in corpore virtus.</i> <i>cell.</i>		

Read *latuitque in corpore vultus*. 'The beauty of his body eclipsed that of his face.'

In x. 374 I believe a similar corruption to have arisen: the MSS. have

absiliunt nubes, et fulgure ciaro
astra patent.

The sense imperatively demands *latent*, which I would restore. Such was the brightness of the lightning that it put out the stars.

Gronovius at vi. 551 quotes from Sidonius Apollinaris:

collata rubori
pallida blatta latet, depressaque lumine
voltus

ignescunt vineto Baccharum volnera collo.

Sidonius is probably directly imitating Statius vi. 551: but despite the exact parallel editors still read *patuit . . virtus*.

xi. 683: *anguste tantos*.

The Codex P. *Vlamingii* has a tempting variant *anguste latos*.

I may mention here that in the Phillips Library at Cheltenham there is an admirable MS. of the Thebaid, written in the tenth century—except lib. i. and lib. ii. 1-62, which are in a twelfth century hand. This MS. has never been collated. I have examined it at all the crucial places, and have collated the greater part of book ii. I judge it to be a MS. very closely related to G² = K, and, though it is rash to speak without a fuller knowledge of it, not inferior to K.

The fact that the first book and the beginning of the second are wanting, and

have been supplied by a twelfth century hand, had suggested to me that this MS. might be the same as the *Codex Behtii Vetustissimus*: but a very cursory examination of it shewed this to be impossible. At the end of the MS. there is the subscription:

LIBER REVEN^{ti} Dñi Dñi D///// (name erased)
CARDINALIS PRAESTANTISSIMI
CIARPALLEONE VULGARITER NUNCUPATUS (sic)
NICOLAUS FULGINAS DOC. ARTIUM.

H. W. GARROD.

ON STATIUS, *THEBAID* IX. 501.

By an oversight of the printers a reading of this line which I had thought suppressed stands in the text and notes of the just issued fasciculus of the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* and so I take the first opportunity of setting myself right with the public and the author. The passage runs as follows in the MSS

huius opem (nam qua terras inuaderet?)
unca

arripuit dextra; nec pertulit illa trahentem,
sed maiore super quam stabat pondere uicta
soluitur et, qua stagna subit radice quibus-
que

arentem mordebat humum dimissa, superne
iniecit trepido sese ripamque, nec ultra
(500)

passurum subitae uallauit ponte
ruinae,

huc undae coeunt et ineluctabile caeno
uerticibusque canis sidit crescitque bara-
thrum.

The relevant facts are simple. The river is in full flood round Hippomedon who tries to save himself by clinging to a *fraxinus*. The description is closely modelled on the river scene in *Il.* 21. 242 *sqq.* ὁ δὲ πτελέην ἔλεχερσὶ | εὐφυνά μεγάλην· ἥ δ' ἐκ ῥιζέων ἐριποῦσα | κρημνὸν ἅπαντα διώσεν, ἐπέσχε δὲ καλὰ ῥέεθρα | ὄζοισιν πυκνοῖσι, γέφυρωσεν δὲ μιν αὐτὸν | εἴσω πᾶσ' ἐριποῦσ'. ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐκ δίνης

ἀνοπούσας κ. τ. ῥ. It is evident that in the words which I have spaced the Latin poet and his model represent the tree as damming the river, and a noun must accordingly be got out of the corrupt *passurum*. My discarded conjecture *passa* <ua> *dum* (*passa* is due to Barth) provided this; for *uadum* so used compare 458 'miratur crenisse *uadum* seseque minorem.' But it may be alleged against it that the word occurs in 494 and that it is not near enough to the letters. Accordingly I rejected it for *passa salum*, a noun elsewhere in the Thebaid used of a river in flood falling on a bridge or dam, 10. 864 'amnis ut incumbens longaeui robora pontis | adsiduis oppugnat aquis; iam saxa fatiscunt | emotaeque trabes; tanto uiolentior ille | (sentitenim) maiore salo quassatque trahitque | molem aegram' e. q. s. It has besides already been applied to the Ismenos 462 'non secus aequoreo iacet Teumesius amnis | Hippomedonta salo.' All the changes assumed are found in the MSS of the Thebaid. The haplography *passa* <sa> *lum* we may illustrate by *ui* <gi> *lantibus* P (5. 212) and *incre* <bre> *scere* P (ib. 490), *u* for *a* by *putria* P for *patria* (4. 241) and *r* for *l* by *atra* P for *alta* (11. 597).

J. P. POSTGATE.

CORRUPTIONS OF *SET* IN LATIN MSS.

IN the interesting review of Bornecque's Seneca Rhetor contributed by Mr. Summers to the May number of the *Classical Review*, is it not highly probable that in the passage (vii. pref. 1) to which reference is made on page 222, col. 1, line 10 *sqq.*, the true reading is not 'Incipiebat sedens, nec nisi quando illum produxerat calor, exurgere audebat,' but,—with a far slighter alteration of the text,—'incipiebat sedens, <s>et si quando etc' ?—The point might seem too trivial for discussion, but that this spelling of *sed* would appear to have puzzled the copyists of other authors and to have led to similar errors elsewhere. Thus Statius wrote *set*: for in the *Silvae* twice at least (teste Klotz) *M* has *sec* for *sed* (i. 4. 45, v. 1. 207) and in i. 1. 83 'lacus et' for 'lacu set,'—unless in that passage the true reading be

'Temptasses, me non audente, profundum
Ipsæ lacum, set Roma tuas tenuisset habenas,'

with a reminiscence of Virgil's phrase 'temptare Thetin' (Ecl. iv. 32). Again in iv. Praef. 44 Madvig's emendation 'defende sed' for the MS 'defendes et' rests upon this assumption; and the spelling *set* should be retained. Similarly in i. 6. 37 it is not unlikely that an initial *S* has been overlooked (cf. i. 2. 157, *Ruma M* for *Bruma*): I would suggest '*set cum tot populos beata pascas* etc.; and at i. 5. 10, instead of the more drastic remedies generally applied, the lacuna might be filled by reading 'Iunge, puer, cyathos <set> et enumerare labora,' that is 'Fill cyathus after cyathus, but be sure you count the exact number (enumerare) to make the measure auspicious and correct.'

The very simplicity of these alterations may have caused them to be overlooked:

just as in *Silvae* iii. 3. 25, editors from Domitius downwards seem to have been guided by their recollection of *Aeneid* iv. 657,—and nobody has offered the somewhat obvious suggestion that, for the 'Felix et nimium felix' of *M*, we should read 'Felix haec nimium felix,'—assuming that here,—as at i. 2. 180, according to Otto,—the *c* of *ec* (for *hec*) has become *t*. At ii. 3. 10 for 'silvis et fluminibusque sequentis' etc., where Krohn suggests, and Klotz prints, 'silvis sed etc.' (they should write *siluis set*), one of the manus correctrices in *M* makes the same correction, 'silvis haec,' which was printed by Thomas Stephens in 1651; although there 'ea' may be the right reading. The converse error, *haec* for *et*, I seem to detect in Juvenal vii. 41, where maybe the *haec* of *P* represents not 'ac' (as *P²_ω* read) but 'et':

'Maculosas commodat aedes
Et longe ferrata domus' etc.

May I take this opportunity of throwing out a suggestion with regard to another passage in the *Silvae*?—In iv. 3. 19 I would read 'Sancit limina (? culmina) Flauiumque numen,' and understand the line to mean 'a temple to the Flavian deity' h. e. Minerva. Cf. Quintilian x. 1. 91, 'Cui magis (sc. quam Germanico Augusto, i.e. Domitiano) suas artes aperiret familiare numen Minervae?' with Bonnell's note ad loc. The 'caluum' of *M* may have found its way into the text from a perverse echo in the copyist's mind of Juvenal's 'cum caluo seruiret Roma Neroni';—a blunder similar to the Horatian copyist's 'Uacat otioso cum boue pardus.'

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PLATO AND MINUCIUS FELIX.

IN the recently published *Mélanges Boissier* Mr. J. P. Waltzing discusses (p. 455 *sqq.*) the probability that Minucius Felix read Plato, basing his argument chiefly on the imitation in *Octavius* 14 of the well-known *μισόλογος* passage in *Phaedo* 88-90. He seems to have overlooked another close verbal parallel. *Octavius* says in 16 that the endeavour of his rejoinder will be *ut conviciorum amarissimum labem verborum*

veracium plumine diluamus. This is evidently a reminiscence of Plato's ἐπιθυμῶ πότιμω λόγῳ ὅσον ἀλμυρὴν ἀκοῇν ἀποκλίσσασθαι, *Phaedrus* 243 D. The source of the expression has been thought to be Euripides *Hippolytus* 653 ἀγὼ ῥυτοῖς νασποῖσιν ἐξομόρξομαι | εἰς ὄτα κλύζων. But the essential contrast between the θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ and the sweet potable water is lacking in Euripides' figure drawn from the washing out of the

ears. Plato was rather thinking of Odyssey 6.224 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκ ποταμοῦ χροῖα νίξετο διὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς | ἄλμην, etc.

Compare Plutarch, *quaest. conviv.* I. ix. 4 καὶ παραμένει τοῖς σώμασιν ἀλώδης ἐπίπαγος, μέχρη ἂν αὐτὸ ποτίμῳ καὶ γλυκεῖ κατακλύσασιν.

Minucius Felix restores the ποταμός (though *flumine* is rather 'flow' or 'flood' than 'river') either thinking of the *Odyssey*, or because he thought the literal *potabilis*

inelegant. It is of course possible though not probable that he hit upon the conceit independently. It is also possible that he found it in a book of elegant Platonic extracts. The Greco-Roman Bartlett's would hardly have overlooked it. Cf. Athenaeus 121 e ἀλμυροὺς λόγους γλυκέσιν ἀποκλύζεσθαι νάμασιν.

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STUDIES OF LATIN WORDS IN *-cinio-*, *cinia-*.

I.—*Luscinia*.

THAT *lusciniola* (*lusciniā*, *luscinus*) 'nightingale' is a compound in which *-cinia* (: *canit* 'sings') means 'singer' will be called in question by no one. The initial part of the compound, *lus-*, has been a perplexing riddle. If we regard *lus-* as a reduction of *lux-*, several explanations may be offered, most of them mere restatements, in the current phonetic symbolism, of old suggestions (cf., e.g., the lexicon of Forcellini-Corradini, s.v. *lusciniā*). Having in mind the story of Progne and Philomela (cf. Varro. *Ling. Lat.* 5. 76), we might set up a base **lug-s* from **luges-* 'grief' (cf. *lugubris* which is perhaps from **lugos-ris* : and from pairs like *splendor* : *splendet*, *nitor* : *nitet*, *candor* : *candet*, *rubor* : *rubet*, etc., we might infer the pair **lugor* : *luget*).

In this case we may justify the formative type of *lus-cinia* by that of βλάσφημος from **βλαψ-φημος* (: βλάβος),¹ and ὀσφραίνομαι from **ὀτς-φραίνομαι*, ὀτς- being a weak grade of the stem found in Latin *odor*.

¹ This explanation, valuable for its lucidity, seems in a fair way of being abandoned (cf. Brugmann in IF. 15, 98) for one, identical in morphological principle, recently proposed by Schulze (in KZ. 38, 289). Schulze writes a primitive **μλαθ-s-φᾶμος* (**μλαθ-s* : Skr. *mṛdh-* 'enemy,' *mṛdhas-* 'depreciation' which means something like 'scorn-speaking.' This definition is criticised by Wackernagel (in KZ. 38, 497), who claims that the primary sense of βλασφημεῖν is 'to speak words of ill omen.' In this he seems to me to be entirely in the right, but unduly pessimistic when he calls in question his own derivation from **βλαθ-s-φᾶμος* 'speaking hurt, mischief.' We may be able 'to bring no evidence that βλάπτει ἱερά 'nocet sacris,' they were unlikely to have employed εἰς θεοὺς βλασφημεῖν in a sense that we may render by something like 'deis nociva-dicit.'

Not different ultimately is the derivation of *lus-* from **lug-s*, cognate with Greek *λυγός* 'shrill, piercing,' used of the mourner as early as *Iliad*, 19. 284.

[Bρισηῖς] ἀμφ' αὐτῷ χυμένη λίγ' ἐκώκυε

'flinging herself o'er him shrieked piercingly':

cf. also *λυγέα κωκύματα* (Aeschylus). The nightingale is expressly called *λίγεια* 'mournful' by Aeschylus (*Agam.*, 1146), and by Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 671). The original form of *λυγός*, if this explanation be correct, must have been **λυγός* (cf. *λυγρός* 'sad': Latin *luget*) altered to *λυγός* by a vowel attraction that had its rise in forms like *λυγέος*, *λυγέας* and other oblique cases, *λυγέα* (Doric fem. sg.), *λυγέα* (neut. plur.), *λυγέως* (advb.); cf. βιβλίον 'book': βύβλος 'papyrus.'

It is further possible that *lus-* is cognate with Latin *luxus* 'dislocated' (!), if that properly belongs with *λοξός* 'slanting.' The reference would be to the bewildering intricacies of the nightingale's song, cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 43. 81: nunc continuo spiritu trahitur [cantus lusciniæ] in longum, nunc variatur inflexo, nunc distinguitur conciso, copulatur intorto, etc. In the same sense we might interpret the epithet of Apollo, *Λοξίας*.

None of these explanations seem to me so probable as to define *lusciniā* by 'gloaming-singer,' or 'dawn-singer.'

As to form, *lux-*² might be regarded 1st,

² If the *u* of *lusciniola* is demonstrably short, as given by Koerting in his *Latin-Roman Wörterbuch*, we may assume for **luc-s* a derivation from **luc-es*, with vowel gradation like that seen in Gr. *λίπος* 'fat,' Skr. *mṛdhas-* 'depreciation.' Latin has at least one other derivative in *ū*, namely *lucerna*

as a weakened grade of the stem found in the Sanskrit compounds *svā-rocas-*, *svā-rocis-*, (R.V.) 'self-shining'; or 2nd, as an adverb 'at dawn' (or 'in the gloaming'), pendant to *nox* 'at night' (Plautus). With the pair **lux* || *nox*, we may compare *diu* || *noctu* and *lucu* || *noctu*, for there is no reason to call in question Donatus's attestation of *lucu* in his note on *Adelphi*, 5. 3. 55 (841): *cum primo lucu*, Veteres dicebant *lucum* pro *luce* pro sole ponentes; ergo *cum primo lucu*, quum primum sol coepit illucescere. A balancing of these words for night and day seems also attested by Greek *νύξ*, the vowel colour of which has been altered, I suggest, in conformity to the (subsequently lost) Greek equivalent of Latin *lux*¹ whose existence is to a certain extent authenticated by ἀμφιλύκη in *Iliad* 7, 433.

ἡμος δ' οὐτ' ἄρ' πα' ἡώς ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ.

'and it was not yet sunrise but night, still, verging-on-dawn,'

That the stem *luc-* suggested 'dawn' in Greek is shown not only by the passage cited but by *λύκανυγής* (adj.) 'grey-twilighty' (Heraclides), τὸ *λύκανυγές* 'the dawn,'—a curious

'lamp,' which derives, as I may suggest in passing, from **lu[ci]-cerna* 'light-horn' (cf. the spelling *lanthorn* for English *lantern*), light-basin,' with the stems exhibited in Skr. *ráci-* (*ruci-*) 'light' and Greek *κέρας* 'basin, dish.' The suffix of *lucerna* has affected the borrowed Greek word *λαμπτήρ*, yielding *lanterna*. But the quasi-suffix *-erna* is of no wide extension. If we may combine Ennius's examples *cauia caerulea* (Trag. 332), *cauia caeli* (ib. 131) 'the blue vault of heaven' with Lucretius's *caeli caavernae* (4. 171), *caavernae aetheriae* (4. 391) we might derive *caaverna* 'vault' from **ca[mo]-lucerna* (: Skr. *várhas* 'cover') 'having a vaulted cover.' The suffix abstracted from *cau-erna* may well have played a part in the suffix finally developed for *taberna* (lately discussed by Solmsen, KZ. 38. 456) and *cisterna*—[cf. *cornu* 'lantern' in *Amph.* 341].

¹ I can see no reason for deriving *νυκτός* from **noktós* that would not demand **νκτώ* in place of *δκτώ* (: Skr. *astā*). All Hirt's examples (*Griech. Gram.* § 108) fail to convince. Several of the cases are better explained by Brugmann (*Gr. Gram.* § 66, 1): no cogency attaches to *μόρυξ*, Hesychian *βόρυξ*: Lat. *formica* (cf. Joh. Schmidt, *Samantentheorie*, p. 29 and Brugmann, *l.c.* § 122). This leaves over, besides *νύξ*, assimilated, as I have suggested, to *λυκ-* (cf. Skr. *ráci-* 'gleam'), only *ὄνυξ* 'hoof, claw, nail.' To derive the *υ* of *ὄνυξ* from an *o* is a pure exercise of volition. A final explanation of this *υ*- we may never reach; provisionally, in view of Hesiod's *χθόνα νύσσειν χηλῆσι* 'to claw the ground with hoofs,' we may suppose a popular (or genuine?) cognation between *νύσσει* and *ὄνυξ*, and if we do not know the origin of *νύσσει* 'tears, pricks' its *υ*- is saved from phonetic challenge by the rhyme word *ἀμύσσει* 'tears, scratches,' whether we suppose the *υ* to be original, or whether we suppose *νύσσει*, before it affected the vowel colour of *ὄνυξ*, to have got its own vowel colour from *ἀμύσσει* (cf. for the *υ* Lat. *mucro* 'point, blade').

blend of *λυκ-* and *αἰγή* 'sunshine'; by the grammarians' word *λύγη* 'twilight' (: *λυγαῖος* 'gloomy'), which would seem to have been attracted from **λύκη* by *αἰγή*, perhaps. We may also note *λύκόφως* 'dawn.' In Latin, *luciscit* and *lucet* both mean 'the day dawns'; *diluculum* is 'dawn' and in view of *twi-light*, perhaps its *di-* is to be connected directly with *duo*, not with *dis-* 'apart' (but cf. M.H.G. *zwischen licht*?). Though *luci* (*luce*) means 'in broad daylight,' in *Men.* 1006, *Amph.* 165 (?),—cf. *claro luci*, *Aul.* 748—, and 'before dark,' in *Cas.* 786, yet the connotation of dawn is marked in the following passages:

Cure. 182, *haud multo post luce lucebit.*

Merc. 255, *ad portum hinc abii mane cum luci semul.*

Stich. 364, *me misisti ad portum cum luci simul commodum radios sese sol superabat ex mari.*

So, too, *lucifer* is the dawn star. In English, *dawn* is cognate with *day*; *gloaming* 'twilight' is cognate with *gleams* 'shines'; and *gloom* (twilight), 'darkness' with *glows* 'shines, burns.'

If the Romans named the nightingale from his dawn-singing rather than from his night-singing, it belongs to that psychological aptitude for selection which has taken note of the dawn song of the cock rather than of his night songs, and has construed the dew as a phenomenon of the morning rather than of the evening. The Romans were early risers, and this habit doubtless brought the matin-song of the nightingale to their particular attention, as dew and cock-crow—and the early worm—are phenomena of morning observation.

Shakespeare shrewdly notes our habit of only partial observation in the following (*Ist Henry* iv, 3. 2. 75):—

He was but as the cuckoo is in June,
Heard, not regarded.

Pliny's account, in which he echoes Aristotle, agreeing with modern cyclopedic report, does not confine the nightingale's song to the night; he says (*Nat. Hist.* l.c.): *lusciniis diebus ac noctibus continuis quindecim garrulus sine intermisso cantus*. Here also we may note the gloss *lucar* (supposed to be a mistake for *lusciniā*), genus avis quae pulere canit primo mane quando lux emanat. At least one morning observer of the nightingale puts himself on record in mediaeval times in the following: *Un matin Oi chanter le rossignol* (Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, 6354, cited by Hatzfeld-Darmesteter-Thomas). An accurate modern observer, Mr. John Burroughs, in 'A Search

for the Nightingale' (*Century Magazine*, 5. 778 sq.), made early morning as regularly as late evening expeditions a feature of his search, and, he records not a few times the words of others, reporting to him both the evening and morning songs of the nightingale.

In this matter the words of the poets come perhaps nearest of all to representing accurately the psychological processes of the folk in its activity of naming. The following long passage from a chorus of Euripides (*Rhesus*, 527 sq.) represents the nightingale's song almost as a conventional sign of oncoming day :

Setting are the constellations, and the seven-
faring

Pleiads are at the zenith.

Midsky flies the eagle.

Awake, why delay ye? From your beds

Awake for your watch.

See ye not the moon's pale light?

The dawning, the dawn

Is near, and of the sun's forerunners one

Is yonder star.

The Lycians the fifth watch

To take shall we not wake?

'Tis their turn by the lot's partition.

Ay, and on Simois' bank (reading *ἀἰώ*)

Sitting, her marriage bed

Of blood loud chanteth, with many-stringed

Throat, the child-destroyer,

The song-maker, the anxious nightingale.

And now, grazing, down Ida come

The flocks. In the night whistling

The piping shepherd I hear.

Soothing our eyes in the socket

Comes sleep, sweetest falling

On the eyelids toward dawn.

Euripides, the most acute observer of nature among the classic poets, again describes the nightingale as a dawn-singer in a chorus from the *Φαέθων* (frag. 775) :

Clearly in the trees sings

The nightingale her harmony ;

Early waking she sobs and sings

Itys, Itys, the many-dirged.

Piping, the mountain-treading

Shepherds start their herds.

Awaken for pasture

The teams of sorrel colts.

And now to their task the huntsmen

March, slaying of game,

And by the founts of ocean

The swan sings her sweet song.

Also to be noted is Ibycus 7 (6),

τᾶμος ἄπνους κλυτὸς ὕθρου
ἐγέρησιν ἀηδόνας.

'What time the unsleeping bright dawn
Awaketh the nightingales.'

in the classic poets, but I have noted several places where this songster sings by day, viz. : in *Oed. Col.* 18 and (probably) in 671 ; Babrius, 12 and, inferentially, Theocritus, *Ep.* 4. 9-12. The night-song is of rarer mention in the fifty or more cases I have been able to control than the dawn- or day-song, but is (very probably) mentioned as early as *Odyssey* 19, 518 sq. : in Latin cf. Vergil's *4th Georgic*, 514, and Buecheler's *Carm. Epigr.* 467. 9.

Among modern poets I have noted Wordsworth's version of Clannow's poem, 'The Cuckoo and the Nightingale,'¹ where a lover wakes before dawn and goes out to hear the nightingale before he should hear the cuckoo. The following stanzas are in point :

X.

But tossing lately on a sleepless bed,
I of a token thought which lovers heed ;
How among them it was a common tale,
That it was good to hear the nightingale,
Ere the vile cuckoo's note be uttered.

XI

And then I thought anon as it was day,
I gladly would go somewhere to essay
If I perchance a nightingale might hear,
For yet had I heard none of all that year,
And it was then the third night of the May.

XII.

And soon as I a glimpse of day espied,
No longer would I in my bed abide,
But straightway to a wood that was hard by,
Forth did I go, alone and fearlessly,
And held the pathway down by a brookside.

XVIII.

And for delight, but how I never wot,
I in a slumber and a swoon was caught,
Not all asleep and yet not waking wholly ;
And as I lay, the cuckoo, bird unholy,
Broke silence, or I heard him in my thought.

XX.

And, as I with the cuckoo thus 'gan chide,
In the next bush that was me fast beside,
I heard the lusty nightingale so sing,
That her clear voice made a loud rioting,
Echoing through all the green wood wide.

I will close this short list of passages in which the poets have noted the association of the nightingale and the dawn with two passages from Drummond of Hawthornden, quoted by H. G. Adams in an article on *The Nightingale* reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, 25. 272 seq.

The nightingale, forgetting winter's woe,
Calls up the breezy morn her notes to hear.

¹ By Wordsworth ascribed to Chaucer, but see Skeat's *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. lvii.

Other explicit references to the nightingale as a dawn-singer I have not found

Dear Chorister, who from these shadows sends,
Ere that the blushing morn dare show her light,
Such sad lamenting strains, that night attends
(Because all ear, stars stay to hear thy flight.

If in spite of this evidence for the nightingale as the dawn-singer our Teutonic Sprachgefühl still longs for a name to match our own, not a little evidence for LUK—in the sense of (evening) twilight has been mentioned already, and very pointed testimony to that effect is borne by the Latin words *luscus* '(half-)blind,' *lusciosus* 'purblind,' defined by Varro, ap. Nonium, 135. 13 as follows: *vesperi non videre, quos appellant lusciosos*. Words meaning 'blind' very generally mean 'dark' and *vice-versa*, e.g. Latin *caecus*, English *dark*, Gr. *τυφλός*, Skr. *andhā-s*. Should one prefer then to make *luscinia* the evening twilight-singer rather than the dawn-singer, he may fall back on the etymology proposed by Schweizer-Sidler in his *Grammatik*, viz. *lus[ci]-cinia*.

All the above evidence for the dawn-song and day-song of the nightingale was collected and reduced to much its present form before I was able to come at some very early discussions of the same thesis in *The Classical Journal* (vols. 27-30), published in London by Valpy (1823-1824). A synopsis of this discussion should prove of interest to English readers. The discussion began in vol. 27, pp. 91-103 with a paper by E. H. Barker entitled 'Is the Nightingale the Herald of Day, as well as the Messenger of Spring? I.' Mr. Barker proposed to interpret Διὸς ἄγγελος, in Sophocles, *Elec.* 149, by 'harbinger of day,' and cited in confirmation Eustath. 962. 63, interpreted by the Hesychian gloss Διὸς αὐγὰς: τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ φῶς, τὸν αἰθέρα. He also cited several scholia on the verse, e.g. Διὸς ἄγγελος· ὅτι τὸ ἔαρ σημαίνει (Od. τ, 519) . . . ἢ ὅτι τὴν ἡμέραν σημαίνει . . . ἢ ἄγγελον εἶπεν οἶον τέρας . . . καὶ Σαπφὼ ἦρος ἄγγελος ἡμερόφωνος ἀηδὼν. Suidas, cited to the same effect, reads in the Sappho quotation ἡμερόφωτος, and this reading Barker defended.

In vol. 28, in a second paper with the same title, Barker cited Philostratus, p. 665 (=18 Boiss.) for the following: καὶ οὐπω, ξένε, τῶν ἀηδόνων ἤκουσας, οἷον τῷ χωρίῳ ἐναττικίζουσιν ἐπειδὴν δέλη τε ἦκη καὶ ἡμέρα ἄρχεται; and the Spanish poet Góngora was drawn on for

Ruiseñores,	The nightingales,
Cantando entre las flores,	Singing midst flowers,
Que tocan al alba.	Welcome the dawn.

Dr. Rees's *Cyclopaedia* is drawn on for the following: In Persia it [the nightingale]

sings in great perfection, and is mentioned by a traveller in that country as 'the sweet harbinger of Light.'¹

In a later number of the same volume of the *Classical Journal* (p. 343) J. W. shows that in the *Electra* the scene was laid at dawn, whence he infers that 'Sophocles considers and represents the Nightingale as a morning songstress.' He also calls attention, as I have done above, to the connection between the habit of early rising and the taking note of the nightingale's matin song.

Subsequently, in the same volume (p. 365), Antiquarius cited in the original words of the poem 'Of the Cuckoo and the Nightingale' (from Adam Islip's black letter edition, London 1602) several stanzas² to prove that the nightingale (in England also) is a dawn-singer.

In vol. 29 (p. 255) Barker's third paper cited from the Spanish:

Que bien cantan los Ruiseñores;
Las mañanitas con zelos,
Y con tristezas las noches.
How well sing the nightingales;
Mornings, with jealousy,
With sadness at night.

and from Crashaw's 'Music's Duel,' a translation of Strada's *Fidicinis et Philomelae Certamen*, the following:

(*Philomela canit.*)

Her voice now kindling seems a holy quire
Founded to th' name of great Apollo's lyre,
Of sweet-lipp'd angels, ever murmuring
That men can sleep, while they their matins
sing
(Most divine service), whose early lay
Prevents the eyelids of the blushing day.

I quote further from Barker: In the Royal Poem entitled the King's Quair, James represents himself as 'rising at day-break, according to custom, to escape from the dreary meditations of a sleepless pillow:—

And on the small grene twisti's set
The lytel swete Nightingale, and sung
So loud and clear the hymnis consecrate
Of lovis use, now soft, now loud among,
That all the garden and the wallis rung
Right of their song.'

(*Geoffrey Chaucer's Sketch-Book*, I,¹² 142).

¹ Here we may compare the following from Mr. A. V. William Jackson's 'By Caravan and Cavalcade' (*N.Y. Evening Post*, Semiweekly, Oct. 5, 1903):

'The gray streaks of dawn now lighten in the horizon. The sky takes on a more silvery hue. Night withdraws her star-bespangled fan and reveals the blush of dawn. The nightingale's song is hushed before the carol of the lark. And out of the cavern of the hills the sun rises in splendour to shed its glory as of old over the ancient land of Iran.'

² Wordsworth's version has been cited above to the same effect, and the original need not be excerpted here.

In vol. 30 (p. 180) P. V. in 'The Nightingale' cites Sir Wm. Ouseley's Travels (II. p. 218) to the effect that the nightingale sings by day as well as by night, and Sir William quoted an 'English traveller of the 17th century (Dr. Myer), who, writing from Shiraz seems inspired by the climate, and adopting the flowery language of that country says: "The Nightingale, sweet harbinger of light, is a constant cheerer of these groves, charming with its warbling strains the heaviest soul into a pleasing ecstasy"'. . . In his Persian Miscellanies (p. 146) Sir William mentions regarding the nightingale that 'from its song being heard at the first dawn, the Persians call it the "Early Nightingale," or "Bird of Morn."' . . Sir William was also drawn upon for his quotation of the 18th chanson of Raoul de Coucy :

La douce voix du rossignol sauvage,
Qu'oi nuit et jor cointoier et tentir,
Me radoucit mon cuer et rasonage.

In his 4th and last paper (vol. 30, p. 341) Barker made a citation from the Philomela incerti auctoris (Pseudo-Ovid), one line of which I excerpt,

tu cantare simul nocte dieque potes ;

and from Desbillon's Philomela, Corvus et Bubo,

multoque mane cum vix dilucesceret
* * * * *
et Phoebus etiam candida purus face
innubilas per auras lucem spargeret,
his illa [luscinia] paret incitamentis, canit.

The evidence collected by Mr. Barker and others from Greek, Persian, and Spanish sources, taken in conjunction with the evidence I had produced from Greek, French, and English poets, shows a wide attestation of the notion that *luscinia* (derived from **lucs-cinia*) meant 'harbinger of dawn.' Barker may be considered to have proved the fact that the nightingale may properly be regarded—has been regarded—as a dawn-singer. I have independently sought to establish the same fact as a basis for the definition of *luscinia* by 'dawn-singer.' This demonstration would doubtless have seemed to me supererogatory had I known at the start that the Persian nightingale is called 'Early nightingale,' 'Bird of Morn,' and was even dubbed by one enthusiastic traveller the 'Harbinger of Light.'

EDWIN W. FAY.

[P.S.—In *Modern Language Notes*, 18, pp. 195–196, I have suggested that the *r*- of mediaeval Latin *ruscinia*, *roscinia* (9th cent. or earlier) is due to a popular etymology whereby *luscinia* was interpreted as 'butcher's broom songster' (: *ruscus* 'butcher's broom'). I should be grateful for any evidence to confirm or disprove the fact supposed, viz. that the butcher's broom is, in southern Europe, a favourite haunt of the nightingale.]

CORRECTIONS. NEW HOMERIC PAPYRI.

(C.R. for April.)

π δ
P. 150, line 2 : for υ read ν.
P. 178 read 'the Apostolic library,' etc.—
I am informed by Messrs. Nutt that a volume containing a catalogue of the first

500 MSS. of the *Vaticani graeci* proper, by Sigg. I. Mercati and Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, is in preparation.

T. W. ALLEN.

REVIEWS.

NAIRN'S *HERODAS*.

(Mimes III-VII.)

(Continued from p. 269.)

III 7 συμφορῆς δ' ἤδη ὁρμᾷ ἐπὶ μέζον. I do not think this could mean 'He is getting worse and worse,' because if 'he' is the subject, συμφορῆς would naturally apply to him, as in Eur. *H.F.* 1281, *Phoen.* 966, *Or.* 441 etc.; whereas it applies to his mother. I think therefore that the subject is 'it,' as in a fragment of Eur. *Antiope* ἵκται δὲ πάντως ἐς τοσόνδε συμφορᾶς. Verbs like this are often used so, when τὸ πρᾶγμα or the like is to be understood. It is quite another matter with the true impersonal passive in the present tense: Mr. Nairn takes iv. 54 ἄλλ' ἡμέρη τε κῆπὶ μέζον ὠθεῖται to mean 'but it is day and the crush is getting greater,' and suggests no other interpretation where several are possible. This use is common in Latin, as *concurritur* 'the shock takes place,' but it requires a good deal of support in Greek.

9 'τριηκάς. Schoolmasters were paid monthly at this time'—Dr. Rutherford's words. There is no reason to suppose that it was ever otherwise; writers on the subject confuse it through not distinguishing between the γραμματιστής and the ῥήτωρ or φιλόσοφος. Elementary schoolmasters were usually paid monthly; professors for a course of a year's lectures.

11 οὐκ ἂν ταχέως λήξειε. 'We may keep this with Meister, regarding it as from λάσκω. Others correct to λέξειε: but cf. ἐλήξατο, VIII 65.' The sense of VIII 65 is quite uncertain. I see nothing to prevent Dr. Meister from regarding βῆξαι in v. 70 as from βάσσω, but I shall not follow him with so much faith myself, because λακεῖν always means 'to scream,' 'to shriek,' 'to cry aloud.'

33 ἐνταῦθ' ὅκως νιν ἐκ τετρημένης ἡθεῖ

'Ἀπολλων—Ἀγρεῦ'—τοῦτο, φημί, χῆ μάμμη,

τάλῃς, εἰρή σοι, κῆστί γραμμάτων χήρη,

τοῦτο, φημί, would mean 'this, I repeat,' *inquam*, and she has not made the remark before. The right construction is that suggested by Gercke and Günther in 1891: ἐνταῦθ' ὅκως νιν ἐκ τετρημένης ἡθεῖ, 'Ἀπολλων—Ἀγρεῦ,' τοῦτο, φημί, 'χῆ μάμμη . . .'. She might have said ἐκ τετρημένης νιν ἡθεῖ

ὥστε 'τοῦτο' φημί, κτέ: but it was common to make a subordinate clause in the protasis; in Attic with εἵπειρ', ἐπειδή . . ., in Ionic with ὅπως and ἐνταῦθα (δῆ). I may add that by Attic writers ὅπως is so used only in narratives of Tragedy; even in *Ant.* 1315, where it is not in a long ῥήσις, it is in the mouth of an ἐξάγγελος. This indicates that it was felt to be antique, like 'whenas.' The only exception is in *Ar. Nub.* 60 where it is an archaism in the narrative of a countryman: μετὰ ταῦθ' ὅπως νῶν ἐγένεθ' υἱὸς οὐτοσί, περὶ τοῦ νόματος δὲ 'νταῦθ' (as Reisig rightly read) ἐλοιδοροῦμεθα.

Mr. Nairn distrusts Dr. Meister here, who regards τάλῃς as an adverb like ἐξῆς and ἐπιτολῆς, meaning 'at once' or 'straight on'; but he thinks it is 'probably an interjection used as an expletive. At VII 88 it occurs again, also spoken by a woman.' To a man; and it is probably for τάλας 'you wretch!' mistakenly Ionicised. — κῆστί, surely, is not for καὶ ἐστί but for καὶ εἰ ἐστί, and Metrodime's following words ἦν δὲ δῆ τι καὶ μέζον γρύξαι θέλωμεν mean 'and if we choose even to raise our voice' to him in rebuke, rather than 'if we wish him to raise his voice.'

50 ὅρη δ' ὁκοίως τῇν ῥάκιν λελέπηκε πᾶσαν καθ' ὕλην 'See how he has ruined all his clothes in a wood.' But ῥάκιν does not mean 'clothes,' and λεπράω is an intransitive word, and does not mean 'to ruin.'

III 55 νοεῖνθ' ὁτῆμος παιγνιὴν ἀγνῆτε.

'ὁτῆμος = ὁπηνίκα.' So say Buecheler and Meister; but it is Meister who defends ὁτῆμος as a single word, and would, I suppose, be ready to defend ὁτηνίκα and ὁτότε if he found them in a MS. What corresponds to ὁπηνίκα is not ὅτε or ἡμος or ὅτ' ἡμος, but ὁπημος, which I read; as πῆμος is recorded by Herodian and Hesych. (πῆμος: πηνίκα), we have the complete series:

ὅτε	τότε	πότε	όπότε,	όππότε
ἡνίκα	τηνίκα	πηνίκα	όπηνίκα	
ἡμος	τῆμος	πῆμος	όπῆμος,	όππῆμος

The readings of Arat. 568 and the schol.'s warning that ὁπῆμος is to be read as one

word show that the word was unfamiliar and liable to be corrupted.

60 οὐ ταχέως τοῦτον
ἀρεῖτ' ἐπ' ὅμῳ, τῇ Ἀκείσῳ σελήνῳ
δείξοντες;

'This expression is explained in Photios as being used ἐπὶ διαμεινόντων καὶ βραδυνόντων. Akeseios was a helmsman of Neileus, who always insisted on waiting for the full moon before setting sail, ἵνα ἐν φωτὶ ὁ πλοῦς γένηται. The "moon of Akeseios" then came to mean a date like the "Greek Calends"; cf. Zenobios i. 41.' This omits all mention of the reference in Diogenian. vi. 30 Λακωνικὰς σελήνας: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμφιβόλως συνθήκας ποιούμενων. οἱτοὶ γὰρ βοήθειαν αἰτούμενοι (Hdt. vi. 106) ἀεβᾶλλοντο, τὴν σελήνην προφασιζόμενοι. Ἀκείσῳ σελήνῳ, τὸ ἐναντίον. Dr. Rutherford takes this to be a contradiction of the other explanation, and at first sight it would appear so; while Crusius goes so far as to call the last words 'heller Unsinn.' I am not sure, however, that we cannot find both sense and harmony. People who gave indefinite pledges for a future date were said to make engagements for *the Laconian full-moon*, which implied that the postponement was only an excuse for evading obligations. But the conduct of Akeseios, I suggest, was very different; he waited, it is true, until the moon was full, but when the full moon came, he got to work at once, and his promises were punctually performed. He may have been an example of the precept σπεῖδε βραδέως, his slow but sure method being contrasted in the story with the precipitate and disastrous haste of other navigators. That is at any rate a theory that will account for all these passages: *the moon of Akeseios*, upon this view, will mean *the moment which is ripe for action*, and Lampriskos may suggest that he, like Akeseios, ῥάθυμος ὦν (Zenob. i. 57, Apostol. i. 90) has been long-suffering and remained inactive long, but now the time has come to strike and there shall be no mistake about it.

77 κόσας . . . μέλλεις ἔς μεν φορῆσαι—; 'ἔς μεν φορῆσαι, sc. τὸ νῶτον. The sentence is interrupted.' But as φορεῖν πληγὰς ἔς 'to heap blows upon' is unheard of, as they always say ἐμφορεῖν, ἐμβάλλειν (V 49), ἐντείνειν, ἐντρίβειν, ἐγκόψαι (V 33), Dr. Rutherford's ἔς μ' ἐνφορῆσαι should at least have been mentioned.

95 'ἐπιμηθέως. From ἐπιμηθής, "thoughtful," Theocr. xxv. 79; hence the advb. 'carefully.'" This is a bad mistake, though

made in numerous company. Προμηθεὺς was *Forethought*, and Ἐπιμηθεὺς was invented as his pendant, *Afterthought*, or *wisdom after the event*, Προμηθεὺς μετὰ τὰ πράγματα, the man who marries in haste and repents at leisure, ὀψύροος. Liddell and Scott say 'thoughtful, like ἐπιμελής, Theocr. 25.79,' precisely the opposite of the sense, which there is 'thoughtless,' 'hasty' 'precipitate': ὦ πόποι, οἶον τοῦτο θεοὶ ποίησαν ἀνακτες θηρίον ἀνθρώποισι μετέμμεναι (cf. Aesch. Theb. 242), ὥς ἐπιμηθές. *If he only had sense enough to know whom to be angry with and whom not, there would not be an animal could match him; νῦν δὲ λήν ζάκοτον τε καὶ ἀρρηγνές γένετ' αὐτῶς.* Mr. Cholmeley alone among the editors has nearly seen the meaning, rendering it 'slow to think'; but he is not right in explaining ἐπιμηθέως here as 'casually.' It means 'on second thoughts I will tell the old man after all'; and it was to lead up to this that Herodas had made Metrotime describe her husband slightly in v. 32 as γέρων ἀνὴρ ὥσιν τε κώμμασιν κάμων: otherwise it was superfluous information, but in Herodas there is no touch wasted, and in those two lines we have the woman's character.

IV 4 ἥς τε χειρὶ δεξιῇ ψαύεις
'Υγίεια, κῶνπερ οἶδε τίμοι βωμοί,
Πανάκη τε κήπιώ τε

'οἶδε τίμοι βωμοί. The article is not added after οἶδε owing to βωμοί being a predicate.' How can it be a predicate? The meaning is 'to whom belong these honoured shrines.'—Mr. Nairn is again mistaken in objecting the absence of the article against Dr. Rutherford's γένεα ταῦτα παντοῖα in VII 56: that is the natural Greek for 'here's all sorts'; βίος οὗτος ἡδύς, cries the auctioneer in Lucian i. 551.

IV 28 'ἐρεῖς. "You would say." This use of the future is peculiar . . . The only other author where it occurs frequently is Theocritus, who has it four times.' This is not correct, for it occurs oftener in Philostratus and Pausanias. Dr. Rutherford was quite right in saying that the point would certainly repay investigation; for the literary importance of the use goes far beyond itself. It was derived, as I shall show, from the old Ionic descriptive writers who have perished, but the tradition of whose style continued permanent until the latest times.

33 ἐρεῖς λαλήσει. 'λαλεῖν=λέγειν, which is a mark of Hellenistic Greek; cf. vi. 61.' This must mean that Greek other than Hellenistic would say λέξει for 'it will talk'

(λαλήσει) or 'speak' (φθέγγεται, φωνήσει). There is nothing Hellenistic in λαλήσει here or in vi. 61 πλὴν ἐπὶ λalῆ, though there are other senses in which popular jargon did use λαλεῖν for λέγειν. It is of this popular unliterary jargon (used *e.g.* by the LXX) that Mr. Nairn is speaking here as 'Hellenistic,' but in his note on ἐγχεύωμεν V 84 the term is used without warning in quite a different sense: 'χύτλοι (χύτλα) is Hellenistic Greek for χοῖ (χοαὶ) "libations to the dead." Homer has χυτλοῖν 'to pour oil.'" When Crusius says 'hellenistisch für χοῖ,' he means 'used by poets in the Hellenistic period,' such as Apollonius Rhodius.

46 οὐτ' ὀργή σε κρηγύνῃ οὐτε
βέβηλος αἰεὶ πανταχῇ δ' ἴσ' ἐγκεισai.

'ὀργή. "One who performs sacrifice," hence "devout," "pious." The opposite is βέβηλος: hence οὐτ' ὀργή οὐτε βέβηλος = no mistress whatever.' There is no warrant for the sense 'pious' (εὐσεβής): ὀργεών means ἱερεὺς 'a priest,' and ὀργεώνη 'a priestess,' ἱερεῖα. It is easier to suppose that ὀργή is a synonym (if not an error) for ὀργάς: Poll. i. 9 ὁ μὲν εἶσω περιρραντηρίων τόπος . . . καθιερωμένος, ἀβέβηλος. ὁ δ' ἔξω, βέβηλος, . . . ἡ δ' ἄνετος θεοῖς γῇ, ἱερὰ καὶ ὀργάς. This makes a natural antithesis, as *O.C.* 10 ἡ πρὸς βεβήλοισι ἡ πρὸς ἄλσεσιν θεοῦ, γῇ being readily understood as in *Trach.* 1060 οὐθ' Ἑλλὰς οὐτ' ἄγλωστος: and 'holy or profane ground' suits πανταχῇ 'in every place.'—The reading ἴσ' ἐγκεῖσαι Mr. Nairn considers 'fairly certain,' and he renders it 'you are a burden in every place alike.' ἐπείκεισαι, no doubt, might mean ὀχλεῖς, ὀχληρή or ἀχθεινὴ εἶ: but the obstacle is that ἐγκεῖσαι should mean 'you are urgent' or 'insistent.'

IV 56 οὐχ ὀρής, φίλῃ Κυνοῖ,
οἷ' ἔργα; καὶ νῆν ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην
γλύψαι τὰ καλά.

'καινός is regularly used in such expressions (Crusius).'

Never. Speaking of a woman-artist, you could say 'The artist is a new Athena!' Ἀθήνη ἄλλη, ἑτέρα, δευτέρα, νέα, καινή, ὅπλο-τέρη, Κῶη: but when you said 'Athena might have done this work!', the only epithet that you could add was αὐτή: the examples are abundant in each case. The MS. gives ΚΟΙΝΗΝ, deleting the Ο rightly; *i.e.* as Dr. Rutherford read, οἷ' ἔργα κείν'.—ἦν, ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην γλύψαι . . . the same rhythm as V 13.

67 χῶ γρυπὸς οὗτος κῶ ἀνάσιλλος ἄνθρωπος.
'ἀνάσιλλος. Adj., "with bristling hair on the forehead"; cf. L. and S., where it is quoted as a substantive from Plut. *Crass.* xxiv.' Liddell and Scott do indeed say 'ἀνάσιλλος, ὁ, bristling hair' on the forehead as the Parthians wore it, τῷ ἀνασίλλῳ κομᾷ, Plut. *Crass.* 24'; but in Liddell and Scott nothing is surprising. The adjective is elsewhere corrupted to ἀνάσιμος, and in Pollux 4. 137, 138, ἀνάσιλλος is the right reading; but which Herodas wrote can hardly be determined, for ἀνάσιμος is the contrary of γρυπός, and that ἀνάσιλλος was not so strange a word as Mr. Nairn suggests is shown by its being used in an ordinary document among Mr. Grenfell's *Papyri* 1896 p. 21 μακροπροσώπῳ ἀνασίλλῳ ἐπιγρύπῳ.

IV 73 οὐδ' ἐρεῖς 'κείνος
ἄνθρωπος ἐν μὲν εἶδεν, ἐν δ' ἀπηρ-
νήθη;
ἀλλ' ὧ ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο καὶ θεῶν
ψαύειν
ἡπέεγετο.

'ἀπηνήθη. "Failed to see"; or "was denied." It could not mean either, and the parallel from Himerius, which he quotes, should have enabled Mr. Nairn to see the meaning both of this and of εἶδεν: You cannot say, *Here was a man who looked with favour on one thing and refused another*, ἡνῆματο, ἀπηξιώσατο: Himer. *Or.* xiv. 23 οὐ τὴν μὲν εἶδε τῆς δὲ ἡμέλησε τὴν δὲ ὡς ἄχρηστον ἡτίμασεν, ἀλλὰ πάσαις δοῦς ἑαυτὸν οὕτως πάσας ἐκτίσατο ὡς οὐδὲς ἕτερος. . . Doubtless he had not seen the other parallel that I had quoted elsewhere: Psellus *Mirab.* p. 148 Westermann: καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, περὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐσπούδακα, ἐκείνο δὲ ἀπωσάμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φαύλων ἢ ἄλλως ἀποτροπαίων ἐπιγνώναι τὰς μεθόδους ἐσπούδακα. This interesting passage may be read ἀλλ' ὧ (i.e. ὁ οἱ) 'πὶ νοῦν γένοιτο, καὶ θεῶν ψαύειν ἡπέεγετο (*C.R.* xvii. 249): cf. Eur. *fr.* 183 ἕκαστος . . . ἐνταῦθα λάμπει' κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐπέεγεται, νέμων τὸ πλεῖστον ἡμέρας τοῦτ' μέρος ἰν' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνη βέλτιστος ὢν. I think it possible the ambiguity was designed.

77 παμφαλήσας does not mean 'to look up to.'

93 Mr. Nairn reads

ΚΟΚΚΑΛΗ καὶ ἐπὶ μὴ λάθῃ φέρειν,
αὐτῇ.
τῆς ὑγίης λῶ.

¹ ἐνταῦθα διατρέβειν in Arist 1371^b 31, λαμπρός τ' ἐστὶν in Plat. *Gorg.* 484 E.

ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ πρόσδος· ἡ γὰρ ἱροῖσιν
μέζων ἂμ' ἀρτίης ἢ ὑγίης· στί
τῆς μοίρης.

Dr. Meister here regards λῶ as an adverb, like πρῶ, meaning *nach Wunsch*, but Mr. Nairn dismisses that. It seems doubtful, however, whether the verb λῶ would have been used in this dialect, and constructed with a genitive, to which there is no parallel; but there is nothing said about it, or about the scansion of ἀρτίης. Mr. Nairn renders the last sentence thus: 'then give me something more (than the leg of the fowl), for, let me tell you, at sacrifices the ὑγία is greater when the share (of the victim) is adequate.' The ὑγία as he has just said, was a sort of *pain bēnit*.

I gave the last two lines to the νεωκόρος¹ (*C.R.* xiii. 153) reading τῆς ὑγίης μοι πρόσδος· ἡ γὰρ ἱροῖσιν μέζων ἀμαρτεῖν ἢ ὑγίης· στί τῆς μοίρης. 'Please give me some of the ὑγία, for at sacrifices (or 'to holy men') the ὑγία is a more serious thing to lose than one's portion'; and that or something like it, as μέζων ἀμαρτίῃ· στί· ἥδε τῆς μοίρης 'for this is a greater loss than one's portion,' I still think must be right. Mr. Nairn, p. 105, objects 'How could he ask for ὑγία which he or the priest had in his own keeping?' Well, conceding that it always was the ἱερεὺς who gave it to the worshippers,—the νεωκόρος is merely the subordinate who brings it to them; he is only entitled to his μοῖρα, the σκευδῶριον, and begs for some of what belongs entirely to the worshippers. A νεωκόρος was a very much humbler person than a ἱερεὺς: the best illustration of the office is the *Ion*, of which *vv.* 113, 120, 803 are enough to refute Liddell and Scott's assertion that there is no trace of the meaning *temple-sweeper* until Philo II. 236; and *Ion*'s other offices, fully described by himself, 102–184, entirely agree with those defined by Philo. But I do not doubt that κορ- was the same in origin as κολ-: cf. e.g. Hesych. σιοκόρος: νεωκόρος. θεοκόρος with Phot. σιωκόλλος² (read σιοκόλος, i.e. θεοκόλος): νεωκόρος. Εὐπολις.

V 4 ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίην τὴν λέγεις ὀρώρηκα γυναῖκα;

With the necessary stress on ἐγώ, this could only mean 'Have I seen a woman

whom you call Amphytaea?' But you will never find anyone speaking in that way; Gastron would protest his innocence by echoing the words and exclaiming in surprise 'I devoted to Amphytaea! Have I ever seen the woman you talk about?' i.e. as Dr. Jackson proposed ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίῃ; τὴν λέγεις ὀρώρηκα γυναῖκα;—Amphytaea Mr. Nairn takes to be the slave of Menon; but I do not think this likely, for Ἀμφυταίῃ is a noble-sounding Greek name; at least the only name akin to it is Ἀμφυτος the Laconian, one of the charioteers of the Dioscuri; and the inhabitants of Dioseuriæ (at the east end of the Euxine to the north of Colchis) and the Heniochi maintained that Amphytus and his companion were their founders, and claimed noble birth from them (*Plut. de nobilitate VII. p. 271 Bernardakis*).

Mr. Nairn refers to *v.* 30, which would support his view if it were μεθ' ἧς ἀλεῖν δεῖ, but he rightly takes it for μεθ' ἧς ἀλινδεῖ *quacum volutaris*:

πρὸς Ἀμφυταίην ταῦτα, μὴ μὲ, πληκτίζεν,
μεθ' ἧς ἀλινδεῖ καὶ ἐμ' ὄνη, ποδοψήστρον.

This is exactly the answer given many a time before and since no doubt, but also by injured Oenone to Alexander (*Parthen.* 4): *Quint. Smyrn. x. 310* 'Why come now to me? Go to Helen, ἡ παριαίων τέρπεο καυχολών, ἐπειδὴ πολὺ φερτέρῃ ἐστὶν τῆς σέο κουριδῆς· κείνην ἐσσυμένως γονάζεο, μηδὲ νύ μοι περ δακρυόεις ἐλεεῖν καὶ ἀλγινόεσθαι παραῖτα—'which is the meaning of πληκτίζεν here, almost the same as παθαίνον. The words ἐπειδὴ πολὺ φερτέρῃ ἐστὶν (cf. *Theocr. xiv. 36*) are certainly in favour of the reading κάμ' ὄνη (2nd person from ὄνομαι), which was proposed by F. D.³, writing from Cambridge, and by Blass.

V 5 προφάσεις πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἔλκεις.

No mention of Dr. Rutherford's view that these words are Bitinna's. I believe they are, for προφάσεις ἔλκειν should mean 'spin out excuses' for *evasion*, as in both the other examples of the phrase, *Hdt. vi. 86* προφάσεις εἰλκον οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποδοῦναι and *Ar. Lys. 726*, to escape the duty, as the young man in *Appul. Met. x. 212 modo istud modo aliud causae faciens*: cf. *Ov. Am. i. 8. 74, Heliod. vii. 19, Priapea 50*. Then Βίτιννα, δοῦλός εἰμι follows naturally as the poor slave's desperate appeal.

In V. 17 where the MS. gives Μῶρδαν Mr. Nairn adopts Buecheler's view that

³ I should much like to know who Mr. F. D. is.

¹ So did Prof. Hardie (though with quite a different interpretation) in *Acad.* Oct. 31, 1891, including, perhaps rightly, αὐτή.

² For this Liddell and Scott give 'σιοκόμος, Lacon. for θεο-κόμος, with hair like the gods.' But in Liddell and Scott, as I have said, nothing is surprising.

μῶραν is meant and is a feminine substantive: *differe puto a μῶρην ut morionem a stulto*. If that be so, then we ought to read μῶραν in Soph. *El.* 890 φρονοῦσαν ἢ μῶραν where the hand correcting L has altered μωρὰν to μῶραν. I would suggest that in both places the archetype gave ΜΩΡΟΝ (feminine as in *Med.* 62), accented because the common accentuation was μωρόν: that the copyist wrote the usual μωραν, but nevertheless (as in *ΟΔΗ v.* 41) preserved the record of the accent; only in Herodas seeing μῶραν to be impossible, he made what he could of it, and gave ΜΩΡΑΝ.

The following line φέρ' εἰς σὺ δῆσον τὴν ἀπληγίδ' ἐκδύσας (which appears to be misprinted, for there is a note of interrogation after σὺ) should not be translated 'Come, one of you . . .'; it means 'Come, *you* alone, single-handed,' as though Pyrrhies were waiting for assistance. Two, as Buecheler says, would be usual (*Petron.* 49); cf. ξυλλάβετον αὐτόν in *Philoct.* 1003.

V 40 ἔστηκας ἐμβλέπων σὺ, κοῦκ ἄγεις αὐτὸν
 ὅκον λέγω σοι; ὅδη, Κίδιλλα, τὸ
 ῥύγχος
 τοῦ παντοῦρκετω τοῦτο, καὶ σὺ μοι,
 Δρήχων,
 ᾗδῃ 'φαμαρτεῖς οἱ σ' ἂν οὗτος ἡγήται;

The scribe corrected *τοῦτο* to *τοῦδε*, having begun, I suppose, inadvertently to write *τοῦτον* as in VII 11. But what is *ΟΔΗ* of the MS.? And how are you to account for the accent? The simple alteration *ΟΛΗ* I thought solved everything, for the word was among those given by the grammarians as examples of this accentuation: Herodian i. p. 463 πᾶν μονοσύλλαβον προστακτικὸν μακροκαταληκτοῦμενον περισπᾶται, θ λ ᾱ, κ λ ᾱ, ζ ῆ, τ ῆ ἀντὶ τοῦ δέξαι. The correction has been generally accepted, but on German critics it seems to exercise a curious repulsion; even Blass proposes *θρή*—whatever *θρή* may be—as though it were more likely: others retain *ΟΔΗ* and explain it in one way or another. Dr. Meister, who is among the etymologists to whom few things are impossible, takes it for an adverb: 'weg, vorwärts,' instrumentales Adverb von ὁδο—'Weg' im Sinne von πρὸ ὁδοῦ, φροῦδος.' How you could even get ὅδη from ὁδο- I can't conceive; ὁδῶ or ὁδοῖ I should have thought that Greek would say. Crusius now reads ὁδῇ with no more explanation than 'scil. Pyrrhies.' Buecheler, requiring an imperative, reads ὅδη, and overrides

the accent: 'P has ὁδῇ: "*contractionis signum puto*" says Büch. of the circumflex. ὁδάω (v. Lex.) is used here in its literal meaning "to guide." There is no real reason for suspecting ὅδη: [the various conjectures are unnecessary.] This last is what Crusius says, and like him Mr. Nairn tells us to compare τῆς ῥινὸς ἔλκειν in Lucian. That is a proverb Lucian uses half-a-dozen times in the same sense that we give to the borrowed phrase in English, 'to lead by the nose,' as you drag about an animal by a ring through its nostril at your will. So we are first to take ὁδῇ for ὅδη, then to translate it in a sense wholly without warrant,¹ as if it were ὁδου, and then explain it by an entirely different proverb! Besides, a Davus might lead people by the nose, but what master tells a slave to treat another in that way? What we do find him saying again and again is 'Punch his head!' VII 6 where the offender is a dilatory slave as here: κόπτε, Πίστε, τὸ ῥύγχος αὐτοῦ. *Plaut. Casina* 404 where two slaves are told to punch each other's: *lys. (to Olympio) percidet os tu illi. CLEOST. (to Chalinus) feri malam, ut ille. Bacchid.* 800 *impinge pugnū si multiverit. Rud.* 710 *pugnum in os (the pandar's) impinge. Ter. Adelph.* 171, *Phorm.* 988. Herodas Atticus ordered his wife to be struck by a freedman, Philostr. *V.S.* p. 239 = 555, but such a blow (ἐπὶ κόρρης) was not an outrage to a slave, and was their common treatment. And the word *θλῆ collide* 'bruise,' 'crush,' is proper of the nose: Paul. *Aegin.* 213. 5 τῆς ῥινὸς τὸ μὲν κάτω μέρος, χονδρῶδες ὄν, οὐ κατὰγνται ἀλλὰ θλάττεται καὶ διαστρέφεται καὶ σιμοῦται, *Ael. N.d.* vii. 10 τῆς ῥινὸς συνθλωμένης, xvi. 22, *Hippocr.* iii. 179 Kuehn, *Dioscorid.* ii. 200.

Then Mr. Nairn argues that καὶ σὺ μοι ἐφαμαρτεῖς; means καὶ σὺ μοι ἐφάμαρται: 'The pres. indic. in questions is used for the imperative. "Are you coming?" = "come." If this is so, it should be possible to produce an example, which I should regard with interest,—especially one with καὶ μοι in it, which always means 'and, please, . . .' An early suggestion of mine, here quoted, to read ἐφάμαρτεῖν I had long withdrawn in favour of what Danielssohn proposed: ᾗδῃ 'φάμαρται <τῇ> σ' ἂν οὗτος ἡγήται. The MS. has *ΟΙΕΑΝ* for σοι ἂν, writing σοι without elision, as was often done; τῇ (which was omitted) or ᾗ is the normal word with ἡγεῖσθαι or ἐξηγεῖσθαι.

¹ See *Thesaur.* s.v. ὁδάω, and add Hesych. IV p. 318 Schmidt, and p. 332 ὠθήσεν: ὠθήσεν. ἔπρασεν, probably for ὠθήσεν: ἔπρασεν (aorist of πιπράσκω).

V 50 ὡς ἦν τι τούτων ὧν λέγω παραστείξῃς
 'From παραστείχω. παραστείχω "to pass by,"
 hence "to violate." No other example of
 this meaning is quoted.' It would have
 been more instructive to say 'substituted
 as a curious and remoter synonym for
 παραβῆς "transgress"' This, as I have re-
 marked in explaining ἐς μέλι πλύνας in III
 94 and ἀπέψῃσας in IV 17, is part of
 Herodas' method. Mr. Nairn accepts my
 explanation in those places, and if he had
 applied the principle, might have pointed
 out that φουσῶντες οὐκ ἴσον II 32 is
 substituted on the same plan for πνέοντες,
 ἀθρείτω VI 33 for ὀράτω, ὑπνον ἐκχή VII 7
 for ἐκβάλλῃ or ἀποβάλλῃ, φρένας βόσκει VIII
 15 for τρέφει, and suggested that τὸ γῆρας
 ἡμέας καθέλκει in I 16 is only a synonym for
 βαρύνει.

V 52 βάδιζε, καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλης αὐτὸν
 ἄγ', ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰθίαν.

'Pyrrhias is warned not to go out of his
 way in order to show Gastron in disgrace.'
 Yet in v. 46 Bitinna has just indicated that
 Gastron is to be led δι' ἀγορᾶς, *per forum*,
 that is, publicly disgraced.

'It is possible that παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλης ἵεναι
 was a proverbial expression—"to go by a
 roundabout way" (Meister). But there is no
 other trace of this proverb.' There need
 not have been such a proverb, but I think
 Meister's suggestion is not far from the
 mark, for τὰ Μικκάλης would undoubtedly
 suggest 'the by-lanes': because names of
 this kind were used typically for people 'in
 a small way,' 'small tradesmen,' poor and
 humble artisans; Μίκυλος by Crates in Plut.
Mor. 830 c, Callim. *Ep.* 28, Μίκυλλος Lucian
 i. 636 (contrasted with the tyrant Μεγα-
 πένθης), ii. 702, Μίκυθος Leonid. *A.P.* vi.
 355, Μικαλίαν Leon. *Tar. id.* ix. 335. This
 is the meaning of Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 51.
*Ad Caesarem quam misi epistolam, eius
 exemplum fugit me tum tibi mittere; nec id
 fuit, quod suspicaris, ut me puderet tui, ne
 ridicule Micylus; nec mehercule scripsi aliter
 ac si πρὸς ἴσον ὁμοιόνque scriberem:* 'it was
 not that I was ashamed of showing you the
 letter for fear of appearing to you as his
 humble servant to an absurd degree.'

72 If Mr. Nairn will cast a second glance
 at my note (*C.R.* xiii. p. 154 he will see
 that I was not guilty of the solecism with
 which he gently taxes me; I suggested
 punctuating νῦν μὲν αὐτὸν . . . ἄψες, παραι-
 τεύμαί σε τὴν μίαν ταύτην ἀμαρτήν—with a
 colon after *σε*.

'77 οὐ, τὴν τύραννον. "No, by our
 Lady," i.e. Aphrodite.' It is not impossible,

but the reason I considered it improbable is
 that τύραννος, so far as I know, is never an
 epithet of Aphrodite: "Ερως when his
 arbitrary dominion is described is, no doubt,
 habitually called so, and Sophocles says
 Κύπρις Διὸς τυραννῇ πλευνόντων: but that is,
 perhaps, all the more significant.

V 84 ἐπεὰν δὲ τοῖς καμοῦσιν ἐγγυτλώσωμεν,
 ἄξεις τότ' ἀμέλει τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐξ ἐορτῆς.

I am not surprised that neither Crusius nor
 Mr. Nairn should have seen their way to
 accepting my conjecture ἀμελιτῖν, and that
 they should attach more weight than I do to
 the argument that this was not in the MS.
 No, it would have been a wonder if it had
 been. Feminine adjectives in -ίτις, -ίτιν
 were usually corrupted to -ίτης, -ίτην, or
 -ήτις, -ήτην, and the final syllable was
 commonly misunderstood: thus MSS. give
 us στεγῆτιν for στεγῖτιν in Hesych., βοᾶ τὴν
 or βοᾶν τὴν for βοᾶτιν in *Pers.* 574, ποιμένη
 τὰς for ποιμνίτας in *Ael. N.A.* xii. 44, δῆμος
 πικνέι τῆς for πικνίτης in Dio Chrys. I 655,
 splitting up an unfamiliar word in the way
 so frequent with them. In ἀμελιτῖν (which
 would be hard in any case to write correctly)
 the last syllable would soon become τῆν, and
 it would be natural for a scribe to write (as
 I have no doubt he did) ἈΜΕΛΙΤΗΝΕΟΡ-
 ΤΗΝ, taking it to mean ἀμέλει τὴν ἐορτὴν.
 But when Mr. Nairn says that 'the ob-
 jections to the article τὴν are not well
 founded,' then he is travelling beyond his
 warrant. My objection to it was founded
 on the fact that ἄξεις τὴν ἐορτὴν ἐξ ἐορτῆς is
 without a parallel in Greek, and contrary to
 the nature of such phrases, which have the
 same limitations as in English. Mr. Nairn
 understands 'You shall keep your own
 feast after the (proper) feast is over'; and
 this would be correct if instead of 'your
 own feast' we had an adjective, 'a feast of
 your own,' ἰδίην (not σήν), or 'a feast of a
 different sort,' as *A.P.* ix. 307 ἐκ δὲ θεοῦ θεὸν
 εὔρεν ἀμείνων, xi. 44 ἀξομεν ἐκ λιτῆς εἰκάδα
 πιστέρην, Hegesias (Dion. Hal. V p. 28) ἐξ
 ἀγαθῆς ἐορτῆς ἀγαθὴν ἀγομεν ἄλλην, *A.P.* vii.
 374 ἀπὸ νηὸς ἄλλην παρ' φθιμένοις εἰσανέβην
 ἄκατον, *Ion* 1281 ἐκ τέχνης τέχνην οἶαν
 ἐπλεξε: but the article, if it were ever used
 (which it is not) with only one of the
 substantives, should describe 'the proper
 feast,' ἐκ τῆς ἐορτῆς: on the same principle
 as in phrases like ἦλφ τὸν ἦλον ἐκκρούειν
 (i.e. ἄλλω ἦλφ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα ἦλον, the exist-
 ing nail), παττάλω τὸν παττάλον, applied to
 those who cure (τὸ) ἀμάρτημα δι' ἀμαρτήματος
 or ἀμαρτήματι, τὸ κακὸν κακῶ or διὰ κακοῦ:

e.g. Antiphanes II 129 K. οἶνω τὸν οἶνον ἐξελαύνειν, σάλπιγγι τὴν σάλπιγγα, τῷ κήρυκι τὸν βοῶντα, κόπῳ κόπον, πόνῳ πόνον, δίκῃ δίκην, γυναικὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. Sophocles has a mixed variation, πόνῳ πόνον ἐκ νυκτὸς ἀλλάσσουνσα τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν. You could say κόπῳ τὸν κόπον as Galen VI 204 Kuehn, or even τῷ κόπῳ τὸν κόπον as Theophrast. p. 399 Wimmer; and the article is occasionally found in both places in the other phrase, as Ar. *Thesm.* 950 ἐκ τῶν ὥρων εἰς τὰς ὥρας: but it would not be correct to say τῷ κόπῳ κόπον ἐξελαύνειν or εἰς τὰς ὥρας ἐξ ὥρων, or τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐξ ἑορτῆς. But an adjectival epithet, as we have seen, is quite admissible, and ἀμελιτῖτιν (conjectured after Prof. Ellis had suggested an adjective in -ῖτιν), which admittedly makes admirable sense (i.e. πικρὴν, cf. Ar. *fr.* 597, Aesch. *fr.* 363 δξύγλυκεῖαν τᾶρα κοκκιεῖς ῥόαν, Opp. *Cygn.* ii. 321 ἑταιρείης τάχα πικρῆς καὶ φιλήης ἀπέλυσαν ἀμειδέος) appears to me to be carefully led up to by the mention of the χύτλα, in which honey was the main ingredient.

VI 15

—ἐκποδὼν ἡμῖν

φθείρεσθε, νώβυστρα, ὧτα μῶνον καὶ γλάσσαι,
τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἑορτή—

‘νώβυστρα. Perhaps for νοήβυστρον, from νοῦς and βύνω, “stopping up (i.e. dulling) the senses.” Buecheler translates it by *obtundenda mentis*. Slaves are so called from the confusion which they cause their mistress through their carelessness.’ Strange, surely, if it does not mean νοβυστικά, the opposite of which is expressed by Tryphiod. 450 ἀφραδὴ τε βέβυστο μεθιμοσύνη τε κεχῆναι πᾶσα πόλις. Slaves, as we are told by Juvenal ix. 119 and ‘Lucian’ ii. 573, are quick to learn all their masters’ secrets and to gossip; that is why they are not allowed to listen here.

VI 30 seqq.

χαίρετῳ φίλῃ πολλὰ
εὖσα τοίῃ, χητέρην τιν' ἀνθ' ἡμέων
φίλῃν ἀθρεῖτω. τᾶλλα Νοσσίδι χρῆσθαι,—
τῇ μή, δοκέω, μέζον μὲν ἢ γυνὴ γρύξω,
λάβοιμι δ' Ἀδρήστεα—χιλίων εὐντων
εἴν' οὐκ ἂν ὅστις λεπρός ἐστι προσδώσω.

Mr. Nairn, as Pearson and Buecheler, takes φίλῃ with τοίῃ, ‘I bid a long farewell to such a friend as this’; but that is contrary to the order of the words; τοίῃ would have been in the emphatic place, τοίῃ εὖσα φίλῃ as Callim. *h.* v. 86 τοιαῦται, δαίμονες, ἐστὲ φίλοι; Here, then, φίλῃ must be vocative: cf. Lucian iii. 310 οὐκοῦν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τοιαύτῃ ἐκείνῃ, περιβάλλομεν ἀλλήλους, Φιλημάτιον δὲ πολλὰ χαίρετῳ. Then Mr. Nairn takes

τᾶλλα to mean ‘for the rest,’ ‘but,’ Latin *ceterum*: but that would be τὰ δ' ἄλλα, and the custom of such phrases, which are common both in Greek and Latin, shows that φίλῃν ἀθρεῖτω τᾶλλα go together, with the meaning *aliam pro me amicam posthac quaerito*: e.g. Plaut. *Menaech.* 695 *aliam posthac invenito quam habeas frustratui*. Seneca *ite alius posthac sollicitate animas*.—For what follows in the note, an old suggestion of my own is responsible, rendering it ‘To whom I may, I am afraid, talk bigger than befits a woman.’ But Bitinna is not talking to Nossis; and neither the relative τῇ nor μή nor δοκέω can stand here. You could not say (φοβοῦμαι) μή, δοκέω, γρύξω: and even if you read μή δοκέω . . . γρύξαι, as the second hand in the MS. suggests, you are no better off; ‘I am afraid I shall appear to’ would be μή δόξω: and the words μή μέζον μὲν, in that order, could not stand unless the sentence were of this shape, μή μέζον-μὲν-γρύξω-λάβω-δέ. It follows that the right reading is that proposed by Weil:

Νοσσίδι χρῆσθαι

τῇ Μηδόκῳ—μέζον μὲν ἢ γυνὴ γρύξω,
λάβοιμι δ', Ἀδρήστεα—χιλίων εὐντων . . .

That is the regular form of such parentheses, and the explanation of the name will reveal a very pretty point. Νοσσις ἢ Ἡρίννης had been enough to identify her before, but now that Coritto learns her breach of trust, she calls her τῇ Μηδόκῳ with contemptuous venom. Because Μηδόκης (Μηδίκῳ in the oldest Cyzicene inscription), Μηδόκος, Ἀμάδοκος, is a Thracian name, and to a Greek ear, like all others of the termination -οκ- or -ωκ-, would at once imply ‘barbarian.’ Alien extraction—Thracian, usually, at Athens—was the taunt Greek malice was always ready with: see e.g. Alciphron 3. 61, Plut. *Mor.* 516 B, Theophrast. *Char.* 38 τούτου ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σωσίας ἐκαλεῖτο (a Thracian slave-name) . . . ἢ μέντοι μήτηρ εὐγενὴς Θοῤῥάττα ἐστὶ—καλεῖται γοῦν ἢ ψυχὴ Κρινοκόρακα (sic), ‘at any rate the good soul’s name is K.’¹—which contains the significant -οκ-.

Κόσις in V 65 from his office and his name is evidently a Thracian slave. Ἀννᾶ in VIII 14 is a Phrygian name, but Ἑρμων in V 48 may be an Egyptian.

41 Read τί πολλά; ‘in short,’? καὶ πολλά would do, and καὶ πάντα in II 39.

51 ἄλλ' οὗτος οὐδ' ἂν πληκτρον ἐς λύρην ῥάψαι ‘Could not even stitch a plectrum to

¹ Perhaps Κρινοκοράκα, but Κρινόκα would be enough; cf. Strabo 321 on Κρίνακος.

a lyre.' That would be *πρὸς λύρην* or *πρὸς λύρη*. It must mean 'for a lyre'; that is, I suppose, 'not even a hard plectrum for a lyre, much less a *πληκτρον ὕψιν* μαλακώτερον for another purpose.'

VI 55 [Κνλ]αιθίς Blass: [Πνμ]αιθίς Buecheler. To Meister and me the MS. appears to have ΤΟΥΤΩΠΥΛΔΙΘΙC *i.e.* τούτω Πνλαιθίς, though it might be a mistake for ΤΟΥΤΩΙ ΓΥΛΔΙΘΙC.

VI 68 ἰδοῦσ' ἀμί[λλ]η τῶματ' ἐξέκμνηνα.

The MS. has quite legibly *ΔΜΙΔΜΗ*, *i.e.*, as Meister reads, *ἄμ' ἰδμῇ*: which, I may add, is substituted as a synonym for *ἄμα* (τῇ) νοήσει or *ἄμα νοήματι*, 'in a flash,' 'at a glance.'

VI 80 ἔδει γάρ' ἀλλὰ καιρὸν οὐ πρόποντ' εἶναι
ἤληθεν ἦ . . .

'καιρὸν οὐ πρόποντ' εἶναι = καιρὸν οὐ πρόποντα, accus. of time, "at an inauspicious moment." 'καιρὸν οὐ πρόποντα might mean that, but I know nothing to warrant the addition εἶναι, of which Mr. Nairn says nothing. We should read, I take it, *ἔδει γάρ' ἀλλ' ἄκαιρον οὐ πρόποντ' εἶναι* ἤληθε δ' ἦ . . . 'I ought; only one should not be regardless of time and season; and . . . 'Attic used the singular (*πρέπον*), Ionic the plural.

VI 89 αἰεὶ μὲν Ἀρτεμῖς τι καινὸν εὐρήσει,
πρόσω πιεῖσα τὴν προκυκλῆν θά-
μ[ν]ην.

"Drinking deep of the pandar's draught," *i.e.* gaining much profit from her skill as go-between. The last word seems to be *θάμνην* from *θάμνα* = wine from pressed grapes.' Nothing is quoted beside this conjecture of Blass, in which we may ask, for one thing, why the adjective is *προκυκλῆν* and not *προκύκλιον*. I find it difficult to believe that Meister's reading is not right, *πρόσω ποιῶσα* (this with Rutherford) *τὴν προκυκλῆν* *Θαλλοῦν* 'in the brokering business leaving Thallo far behind,' Thallo being apparently some famous exemplar of the art, with an appropriate name, the same as *Θάλλουσα*: exactly like *Anaxilas* 22. 18 ἦ δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω πον ποιεῖ; 'leaves her at a distance,' 'puts her down.'

95 Greek, I think, requires Dr. Rutherford's conjecture, *λέγεις δόδον μοι νῦν πρὸς Ἀρτεμῖν εἶμι*.

VII 21

ἢ πτέρην
ὀρθῷ ὅπως πέπηγε χ[ῶτι σ]φην-
[ίσκ]οις
ἐξηρτῶται πᾶσα κ[οῦ τὰ μὲν καλ]ῶς
τὰ δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς ἀλλ' ἀπα[ρ]τίσται
χ[ωλοῦ]ς.

The *σφηνίσκοι* are apparently wedge-shaped ornaments. But Mr. Kenyon's supplement in the last line, meaning 'but to make a lame man walk evenly,' I cannot find convincing.

It is no antithesis: *οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὐ* always implies *ἀλλὰ πάντα*, which in prose, where such phrases are extremely common, is almost invariably expressed, as in *Hdt. i. 139 οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως*. Therefore when Mr. Kenyon's first transcript gave *κ. ὡς τα δ οχι καλως αλλα πα.* I supplied *κοῦ τὰ μὲν καλῶς τὰ δ' οὐχὶ καλῶς, ἀλλὰ πάντ' ἔχει καλῶς*. The *τ* of *πάντ* is now confirmed, and that yet it was not *πάντα* after all is more than I can manage to believe. It might have been *πάντ' ἴσα* or *ἴσον*, but the *καί* in *κοῦ* indicated that there was another verb to come, and as *πάντ' ἔχει καλῶς* was so common a phrase, what else could it well be? I shall be surprised if Mr. Kenyon can declare that what he takes for *CΔIX* can not be read as *EXIK*.

In the next line Mr. Kenyon now reads *οὕτως ὕμιν ἢ Πα[λλὰς] δοίη*—a nice little touch of irony.

On *κοῦδὲ κηρὸς ἀνθήσει v. 28* Mr. Nairn strangely says 'κοῦδέ = οὐδέ. The *καί* seems superfluous.' If you adopt, as he does, *Crusius'* conjecture *οὐ λείρ' οὕτω* *κοῦδὲ κηρὸς ἀνθήσει*, then, no doubt, you must treat *καί* as superfluous; but it cannot be: *κοῦδέ* must mean 'and not even,' and this indicates that *Crusius'* conjecture (which was a mere guess) is not right; for surely lilies were at least as white as wax, and as I have shown from *Vopiscus Aurel. 49 calceos mulleos et cereos et albos et ederaceos viris omnibus tulit*, white shoes are distinguished from wax-coloured. But the combination *κοῦδὲ κηρὸς ἀνθήσει* means to my ear 'and not even the pigments of the painter's palette can produce such colour,' for both *ἀνθεα* and *κηρὸς* were commonly used in that sense, and painters are described by *Manetho* and *Eusebius* as imitating by the medium of *ἄνθεσι κηροῦ* or *κηροχύτου γραφῆς ἄνθεσιν*. This view I think was worth quoting, but it is nearly the only one of mine which is omitted altogether.

So in *III 17*, where Mr. Nairn calls the *καί* 'pleonastic,' *κῆν μηχανότ' αὐτήν* means 'even if he does not go so far as with a deadly scowl . . . ' in *III 54 κοῦδ' ὕπνος*

means 'and not even ὑπὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ,' and in III 91 κατὰ βιβλίῳ cannot mean merely 'for his book.'

46. 'The υ of ἵη is abnormal.' This is the prevailing misconception, dating from the time of Porson, when everything in Attic writers was looked upon as 'Attic,' and Attic was regarded as the norm of Greek. A great step will have been made when Attic comes to be regarded as an abnormal development. All the notes on verbs in -ω want re-writing, Liddell and Scott's e.g. on γηγύω, δύω, θύω, ιδρύω, and Dr. Rutherford's on Babrius p. 27. The fact is simply that υ before a vowel was of variable quantity, but the tendency of Attic was to lengthen it, retaining υ in the colloquial phrase οὐδὲν κωλύει—antique, as οὐδὲν ἴσχει. If a cook in Strato III. p. 362 Kock says θύεις, that is because he is using not Attic but Homeric language, and it is ironically retorted on him. For ὑω add to the Diett. a proverbial verse in Plut. *Mor.* 917 μηκέτι νυκτὸς ὑεῖν ἢ κεν τέκη ἀγροτέρη σὺς.

74 Ἑρμῇ τε κερδέων καὶ σὺ Κερδίη Πειθοῖ.

Like critics generally, Mr. Nairn takes κερδέων to be the genitive: but Ἑρμῆς κερδέων for Ἑρμῆς κερδῶος is so unlike Greek—imagine Ἑρμῆς δόλων, Ἀπόλλων πατέρων, Ζεὺς ξένων and the like!—that I believe Meister to be right in taking Κερδέων for a by-name of Hermes—just as Τύχων was another. It is really the same word as Κέρδων, but the form in -ων, as I have shown in recovering the word τοκέων,¹ was

¹ *C.R.* xv. 402 and xvi. 28. A form I did not then know is κοινεῶν, restored by Scaliger in Eur. *H.F.*

antique Ionic, belonging to this very dialect. Κερδέων is contracted here as ἄλα ξυνέωνα τραπέζης in Alexand. Aetol. v. 15 (Parthen. 14).

96 The solution of this difficult line I believe to be ὥστ' ἐκ μὲν ἡμέων δι' ἑλεόν σεο ἡ πρῆξις, 'So from us your success in obtaining your price is by reason of compassion for you.' The construction with ἐκ is common in a legal formula where ἡ πρᾶξις means 'the exaction' or 'execution' of a debt: Grenfell *Papyri* 1896, p. 50 ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω Καίριτι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρπαήσιος καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. *ib.* pp. 39, 43, 59, 60. σεῶ as a contraction for σεο ἡ (Buecheler) is like ἐγῶδε for ἐγώ ἦδε, and διελεον (which was Dr. Jackson's conjecture) would easily become διελεος in the hands of scribes—for I do not think it at all likely that the neuter ἑλεος was written by Herodas.

128

τὴν γὰρ οὖν βαίτην
θάλπουσαν εὖ δέλ' ὕδον φρονοῦντα καὶ
ράπτειν.

'We must think betimes to keep well mended the cloak that warms us.' That would be τὴν θάλπουσαν. No mention of the reading θάλπους ἄνευ.

W. HEADLAM.

149 ὥς σύγγαμός σοι Ζεὺς τέκ<νου τε κ> οινεῶν (so Heath) and 339 ᾧ Ζεῦ, μάτην ἐρ' ὁμόγαμόν σ' ἔκτησάμην, μάτην δὲ παιδὸς κοινεῶν' ἐκλήζομεν (κοινεῶν ἐκλήζομεν Scaliger). There should be no hesitation now in accepting this: cf. Aesch. *fr.* 99. 6 παίδων δ' ἐζύγηι ξυνάονι, Kaibel *Ep.* p. 521 δυσὶν ξευχθεῖσα φίλοις ξυνάοσι τέκνων.

SANDYS' HISTORY OF CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP.

(Continued from p. 276.)

Bks III and IV, of about equal size, deal, as already stated, in twelve chapters with the Roman Age of Greek and of Latin Scholarship. I cannot but think this separation unfortunate; for, after being led in bk. III from Accius, Lucilius, Cicero, and Varro down to Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Priscian, a period of 700 years, we are in bk. IV taken back to Cato and Cicero, the Greek writers from Dionysius to Porphyry being then passed in review. This arrangement effaces all cultural landmarks and destroys the historical perspec-

tive. Thus a compilation like that of Gellius differs in no essential features from that of Athenaeus, though here separated by nearly 150 pages, and the anti-Asianic tirades of Dionysius and Cicero's polemic in the *Orator* belong together historically. Quintilian and still more Priscian, in fact, all Roman grammarians are ultimately indebted for the bulk of their work to Greek prototypes, the mere circumstance that they wrote in Latin being purely accidental, Suetonius, e.g. writing in both languages. Bk. III, moreover, is divided

according to chronological periods only partially representative of genuine landmarks (from Ennius to Augustus, to 300 A.D., to 500 A.D., and from 500-530), while bk. IV is distributed as follows: from 164 B.C.-14 A.D., first cent., second cent., third cent., fourth cent., and 400-530. It would have been far more conducive to clearness, if the century division had been adopted throughout, with especial reference to well-known epochs and if *Graeco-Roman* scholarship had then been surveyed in parallel chapters for each century. This would not only have been εὐσύννοτος, but it would have preserved the requisite historical continuity and interrelation, and it would above all have enabled the author to point out certain marked tendencies and characteristics which distinguish and typify various epochs.—For most of the periods here covered Dr. Sandys had such trustworthy and comprehensive works as those of Schanz and Christ for guidance. He has, of course, not followed any one manual slavishly, but has spared no pains to avail himself of a great variety of other sources of information and he has, a few minor details excepted, brought the rather extensive bibliography up to date. As a result we have here too within a narrow compass an adequately complete and accurate survey of the history of classical learning for the period included. There are but few statements, to which the present reviewer cannot subscribe.

P. 168: Dr. Sandys still regards—and he is not alone in doing so—the alleged epitaph of Naevius as genuine, misquoting it at that in three of its four lines, the reference to Gellius being also erroneously given as I. 23 instead of I. 25. But these verses, even though they do breathe a ‘Campana superbia,’ are no more the production of Naevius than those attributed by the same Gellius to Plautus and Pacuvius. Both were in all probability composed by Varro for his *Imagines*, a work not mentioned, by the way, in the enumeration of Varro’s philological contributions on p. 174. Cp. my *Literary Frauds among the Romans in Transact. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xxvi (1896) pp. 140 ff.—Dr. Sandys seems to have been misled by Mommsen in casting doubt upon the annals of *L. Cincius Alimentus*, against the express testimony of Dionysius who says that both Fabius and Cincius wrote in Greek. Mommsen’s hypothesis, that the work was a forgery of Augustan times, is intrinsically improbable and, in any case, unsupported by anything save his own great authority. It cannot even be shown that

Cincius’ namesake, an antiquarian and jurist of the time of Varro, wrote *Annales*, in which case they might have been nothing more than a translation of the old Annalist’s work.—À propos of the mention of Accius’ *Didascalica* (p. 171), I miss a reference to Norden, *Rhein. Mus.* 48 (1893) pp. 530 ff. and Hendrickson *Amer. Jour. Phil.* xix (1898) pp. 285 ff. esp. 303 ff.

Varro is very summarily treated within a little over two pages, and we are told, in apparent justification of this scanty notice, that his writings on literary history, as on Plautus, the drama, etc., were not seriously concerned with literary criticism. But, surely, even if we granted that they were not, they belonged in the domain of philological research, and I submit, that the very existence of the *Fabulae Varronianae*, to the exclusion of the 80 or 110 more plays that passed as Plautine in his time, is an eloquent testimony to the canonic authority which he enjoyed, attesting, in particular, the circumspection and acumen which characterized this great contribution to the ‘higher criticism,’ perhaps the greatest in this field ever made by any Roman, and *mutatis mutandis* fairly comparable to the Plautine labours of Ritschl. It is possible that Dr. Sandys’ unjust depreciation of the scholar Varro was influenced by the snapshot judgment of Saintsbury, *Hist. of Criticism* I. pp. 240 f. The author of that very learned, very useful, and very exasperating book, à propos of Varro’s ‘placing’ and ‘comparison’ of writers which, with not more than half-a-dozen isolated specimens at his disposal, he declares to be stupid, jejune, illogical, and misleading, continues as follows: ‘True placing is that which sets a man not in the first class or the second or the third, but in his relations to time and country, to language and manner, to predecessors and successors.’ And having thus delivered himself of a truly admirable canon of literary criticism, he cheerfully proceeds to violate every one of its golden principles throughout the rest of his volumes. To a far less flagrant degree, but still with noticeable frequency, Dr. Sandys fails properly to evaluate the services of many scholars, because he half-unconsciously measures past achievements by modern progress, standards, or methods. It is thus that Aristotle, Aristophanes (the poet), Varro, Valerius Probus, St Jerome, and Suidas are not given their just due, while an Ausonius, Cassiodorus, Synesius, and a few others, by the space allotted to them, loom up in a manner quite out of proportion to their real

importance in the history of classical learning, even though regarded only as exponents of the scholarship of their age.

P. 178: 'Literary criticism in Cicero has a conventional and borrowed element, as in the frequent comparison between literature and the arts of painting and sculpture. In this he had been preceded by Neoptolemos and he was succeeded by Dionysius and Quintilian.' This is misleading and rather unjust to Cicero, because applicable to Roman literature generally. Moreover, the comparison in question is much earlier. It first occurs in Simonides' well-known antithesis: 'Painting is silent poetry and poetry speaking painting'; it is found in Plato and Isocrates and is highly favoured by Aristotle and, as for Neoptolemos, the statement is, of course, based solely upon Porphyrio's Introduction to the *Ars Poetica* of Horace: in quem librum congescit *praecepta* Neoptolemi τοῦ Παπριανοῦ de arte poetica non quidem omnia sed *eminentissima*. Even if this be accepted without any reservation, the italicized words would alone make it doubtful, to say the least, that Horace necessarily also borrowed this time-honoured and hackneyed simile, for it had become a commonplace long before Neoptolemos wrote and there is no evidence whatever that he actually used it.—*Volcacius Sedigitus* (p. 178) is dismissed with a mere mention, but perhaps Reich's *Minus* I. 337 ff., which throws so much new light upon this apparently capricious 'canon,' had not yet appeared when this chapter was penned.—P. 180: Dr. S. might with perfect composure have summarily rejected the suggestion of the insertion of a *non* in Cicero's famous criticism of Lucretius.—P. 195: I hope I shall not be accused of undue prejudice or partiality, when I say that Dr. S., like Saintsbury again, has quite failed to appreciate the originality, the profundity, and historical insight, which distinguish so much of the criticism in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus, and I also regret to see that the Plinian passage must unnecessarily stand sponsor for the authenticity of that work.—*Suetonius* (p. 197), considering the prolific character of his philological labours, the great influence they exerted, and the authority he enjoyed, was certainly entitled to a fuller and more sympathetic treatment. Nor is the fact mentioned, either here or under St. Jerome, that the churchfather culled most of his addenda to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius from Suetonius' *de viris illustribus* and no attempt is made at an even brief estimate of his work. That Masson

was wrong in supposing that Bogius' *vita Lucreti*, first published by him in the *Acad.* No. 1155 (1894) and discussed *later* in *Journ. of Philol.* xxxiii, 220 ff. contained Suetonian remnants, Dr. S. might have recognized, had he consulted Fritsche *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 15 p. 541 and Woltjer *ibid.* p. 317, *Mnemosyne* 23, p. 222.—It would be interesting to have had a reference to Fronto's alleged reminiscences of Tacitus, incidentally mentioned on p. 198.—The farraginous character of Gellius' *Attic Nights* is well brought out, but something ought to have been said about the compiler's curious method of citation, the use of his sources, and his trustworthiness.—If *Nonius* implies that Tullius and Cicero were two distinct individuals, this amusing blunder can hardly be due to ignorance, a contingency allowed by Dr. S. (p. 208), but to his gross carelessness, elsewhere abundantly attested. His excerpts had simply been made from two 'editions,' one of which gave the author's name as Tullius, the other as Cicero. Cp. L. Mueller's *Nonius*, *Index auctorum s.n. Cicero* and Lindsay, *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin*, Oxford 1901. The same curious confusion, by the way, actually occurs again, not only in the case of bishop St. Ouen (7th century), as noted by Dr. S. (p. 445), but also and, with far less excuse, in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* iv. 2648 ff.: *And thilke time at Rome also | Was Tullius with Cithero | That writen upon Rethorike*, etc. and in vii. 1588 ff. the same ignorance as to the identity of the consul and the orator Cicero is clearly implied.

Pp. 209–213 are given up to *Ausonius*. The only conceivable excuse for this exaggerated prominence is that this 'incorrigible versifier,' as G. Boissier (cited with approval by Dr. S.) styles him, furnishes us with an interesting picture of the educational status and ideals of his age. The characterization of the *Mosella*, if not strictly relevant, we gladly accept, if for no other reason than that it contains a graceful rendering of four verses. In fact, the other specimens of metrical translation (*e.g.* pp. 40, 102, 341), which the author on occasion inserts, are so admirably done, that we regret they are so few. By way of illustration I cannot refrain from citing the felicitous, albeit free rendition of the famous fragment of Choerilus (p. 40): 'Oh! the bards of olden ages, blessed bards in song-craft skilled | Happy henchmen of the Muses, when the field was yet untill'd. | All the land is now apportion'd, bounds to all the Arts belong; | Left the last of all the

poets, looking keenly, looking long, | I can find no bright new chariot for the racecourse of my song.'

The excellent account of *Boethius* takes up six pages and this special prominence, in a way, reflects the scholarly rank to which he is entitled. But why his contemporary *Cassiodorus* should enjoy the distinction of being treated at greater length than any other scholar (pp. 244-256),—as many pages being given to him as to Aristotle, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus combined—it were difficult to understand, unless Dr. S. possibly felt, that the sources of information were in these cases not so readily accessible. For on the basis of his genuine achievements he does not deserve so high a place in the history of classical learning. It is true, he seems to have been responsible for the preservation of many classical MSS., but even here, it may be seriously questioned, whether we do not owe a greater debt of gratitude to St. Benedict. *Cassiodorus* did not foster the study of classical literature for its own sake, his chief, not to say his only, aim being to secure punctiliously accurate transcriptions of the Holy Scriptures. Indeed, an extant admonition, which Dr. S. should have cited, exhibits an almost callous disregard for the purity of *classical* texts. *Ubicumque*, he complacently tells his monks, *paragrammata in disertis hominibus* (i.e. the classics) *reperta fuerunt, intrepidus vitiosa recorrigat*. It can easily be understood, what havoc such an injunction must have caused, if religiously carried out. His classical erudition was also extremely limited, certainly incomparably inferior to that of *Boethius*, who was only 44 at that, when cruelly executed, whereas *Cassiodorus* lived to be nearly a hundred years old. *Cassiodorus* seems also to have been the only scholar, after *Orosius* and before *Einhard* and *Rudolphus of Fulda*, to bear witness to the existence of any of the works of *Tacitus*, but when Dr. S. incidentally mentions his citation of the paragraph on amber, taken from *Tacitus' Germania* (c. 45), he has failed to add the rather significant circumstance, that the passage in question is attributed to *quidam Cornelius*, which certainly justifies the suspicion, that *Cassiodorus* had secured it at second or third hand.

The only name whose omission is at all noteworthy and probably due to an oversight is that of *Fulgentius*. Although a literary impostor, he yet shows to what extremes the allegorical interpretation of the classics was destined to go. The in-

fluence, moreover, of his work was profound and lasting, having left its well-recognizable traces in *Dante* and even later in *Boccaccio*. And for certain features of the *Virgil* myth he seems also ultimately to be responsible. This whole subject of the allegorical interpretation of the *Classics* would well merit a comprehensive treatment, for it had a long and interesting history. The Stoics were the first who were noticeably addicted to the craze and it continued unabated for 1700 years thereafter, always exciting an astounding fascination and taking many forms, but it may be doubted, whether this pseudo-exegetical method ever celebrated greater orgies than in *Fulgentius*.

Bk. IV. p. 269 : While it is quite true that *Sallust* was regarded by the ancients as a conscious imitator and even as a successful rival of *Thucydides*, especially in his speeches and letters, 'the lengthy introductions to his *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*' were rather modelled upon or, at least, influenced by the great *Posidonius*. See *Wachsmuth, Einl. in das Stud. d. alt. Gesch.* p. 662.—P. 269 : A propos of the Greek sources of *Virgil's Eclogues* P. Jahn's elaborate programmes (*Kölln. Gymn.* Berlin 1897-1899) and his article in *Hermes* xxxvii. (1902) pp. 161-172 ought to have been cited. The same scholar's convincing proof that *Theophrastus* constituted one of the principal authorities for the *Georgics* was probably not yet accessible to Dr. S. See *Hermes* xxxviii. pp. 244-264.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus receives full and adequate treatment (pp. 273-280) and this is all the more welcome because of the depreciatory tone which some noted scholars have recently assumed towards him. He must be viewed as a child of his time and, even granting all his pedantry and one-sided rhetorical bias, it would be difficult to estimate the extent of our loss, if his treatises, like those of his friend *Caecilius*, had wholly perished.—The sublime essay, *On the Sublime*, Dr. Sandys rightly places at the beginning of our era, but he has omitted to mention *Kaibel's* brilliant essay (*Hermes* xxxiv. pp. 107-132) which had been called forth by the specious argumentation of *Marx* (*Wiener Stud.* xx. pp. 169 ff.), neither of which articles *Rhys-Roberts* was as yet able to cite in his edition of the *Περὶ ὕψους*.—P. 297 : It is rather doubtful whether the extant comments on *Hesiod*, *Aratus*, and *Nicander* are rightly ascribed to the *Chaeronean* *Plutarch*. P. 300 : 'In his life of *Lucullus* we find his only direct quotation from Latin Literature (*Hor. Epist.* i. 6. 45).'

But this, if not an interpolation due to a marginal gloss, was certainly taken at second or third hand, as I have shown in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xx. p. 149 note 16. On Plutarch as a Philologist, see also *Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xxv. (1894) p. 6.

P. 312: Ps. Demetrius *de elocutione* is assigned to the age of the Antonines. This seems much too late a date. Even Rhys-Roberts, in his recent edition, does not venture to go beyond the first century A.D. and admits the possibility of its being a century earlier. A careful examination of the treatise can leave no doubt that its author cannot have been a contemporary of Hermogenes. He may be post-Dionysian, but if so, only parvo intervallo.

—P. 330 ff.: *Athenaeus* is dismissed in 23 lines, while *Gellius* rejoices in two and a half pages. *Diogenes Laertius* must be content with one page, while *Libanius* receives three and a half and *Synesius* even five. This is certainly an unfair apportionment, when the actual value of their philological labours is compared. True, the life and personality of Libanius and of Synesius are much better known, the others being, in fact, for us all but ἀνεγνώκιστα, so that Dr. Sandys might here possibly justify himself, as in the other instances cited, with Goethe's avowal: 'Höchstes Glück der Erdenkinder ist nur die Persönlichkeit.' P. 336: Creuzer's second edition of Plotinus was issued in 1855, not 1850, but perhaps the later and better texts of Kirchhoff (1856) and Volekmann (1883) might have been substituted. P. 359: 'He (Synesius) *oddly* speaks of the stone of Tantalus (instead of the sword of Damocles) as hanging over the state suspended by a single thread.' Surely this is a case of 'dormitat Homerus,' for the allusion is, of course, to the well-attested, though less popular version of the Tantalus story first found in Pindar (Cp. Comparetti, *Philol.* xxxii. pp. 227-251) and then in Eur. *Orest.* 5, where Porson has collected a large array of other passages in Greek literature. In Latin we meet with it in Lucret. iii, 978 f. *Cic de fin.* i. 60, *Tusc.* iv. 35, and elsewhere, though the Romans, especially the poets, more frequently allude to the story, which is still the more familiar.

Bk. V: For the *Byzantine Age* Dr. S. had a most trustworthy 'cicerone' in the monumental and standard work of Krumbacher, but numerous items and some more recent bibliographical references again show, if any proof were needed, that our author took pains to look about and to examine for

himself. Accordingly, a commanding figure, like that of *Photius*, is properly discussed at some length (pp. 388-394), on the other hand I cannot but think that only a single page for *Suidas*, while *Iohannes Mauropus* also gets one page and *Michael Acominatus* even two pages, must create a false impression as to the labours of these men and the comparative value of their work.

The attention bestowed upon *Maximus Planudes* is adequate, though Dr. S., like all other critics before him, has failed to recognize the unique distinction which this monk enjoys in his almost systematic attempt to acquaint his countrymen with the Latin classics by his *Translations*. For if we except a sporadic reference to Greek versions of Sallust's '*Bella*,' Virgil's *Georgics*, and the translations of Eutropius by Paionius (extant) and Capito, he is the only one, so far as I know, before the time of Theodorus Gaza, in the days of the Renaissance, who applied himself to such a task. His translations are of course not all of equal or even of great value, he naturally 'didicit eundo,' but his unquestionable masterpiece, the version of Boethius' famous *De consolatione philosophiae*, with the Latin metres reproduced in Greek verse, is, strange to say, the only one omitted by Dr. S. from the list given on p. 417. In attributing to the late Prof. Palmer (in the posthumous edition of the *Heroides* prepared by Prof. Purser) the proof that Planudes' translation of these *Epistles* was based upon a lost MS. of great value, instancing especially the unique reading *Dodonide pinu* (vi. 47), Dr. S. has done me an unintentional injustice. This demonstration was first given in the writer's dissertation (*De Heroidum Ovidii codice Planudeo*, Berlin, 1888) the full discussion of the above variant being found on pp. 63-66. Prof. Palmer merely incorporated my results, as duly acknowledged, in his edition.

Bk. VI.: Undoubtedly the pièce de résistance of the entire volume, is this last book which deals with the *Middle Ages of W. Europe*. Here the author had no such comprehensive manuals, as Susenhihl, Schanz, or Krumbacher, at his disposal, but countless monographs, often widely scattered, had to be examined, and works, like the *Monumenta Germaniae* and Migne's Latin Patrologia, had constantly to be consulted. The regions which the author had to traverse, as every fellow-traveller will admit, are to a large extent arid plains, seldom relieved by attractive oases or intellectual highlands, and yet one feels that these chapters are written 'con amore.' A history of classical

scholarship in the Middle Ages is, of course, primarily, at times exclusively, concerned with the preservation and transmission of the classics and the determination of the extent of first or even second hand acquaintance with Latin literature, as it is revealed in the almost wholly theological and philosophical writings of the educated men of these times. Greek had practically vanished and classical research as such had disappeared. The commentaries, grammars, lexica, etc. served a purely pedagogical purpose and were without exception innocent of any originality or scientific value. The studies of the Schoolmen were, indeed, crystallized about a few of the logical treatises of Aristotle, but even here it was long before the original Greek text was taken as a basis, and when this became known, paradoxical as it may seem, scholastic Aristotelianism had already been rapidly gravitating toward extinction. To such extent, however, did the incomparable Stagiritic dominate and enthrall the best minds of Europe in these centuries that Dr. S. has done well in giving so full and accurate an account of this peculiar phase of classical scholarship. It is, in fact, the most satisfactory treatment of the subject, within a narrow compass, now accessible in any language. The bibliography is also more complete, as might have been expected, than in any of the preceding chapters, and quite up to date. The lack of proportion, previously referred to, on occasion, is here no longer in evidence. Omitting considerably over a hundred 'dei minorum gentium,' the most interesting and most representative figures are passed in review, the following justly receiving the most attention: Isidorus, Bede, Alcuin, Rhabanus Maurus, Lupus, Ioannes Scotus, Erigena, (pp. 473-477), Abelard, John of Salisbury, Grosseteste, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, (pp. 567-575), Duns Scotus, and Dante. Much valuable and accurate information is also given concerning the scriptorium, famous cloisters, and schools, such as Bobbio and Chartres, and the traceable knowledge of Greek, the attitude toward the classics at various epochs are satisfactorily discussed. The last chapter, finally, on the Survival of Latin Classics (pp. 594-650), contains a most useful, admirably condensed, yet adequately exhaustive account of the vicissitudes, the provenance, and present whereabouts of the most valuable MSS. of all the Latin classics (37 in all), so far as their extant transcriptions

antedate the 15th century, together with full bibliographical references. No similar conspectus has hitherto been accessible and it forms a most fitting close to the volume.

It was quite inevitable that in reviewing a work of this nature special stress should be laid upon points in which, in the conviction of the critic, there was room for improvement. The positive errors were found to be astonishingly few in number and they are in no way calculated to vitiate the intrinsic value of the book as a whole or to obscure its many solid merits. It is an achievement upon which we may warmly congratulate, not only its learned author but English scholarship, for it proves—and such proof was sadly needed—that a work of so comprehensive a nature is not necessarily 'made in Germany.' With the completion of the second volume, which we hope will not be delayed too long, it will at once assume its place as the standard manual on the subject.

In this second volume the author will reach the more agreeable part of his task, for from the Renaissance down, we deal with living personalities whose careers are well known, whose writings have been preserved, whose influence can be accurately determined, and whose achievements in many lines constitute the high-water mark of philological research, method, and discoveries. And here too the historian has virtually a clear field, for while such works as those of Voigt, Burkhardt, Symonds, and Bursian, admirable biographies like Bernays' *Scaliger*, Pattison's *Casaubon*, Ruhnken's *Hemsterhusius*, Wytttenbach's *Ruhnken*, Monk's *Bentley*, and Ribbeck's *Ritschl* cannot but prove a great help, yet it will fall to the lot of Dr. Sandys to bring all the periods of classical research into something like an organic correlation, thus exemplifying the historical continuity and the successive stages of progress which classical scholarship, like every genuinely scientific pursuit, clearly exhibits.

In conclusion, I venture to suggest that it would greatly enhance the value and the interest of this history, if the author or his publisher would see his way clear to adding a series of portraits of the most distinguished scholars who will figure in these pages. The labour involved is not too great, nor the expense called for prohibitive.

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OAKESMITH'S *RELIGION OF PLUTARCH*.

The Religion of Plutarch. A Pagan Creed of Apostolic Times. An Essay by JOHN OAKESMITH, D. Litt., M.A. Longmans, Green and Co. 5s. net. Pp. xxviii + 229. No Index.

PLUTARCH is very happily chosen for such a study as this, a reverent sceptic whose point of view is so near and yet so far from our own. In character he seems to have been singularly lovable, and his ideals were high; but we see every day how little these things have to do with the intellectual value of a religious creed professed to be held. Yet in Plutarch's case, there was the tendency, innate in the Greek, of intellectual enquiry, which caused him to base his religious beliefs on reason not emotion. And how could an intelligent man, deeply read and finely cultivated, who had ranged over all the great schools of philosophy and was still within the influence of the ancient tradition, really believe in the mythology of his fathers, part fairy-tale and part opposed to the best human morality? In the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix we see how the average unthinking man dealt with difficulties: accepting what he was taught uncritically, he concentrated his attention on the supposed crimes and follies of those who attacked his theology. But that was not Plutarch's view. He had a theological creed, and he managed to find material for it in the old religion, but he did not accept anything which would have done violence to his reason. And he draws his materials not from mythology and tradition alone, but from philosophy, and from custom. He is eclectic, and does not bind himself by the tenets of any school. Such an eclecticism is sure to lead to some sort of contradiction, and there are many contradictions in Plutarch. But he has before him the aim honestly to reconcile all apparent inconsistencies, in order that right conduct may have a basis in reason. He is really religious in the first place, and philosophic

in the second; a moralist by temper, one who might have been a preacher and an effective one if such a thing had been known amongst the Greeks. Hence the title *Moralia*, given to the bulk of his works, is not so misleading as it appears. Although these deal with so vast a variety of subjects, yet it would seem that Plutarch has left upon his readers the impression of one who is first and foremost interested in matters of conduct.

Such is the subject of Dr. Oakesmith's book, and it is a good one. Dr. Oakesmith has studied and digested his author. He is fair in his representation of the author's views, moderate and authoritative in stating his own. One point of importance he brings out, and that is that Plutarch's age was an age of religious revival rather than of decadence. We are too apt to concentrate our attention on Rome, and on Rome's abuses; for no one has arisen to sing of her virtues as Juvenal sang of her vice. Yet much of what Juvenal says of Rome might now be said of London; and the provincial life under the Roman peace must have been a very different thing. A modern preacher or student of religions might learn much from this book, in his consideration of the relation of reason to faith, the nature of inspiration, and the place of ritual in religion.

The essay has been carefully revised, after being circulated privately for criticism; and we are glad to learn that a larger work is in preparation. When that comes out, perhaps the author will correct his statements about Hesiod on p. 13 with note³. In the passages referred to (*Op.* 280-326) Hesiod is not speaking of Virtue and Vice, but of Industry and Idleness. It is to be hoped that this book may cause many to read Plutarch's *Moralia*, which still continue to be, as Paley wrote of them many years ago, 'almost unknown to most persons in Britain.'

W. H. D. R.

GIFFORD'S *EUSEBIUS*.

Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis. Libr. XV. Ad codices manuscriptos denuo collatos recensuit anglice nunc primum reddidit Notis et Indicibus instruxit E. H. Gifford, S.T.P. Oxford: Univ. Press, 1903. £5 5s.

THE *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Ἡ Εὐαγγελικὴ Προπαρασκευὴ of Eusebius is the longest and in many respects the most important apologetical work of the early Christian Church. Vast as it is in scope and execution, it is but a portion of a yet larger undertaking: it is only the first volume of a complete Ἀποδείξις Εὐαγγελική. It contains the author's ἀπολογία in the strict sense of the word—his own defence of his belief against hostile charges. His ὁμολογία or confession of faith although it starts up incidentally in the course of the apology is reserved for fuller expansion in the second part, of which some ten out of an original score of books have come down to us. His first business is to clear the way by defending himself and his fellow Christians against the charge of folly and credulity, for this was the weapon of attack which at the beginning of the fourth century had replaced the earlier allegations of atheism and disloyalty to the State. He has to prove that Christians did not embrace their religion without due deliberation. For this purpose a comparison between the old faith and the new was necessary. That comparison had been tried before: Aristides and Justin Martyr, Tatian and Athenagoras, Clement and Origen, had each in turn called attention to what they considered the essential absurdity of heathen religion; but none of them had done so with a wealth of illustration and a width of learning such as were brought to the task by the Bishop of Caesarea. It may indeed be said that his apology differs from that of his predecessors precisely in the rich harvest of a thousand years of Greek literature with which he presents his readers, and which renders the *Praeparatio Evangelica* so valuable a source of information to the classical student of to-day. Fabricius devotes sixteen pages to the list of writers referred to by Eusebius in the work under consideration (see *Bibl. Graeca*, vol. vii. pp. 346-362). Among them are some, such as Aristocles of Messene, Numenius of Apamea, Gentilianus Amelius, Areius Didymus, Boethus of Sidon,

Oenomaus the Cynic, Abydenus and Alexander Polyhistor, who would otherwise be hardly more than names to us, while others, such as Severus and Atticus the Platonists, and Diogenianus the Stoic, would be even less than that if this Christian father had not made mention of them or quoted from their writings. The *Praeparatio Evangelica* has the further merit of preserving unknown fragments of Plutarch, Plato, Porphyry, Plotinus, and Aeschylus.

The work is divided into fifteen books, the first three of which contain an indictment of heathen mythology, the next three an account of oracles, sacrifices to demons, and the doctrine of Fate. In books seven, eight, and nine the author contrasts the Hebrew with the heathen oracles and adduces in favour of the former the evidence of many heathen writers. Books ten to thirteen are taken up with the well-worn attempt to shew that the Greeks were plagiarists of the Hebrew scriptures and that all they had of good was borrowed from Hebrew sources. In the last two books Eusebius passes to philosophy; he examines the conflicting theories of the Greek thinkers and tries to expose their errors and falsehoods especially as they are seen in the peripatetic, Stoic, and various materialistic systems—οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αἰτίας εἰς φανερόν τεθείσης, δι' ἣν τὰ τῶνδε ἀποστραφέντες τὰ Ἑβραίων Λόγια προτετιμήκαμεν, τὰ μὲν τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Προπαρασκευῆς ἐν τοῖτοις ἡμῖν περιγεγράφθω. *Praep. Ev.* xv. 856.

There is probably no book in existence that better deserved careful and complete re-editing; there are not many editions of ancient authors which for completeness and care can rival the monumental work of the Cambridge Scholar which the Oxford Press has recently brought out; and there are assuredly very few editors that have the knowledge, experience, and patience necessary for dealing with the vast material to the same extent as the veteran theologian and humanist who was Senior Classic in 1843. The record of Dr. Gifford's achievements in learning and in the practical application of learning to life is now fitly crowned by the successful accomplishment of an undertaking which has appalled many younger men, 'chacun ayant reculé devant la longueur et les difficultés de la tâche.'

The work now presented to us is in five

solid volumes; two of text, two of English translation, and one of notes.

Dr. Gifford has availed himself to the full of all the help of other labourers in the same field from Robert Estienne (one regrets to find Dr. Gifford giving his sanction to the bad habit of distorting the name Estienne into Stephens, e.g. in Notes, p. 426) who issued the *editio princeps* in 1544 to Thomas Gaisford whose edition appeared in the very year that Gifford took his degree. The Oxford Professor, although his work is marked by all his usual brilliance, was content for commentary and explanation to reproduce the Latin notes and translation of the Jesuit scholar Viger (1628), and while to Gaisford is due the great credit of the first critical edition of the *Praeparatio*, his knowledge of the MSS. was superficial and one important codex (O) had not come to light in 1843. Dr. Gifford on the other hand has had the advantage of the best advice and the most careful collations in constructing his *apparatus criticus* as well as of the very skilful classification of MSS. made fourteen years ago by Dr. J. A. Heikel (*De Praeparationis Evangelicae Eusebii edendae ratione*, Helsingfors, 1888).

Gifford in general closely follows the guidance of the Finnish scholar but he differs from him in the higher value which he sets on A, the great Paris MS. (Bibl. Nat. 451). This, the earliest extant codex of the *Praeparatio*, was written in 914 A.D. for Archbishop Arethas of Cappadocian Caesarea. It contains the first five books complete, and can be controlled by H, the eleventh century Venice MS. (Marc. 343) which is a copy of A or of their common original.

Of other MSS. containing the whole work the most important are B (Paris Bibl. Nat. 465, thirteenth century) which although imperfect gives valuable independent readings; I (Venice Bibl. Marc. 341, fifteenth century) and O (Bonn. Bibl. Univ. 3643, early thirteenth century) to which latter document attention was first drawn by Dr. Ed. Schwartz. Gifford reproduces two folios of this beautiful MS. in collotype. The relations of I and O to each other and to B are complicated and interesting in the extreme. They are described at length by the Editor in his Preface and summarized with admirable clearness by Dr. E. Schürer in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of 24 October, 1903, pp. 596-7. In the same article Schürer gives a list of readings from *Praepar.* Book IX in which according to his opinion Gifford presents a better text than Gaisford. Gifford's text is based on the five MSS.

above enumerated; the rest, although he mentions six more in his *Index Codicum*, are not included in his *apparatus* because they all are ultimately derived from I or O. In Heikel's monograph there is a *stemma* which shews clearly the age and relation of all the MSS.

In dealing with the numerous passages from other writers quoted by Eusebius Dr. Gifford has not, where a better reading is known to exist, adhered slavishly to the text of Eusebian MSS. Like Gaisford he has in several instances deliberately altered his text by admitting a better, and a known reading. There is a certain risk attending on this procedure, for the question of course is not what the true text of a particular passage quoted may be, but what Eusebius had before him when he made his quotation. However I think we may be sure that in this matter Dr. Gifford has acted with needful caution. The same may be affirmed of the conjectural emendations none of which are inserted in the text without a pair of brackets < > drawing attention to them.

The translation appears to be most careful and accurate. It is the first complete English rendering of the *Praep.* (though notice should be made of the version of passages which Mr. Street published in 1842) and Dr. Gifford is to be congratulated on the skilful course he has steered through Eusebius's lumbering sentences. Good instances will be found in Book IV 140 b¹-d⁸, Book VII 333 a-b⁹.

The editor has as a rule translated afresh the extracts from other writers given by Eusebius, though in some instance e.g. Book XIII 647a¹-690 b⁴ he has had recourse to the help of Davies and Vaughan or Jowett, while for Herodotus he has sometimes used Rawlinson, and for Homer he frequently employs Lord Derby's verse translation.

I have already remarked the easy solution adopted by Gaisford of the difficulty of expounding the text, viz. the simple reproduction of Viger's commentary. It need hardly be said that notes which passed muster in 1628 and even in 1843, demanded additions and alterations in 1903. Dr. Gifford has accordingly supplied a whole volume of separate and original annotations which display an erudition of Eusebian *i.q.* encyclopaedic compass. Language and textual criticism subject matter and literary history—*nilhil tangit quod non ornat*. In his Introduction to vol. iii he says 'To do full justice to so large a compilation from all

branches of ancient literature the editor himself should be historian, poet, philosopher, archaeologist, astronomer, ethnologist; and I am certainly none of these.' The first sentence is undoubtedly true, the second is all too modest. But the whole passage provides a wholesome warning against presumption in a reviewer. Doubtless students of the special branches of knowledge with which Dr. Gifford disclaims familiarity will find opportunity for enlarging references and extending the list of authorities. For instance the archaeologist and comparative mythologist will add a whole library on the Eleusinian mysteries and will go to Roscher and Pauly-Wissowa in cases where Dr. Gifford has been satisfied with Preller or Smith's Dictionaries, while the historian will make mention of Müller's *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*; but on the whole the range of learning displayed in the notes is astonishing and the soundness of judgement is worthy of the highest respect. It is only to be regretted that the editor did not in-

crease the reader's debt to him by adding a separate index to his notes. But he has given us so much in this as in other respects that it were ungracious to ask for more. He has an index of authors quoted by Eusebius, an *index nominum et rerum*, a list of scripture passages, and one of Greek words. It is to the first of these, the *index scriptorum*, that readers of the *Classical Review* will probably turn first and they will rise from a perusal of it with respect for the fourth century Father and gratitude to the scholar and disciple who in a later day has striven so successfully to make his meaning clear.

There seem to be very few misprints which have finally escaped the notice of the editor and the lynx-eyed readers for the Press. It may be useful to add the following trifling *corrigenda*. For Athenaeus read Athenaeus (Notes, p. 329); for Λέσ ΒέτYLES read Les Bétyles (*ib.* p. 49); for Θανάτου πύλαις read π. ἄδου (*ib.* p. 9); for Book VI read Book VIII (headline, *ib.* p. 285).

H. F. STEWART.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER, AND THE OAK.

(Continued from p. 89.)

Sicily.

PANOFKA¹ and W. GRIMM² long since pointed out that the three-eyed Cyclops of Sicily³ bears a striking resemblance to the three-eyed Zeus of Argos.⁴ Max Mayer⁵ arrived independently at a similar conclusion, viz. that the original Cyclops was identical with the three-eyed Zeus of Argos, who in turn is strictly comparable with the three-eyed Argus Πανόπτης,⁶ the three-eyed guide of the Heraclidae,⁷ and the various heroes named Triops or Triopas.⁸ It would appear, then, that the three-eyed Cyclops is but another form of the three-eyed or triple Zeus. This squares well with

Polyphemus' boast that he was the peer of Zeus,⁹ and with Nonnus' description of the Cyclops Brontes as 'a bastard Zeus.'¹⁰ Hesiod too speaks of the Cyclopes as 'resembling the gods';¹¹ and the names that he givethem—Βρόντης, Στερόπης, Ἀργής—recall the titles of Zeus—Βροντῶν,¹² στεροπηγερέτα,¹³ ἄργης.¹⁴ But, if we thus equate the Cyclops with the Argive Zeus, and further accept Pausanias' statement that the latter was at once sky-god, sea-god, and earth-god, it follows that the Cyclops should have the same threefold character. Was this the case?

The ancients recognised three types of Cyclopes:¹⁵ (1) 'those of the sky,' who are

⁹ *Od.* 9. 275 f., *Eur. Cycl.* 320 f.

¹⁰ *Dion.* 28. 199.

¹¹ *Theog.* 142.

¹² *C.R.* xviii. 79.

¹³ *Il.* 16. 298, *cp. C.R.* xviii. 80.

¹⁴ *Emped.* 56 K.

¹⁵ Schol. Hes. *theog.* 139 'Ελλάνικος δὲ τοὺς Κύκλωπας φησιν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀπὸ Κύκλωπος υἱοῦ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ. Κυκλώπων γὰρ γένη τρία· Κύκλωπες οἱ τὴν Μυκλήν τευχίσαντες, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύφημον, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοί, *cp. schol.* Aristid. 52. 10 τρία γὰρ γένη φασὶν εἶναι Κυκλώπων, τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά, Σικελούς ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς χειρογαστορας, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους οὐρανίους. Both passages are cited by Mayer *op. cit.* p. 110.

¹ *Arch. Comm. zu Paus.* 2.24, p. 30 ff.

² *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1857, 'die Sage von Polyphem', p. 28.

³ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1685. The Irish Cyclops *Ingeel* had one eye with three pupils! (Rhys *Hibbert Lectures* 1886 p. 135)

⁴ *C.R.* xviii. 75 ff.

⁵ *Die Giganten u. Titanen* p. 110 ff.

⁶ *C.R.* xviii. 75.

⁷ *Ib.* 87.

⁸ *Ib.* 76 f.

none other than 'the gods themselves,' (2) Polyphemus and the Sicilian breed, (3) the Cheirogastores, who built Mycenae. (1) The οὐράνιοι or sky-Cyclopes are called by Hesiod Οὐρανίδαι,¹ and according to Hellanicus,² got their name ἀπὸ Κύκλωπος υἱοῦ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ. (2) The Sicilian Cyclopes are related rather to the sea. Polyphemus was the son of Poseidon by Thoösa, a daughter of the sea-god Phorcys,³ and was himself enamoured of the sea-nymph Galatea. At Corinth too, an ancient altar of the Cyclopes stood in the precinct of Poseidon near a temple of Palaemon.⁴ On these and other grounds H. Bigge⁵ concluded that Polyphemus and the Cyclopes were old sea-gods, and Preller-Robert speak of them as 'Poseidonischen Kyklopen.'⁶ (3) The Cyclopes as builders of the huge Cyclopean walls are akin to the Giants.⁷ They are the sons of Gaia,⁸ Γηγε-ρέες⁹ or χθόνιοι,¹⁰ now buried in the depths of the earth,¹¹ where they work at the forge of Hephaestus.¹² The Cyclopes, therefore, are intimately related to sky and sea and earth, i.e. they have precisely the characteristics of the triple Pelasgian god, who was not only Zeus but Poseidon and Hades as well. Not far from the altar of the Cyclopes at Corinth stood three ancient images of Zeus: 'one of these had no title, another was called Χθόνιος, and the third Ὑψίστος.'¹³ Again, there is a curious similarity¹⁴ between the blinding of Polyphemus in the legend of Sicily and the blinding of Orion in the legend of Chios:¹⁵ the one is a doublet of the other, and it will be remembered that Orion was sprung from Zeus + Poseidon + Hermes (or Apollo) in the home of Pelasgus.¹⁶ Lastly, it was the Cyclopes who presented 'Zeus with his thunder and lightning and levin-bolt, Pluto with his cap of darkness, and Poseidon with his trident.'¹⁷ On terra-cotta brasiers of Hellenistic date there is often

stamped a grotesque bearded head, sometimes wearing a pointed cap and accompanied by a thunderbolt or thunderbolts.¹⁸ Roscher¹⁹ follows Furtwängler in regarding this figure as that of Cyclops. If they are right, and Furtwängler's arguments are plausible,²⁰ we have here monumental evidence of Cyclops conceived as actually wielding the thunderbolts of Zeus²¹ and wearing the cap of the nether god.²²

It is possible that in early times Cyclops was represented by other and yet more monstrous forms. The name Κύκλωψ certainly suggests that he had the appearance of a disk or wheel (κύκλος),²³ and has by many mythologists²⁴ been referred to the solar orb. Now in Sicily there was an ancient symbol consisting of three bent legs radiating from a common centre (τὸ τρισκελές, sc. σημείον), which, perhaps as being the signet of Agathocles, became the emblem first of Syracuse and subsequently of the whole island.²⁵ The *triskeles* is a modification of the *swastika*,²⁶ itself a conventionalised representation of the revolving sun.²⁷ I would conjecture, therefore, that in the Sicilian *triskeles* we have a survival of the Cyclops as primitively conceived,²⁸ and that

¹⁸ Conze 'Griech. Kohlenbecken' in *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1890 v. 118 ff.

¹⁹ *Lxx.* ii. 1681, 1685.

²⁰ Furtwängler 'Die Köpfe d. griech. Kohlenbecken' in *Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 110 ff.

²¹ Cp. Eur. *Cycl.* 328, Nonn. *Dion.* 28. 188, 196.

²² For the pointed cap of Hephaestus was a πῖλος κνάνεος (Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 23) and can hardly be separated from the cap of darkness.

²³ Hes. *theog.* 145 describes the eye on the Cyclops' forehead as κυκλοτερὴς ὀφθαλμός, cp. Emped. 308 K. κύκλωπα κούρη.

²⁴ E.g. W. Grimm 'die Sage von Polyphem' in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1857, p. 27f. Cyclopes occur in the folk-lore not only of Sicily (G. Pitre *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari Siciliani* ii. 129 ff. 'Lu Cielòpu,' T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* p. 53) but also of other lands (e.g. Merry-Riddell *Odyssey* i. 550 ff., P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* i. 272, 295), sometimes in such a way as to suggest a solar meaning: thus in Zakynthos their one eye is thought to spurt out fire (Miss J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* p. 30 f., cp. B. Schmidt *Gr. Märchen, Sagen u. Volkslieder* p. 13 ff.). Ovid's Cyclops expressly compares his eye to the 'unicus orbis' of the Sun (*met.* 13. 851 ff.). Cp. also Parmen. 185 K. κύκλωπος...σελήνη.

²⁵ See G. F. Hill *Coins of Anc. Sicily* p. 152 ff.

²⁶ See e.g. E. Thomas 'The Indian Swastika and its Western counterparts' in *Num. Chron.* xx. 18 ff.

²⁷ *C.R.* xvii. 411.

²⁸ Echoes of the same belief may be heard in Greek philosophy. It was the Sicilian Empedocles who wrote: γυμνοὶ δ' ἐπλάζοντο βραχίονες ἐννίδες ὤμων, | ὄμματά τ' οἶα πλανᾶτο πεντηέοντα μετώπων (233 f. K.). Plato was probably thinking of the Empedoclean οὐλοφρεῖς...τύποι (251 K.), when he spoke of Janiform beings with four arms and four legs which enabled them to revolve κύκλῳ (ἑμνηρ. 189 E,

¹ *Theog.* 502.

² *Ap. schol.* Hes. *theog.* 139.

³ *Od.* i. 70 ff.

⁴ *Paus.* 2. 2. 1.

⁵ *De Cyclopiibus Homericis* Coblenz 1856 p. 23 ff.

⁶ P. 624. Note also the maritime names of the Cyclopes Ἀλμῆδης (Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 60, 28. 251, 265) and Εὐρύαλος (*ib.* 14. 52, 28. 242).

⁷ Cp. *Od.* 7. 206 Κύκλωπες τε καὶ ἄγρια φῶλα Γηγάντων.

⁸ Hes. *theog.* 139, cp. Apollod. 1. 1. 2.

⁹ *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 510, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 341, 27. 86.

¹⁰ Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 600, 27. 89.

¹¹ Hes. *theog.* 157 f., Eur. *Cycl.* 297 f., *alib.*

¹² Callim. h. *Dian.* 46 ff., *alib.*

¹³ *Paus.* 2. 2. 8.

¹⁴ Remarkd by Preller-Robert p. 623.

¹⁵ Roscher *Lxx.* iii. 1037 ff.

¹⁶ *C.R.* xviii. 81.

¹⁷ Apollod. 1. 2. 1.

the *swastika* was modified into a three-legged figure to suit his triple character. This conjecture is supported by the tradition that the Cyclopes came originally from Lycia,¹ where they bore the titles *Χειρογαστροί*, *Ἐχειρογαστροί*, *Γαστερόχειρες*. For it is in Lycia that the *triskeles* and analogous symbols are most frequently found;² and the titles just mentioned may well describe beings whose limbs radiate from a central orb. Nor does this derivation of the Cyclopes conflict with the view that he represents the triple Pelasgian Zeus: for in Lycia we have found clear traces of that divinity;³ indeed, C. von Paucker⁴ and E. Curtius⁵ long ago conjectured that the Lycian *triskeles* symbolised the cult of a three-fold Zeus.

I have shown that elsewhere the triple Pelasgian Zeus was constantly associated with the oak-tree and a sacred hearth. In the case of the Cyclops such a connexion can hardly be proved. Nevertheless it is not improbable. Polyphemus' cave is surrounded by pines and oaks⁶; and it is beneath an ever-green oak that he sings to Galatea.⁷ A relief in the Villa Albani shows the love-sick giant sitting beside his cave, over which spreads a fine oak-tree.⁸ Theocritus, who should know the details of a Sicilian myth, makes him boast that he has 'billets of oak and a fire that grows not weary beneath the embers.'⁹ In the interesting version of the story preserved

by Euripides the Cyclops makes his fire blaze up by 'throwing logs of a lofty oak upon his broad hearth,'¹⁰ and the bar with which his eye is burnt out is 'the huge limb of an oak-tree.'¹¹ Odysseus thrusting the bar into the eye of the Cyclops is a figure not unlike Prometheus plunging his staff into the wheel of the sun-god: I have already¹² compared the latter to a man working a bow-drill—the very simile used by Homer of the former.¹³ Both of them, I conceive, furnish a parallel to Lycophron's description of Zeus: 'the oak-tree god, he of the fire-drill, he of the glowing face, he of the round wheel.'¹⁴

M. Mayer¹⁵ compares the fable of the gold-guarding Cyclops¹⁶ with that of the gold-guarding griffins and the one-eyed Arimaspi.¹⁷ These griffins are identified by Nonius¹⁸ with 'the wood-peckers who tend the mountains of gold,'¹⁹ and the historian Bruttius relates how ὁ αὐτὸς Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς corrupted Danae with a bribe of much gold²⁰—so that once more we are brought back to the circle of the oak-god.

Other traces of the Pelasgian Zeus in Sicily could probably be collected. A fifth century tetradrachm of Zancle, now at Brussels, shows Poseidon brandishing not a trident but a thunderbolt.²¹ With this Zeus-like Poseidon should be compared a gem in the Berlin cabinet representing 'Zeus and Poseidon combined in one figure. The god holds in his right hand the thunderbolt, beneath which stands the eagle: in his left he supports the trident.'²² Coins of Abacenum have a head of Zeus²³ as the obverse, a boar and an acorn as the reverse type: was the oak-Zeus worshipped in 'the great forests of oak which still cover the neighbouring mountains'?²⁴ The Museum at Palermo has a marble support from a throne

cp. *Tim.* 44 D). The Cyclopes of a modern Sicilian tale 'have four eyes, two in front, two behind' (Miss J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* p. 31). Cp. the Janiform heads, both male and female, on the coins of Sicily and S. Italy (G. F. Hill *Coins of Anc. Sicily* pp. 150, 205, 208, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 54), and the early Sardinian bronzes representing warriors with two pairs of arms and two or three pairs of eyes (Perrot-Chipiez *Hist. of Art in Sardinia* i. 59 f.).

¹ Strab. 372, Apollod. 2. 2. 1.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Lycia* etc. p. xxvii f. 'The symbol, which is...characteristic of the early Lycian coinage, consists of a central annulet, from which spring three curved members. The number of these is varied sometimes to two or four, and once...to one. The symbol on Lycian coins never consists of three human legs, which is the common form in Pamphylia and Pisidia; but the members are sometimes decorated with heads of cocks...or monsters' (G. F. Hill). See also Babelon *les Perses Achéménides* p. xc f., who cites a Lycian coin bearing a genuine *triskeles* (no. 548, pl. 15, 20) and others on which the radiate members end in swans' heads (nos. 476, 532, pls. 12, 11; 15, 5).

³ *C.R.* xviii. 75 f.

⁴ *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 p. 380.

⁵ *Ib.* 1855 p. 11.

⁶ *Od.* 9. 186.

⁷ Philostr. *im.* 2. 18. 3.

⁸ Miss J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* p. 32, pl. 13.

⁹ Theocr. 11. 51.

¹⁰ Eur. *Cycl.* 383 f., cp. *I.T.* 845 Κυκλωπὶς ἐστία of Mycenae.

¹¹ Eur. *Cycl.* 615.

¹² *C.R.* xvii. 419.

¹³ *Od.* 9. 384 ff.

¹⁴ Lyc. 536 f. ὁ Δρύμνιος | δαίμων Προμανθεὺς Αἰθίοψ Γυράσιος. See *C.R.* xvii. 419.

¹⁵ *Gly. u. Tit.* p. 115 n. 144.

¹⁶ Aesop 53 Halm.

¹⁷ Aristaeas *frag.* 4. Kinkel, *Hdt.* 4. 27, *alib.*

¹⁸ *S.v.* 'pikos' p. 152, 6 Linds.

¹⁹ Plaut. *aul.* 701.

²⁰ Peter *Hist. Rom. Frag.* p. 375, 25 ff.

²¹ G. F. Hill *Coins of Anc. Sicily* p. 70, pl. 4, 8. Conversely, the Sun-god is connected with Θρινάκη, the island of the trident (θρίναξ), by Homer (see Ebeling *s.v.*).

²² Furtwängler *Geschn. Steine im Antiq. zu Berlin* no. 3447.

²³ Marindin *Class. Dict.* 1.

²⁴ Bunbury in Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1.

of Zeus, which is decorated with oak-leaves.¹ On bronze coins of Syracuse struck during Pyrrhus' invasion occurs the Dodonaean oak-wreath.² And that this wreath was felt to be appropriate to a solar god appears from Choerion's superb head of Apollo crowned with an oak-wreath on a tetradrachm of Catana.³

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(To be concluded.)

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C.R.* 1904, P. 137.)

THE two most important discoveries made in the Forum during the last few months have been the deposit of prehistoric pottery in the base of the equestrian statue of Domitian,⁴ and the site of the Lacus Curtius. They have excited a sufficient amount of general interest to find mention in the columns of the daily press; and they are certainly most striking and unexpected—at least by the majority of archaeologists, though both were to some extent anticipated by Comm. Boni.

The first find took place early in March. An incision made into the solid concrete of the base, at the centre of the south-east side, at a depth of about four feet, revealed the presence of a slab of travertine four feet square and two feet thick. When this was lifted, it was found to be the lid of a cavity of slightly trapezoidal shape, about two feet long on each side and one foot deep, cut in a block of travertine embedded in the solid concrete. Within the cavity were five vases in a perfect state of preservation. The first and largest is a globular vase, without handles, red in colour, and decorated with vertical raised ribs: the second a small amphora of black ware with two handles, with incised ornamentation, consisting of spirals and the figure of a fish. Two others are small cyathi also of black ware, and similarly ornamented one having a ten-pointed star on the bottom: while the last, made of yellowish clay, with a decoration formed of bands of red, resembles in shape nothing so much as the small brown

jugs used in England to contain clotted cream, except that it has no shoulder. Nothing was found in any of the vases except a fragment of unrefined gold in the largest, a few grains of pitch, and some fragments of tortoiseshell.

It was in searching for some traces of the ritual employed in 'laying the foundation-stone' of the monument that Comm. Boni had made the discovery, and he believed that this was what he desired to find. There are, however, various objections to this theory. Even if it be supposed that the ceremony was not so much the *inauguratio* that would have been used for a temple or sacred building as an expiatory sacrifice to Mother Earth, we have no knowledge of such a usage. Further, the vases are in shape and decoration almost absolutely identical with those of the inhumation tombs of the prehistoric necropolis close to the temple of Antoninus and Faustina:⁵ that is to say, they are the products, not of an absolutely primitive and undeveloped art, which could easily be produced at any period and are therefore not attributable to any definite time, but of an art which had already progressed considerably, and which we can hardly suppose to have been imitated by posterity. And it is further to be noticed that they are not all of one type, but that we have representatives of several of the different kinds of vases that generally form a group of pottery in the tombs of this period, not only in the necropolis of the Forum, but in that of the Esquiline and in others in the neighbourhood of Rome—as for instance at Veii—the period that succeeded the cremation tombs of the Alban Hills and of the earliest stratum of the necropolis of the Forum.

It is thus extremely difficult to suppose that these various types of vases can have been still manufactured, so many centuries after their first introduction, for ritual purposes: nor is it very likely that they had been preserved for use on such occasions during so many vicissitudes. The extraordinarily good state of preservation in which they are militates against this hypothesis. It is true that the *Simpuvium Numa* was preserved as a relic (though its authenticity

¹ Durm *Die Baukunst der Griechen* p. 253.

² G. F. Hill *Coins of Anc. Sicily* p. 163, pl. 12, 7.

³ *Ib.* p. 132 f., pl. 9, 4.

⁴ The identification is discussed in *C.R.* 1904, p. 139 *sq.* It should be noted that besides the three sockets corresponding to the legs of the horse there is a hole in the centre of the base, which may have contained a support for its body.

⁵ See *Not. Scav.* 1903, p. 385, fig. 11 (tomb G); p. 404, fig. 31 (tomb I). The globular vase differs from those of tomb G only in having vertical striations: the amphora is exactly paralleled by that from tomb I: the cyathi are of the same type as that from tomb G, while the yellowish pot with decorations in red is hardly distinguishable from that which was found in tomb I, and which is shown in more detail in fig. 34.

is more than doubtful) even down to historic times: Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 342 'et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis? et quis | simpuvium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum | et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas | ausus erat?'; Prudentius, *Peristeph.* ii. 514, 'quidquid Quiritum suverat | orare simpuvium Numae.' And we know that earthenware vessels were used in sacrificial ritual and in the cult of Vesta, even in Imperial times (Dion. Hal. ii. 23, Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 46, 158, Apul. *de mag.* 18, Val. Max. iv. 4. 11), though in these cases we probably have a persistence of type, not the actual preservation of very old vases (Cf. *Not. Scav.* 1900, 180). We find in the records of the fratres Arvales the entry 'ollas precati sunt' (*C.I.L.* vi. 2067. 66) and again, 'sacrum fecerunt ollis' (*ibid.* 2104. 25). These vases, however, were probably extremely rude and primitive, not (like those recently discovered in the base of the statue of Domitian) the products of a relatively advanced art. Michele Stefano de Rossi believed indeed that he had discovered some fragments of the actual vases that were the objects of the veneration of the fratres Arvales, and his opinion was shared by Henzen (De Rossi, 'Secondo rapporto sugli studi paleoetnolgiici' pp. 39 sqq. and Pl. IV, from *Giornale Arcadico* 1868, vol. lviii pp. 136 sqq.; Henzen, *Scavi nel bosco sacro dei fratelli Arvali*, p. v).

In the first place, however, the circumstances of the discovery are not related with sufficient detail to give any certainty in the matter—the fragments were found, we are told, in a subterranean chamber (the nature of which is not specified) where the soil had not been disturbed. And in the second place, it is expressly stated that they closely resembled the pottery of the earliest cemeteries of the Alban Hills, which are covered by a stratum of peperino. They appear indeed from the illustration to present few characteristics which would enable one to assign them to any definite period, and to be rather of a rough and undeveloped style, the date of which it is not possible to determine. De Rossi's collections have passed to the Museo Preistorico at the Collegio Romano, but they came to the museum, I was informed, in a certain amount of disorder, and it has not been possible to discover among them the group of fragments which he describes.

The best and easiest explanation of their presence is therefore that which was proposed by Comm. Barnabei in the *Giornale d'Italia* for April 2—that they belonged to a

tomb which was disturbed by the laying of the foundations of the base of the statue, and that, from respect for the dead, they were enclosed in a cavity within it. This hypothesis would account for the extraordinary parallelism between this group of vases and those which have been found in various tombs of the necropolis near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina; and it is confirmed by the discovery, on the south-west side of the base, at about twenty feet below the level of the pavement of Imperial times, of a human skeleton lying at full length and in a good state of preservation.

The second discovery to which I allude—that of the site of the Lacus Curtius—took place in the latter half of April. About twenty yards to the north-west of the base of the statue of Domitian, Comm. Boni noticed a line of blocks of travertine in correspondence with the orientation of the oldest Cloaca Maxima.

Investigation showed that they formed the north side of the enclosure of an area measuring about thirty feet from north to south (these two sides being roughly parallel, but the south side shorter than the north), and twenty from east to west at the widest part, the east side being curved and bulging outwards at the centre, while the west side is formed of two lines which make an obtuse angle. This area is paved with rectangular slabs of travertine, and enclosed by blocks of the same material, which once supported a parapet of slabs of stone, being hollowed out to receive them.

The travertine pavement, which lies a few inches above the level of the Caesarian Forum, and a foot below the pavement of the latest period, is laid over an earlier one of slabs of tufa, the upper surface of which has been hacked away, except in one place near the south end, where the tufa slabs have been left to their original height, and others have been placed over them, so that the whole rises about nine inches above the level of the rest, and four or five above that of the travertine pavement. The area of this piece of tufa pavement is dodecagonal, and about ten feet across: it was enclosed by a balustrade of slabs of stone, which ran in a circle all round it: the slabs of travertine have been somewhat roughly hacked away to take this.

The position of this enclosed area corresponds with the indications of the site of the Lacus Curtius 'in medio foro' 'in media parte fori' which we find in our classical authorities (Plin. *H. N.* xv. 78, Val. Max. v. 6. 2): and it is worthy of notice that the

spot is not touched by the system of subterranean galleries under the area of the Forum, the constructors of which carefully avoided driving them through it. The irregular shape of the paved area would be due to the fact that it probably marks fairly accurately the outline of the fissure (or of the marsh) to which the name of Curtius was attached. Varro, as is well known, gives three different explanations of the name (*L.L.* v. 148-150). Procilius' story of the self-sacrifice of M. Curtius in 362 B.C. is found in Livy (vii. 6) Valerius Maximus (*loc. cit.*) and others: while Piso's version, referring the name to Metius Curtius, the Sabine leader, occurs in Livy (i. 12, 13) and Dionysius (ii. 42, 50). The third is given by Varro alone, on the authority of Cornelius and Lutatius, and derives the name from C. Curtius, one of the consuls of 445 B.C., during whose year of office the spot was struck by lightning and consequently fenced round by decree of the Senate; and the dodecagonal area paved with tufa blocks may represent the puteal, the existence of which gave rise to this form of the legend.

Ovid speaks of the place as being in his time dry land, and of the presence of an altar (or at least of a puteal).

'Curtius ille lacus siccas qui sustinet aras
Nunc solida est tellus sed lacus ante fuit.'

(*Fasti* vi. 403), and Suetonius (*Aug.* 57) tells us that 'omnes ordines in lacum Curti quot annis ex voto pro salute eius stipem iaciebant.'

It seems doubtful whether we are to understand 'aras' as referring to an actual altar, for, according to Pliny (*H.N.* xv. 78), an altar which stood here was removed in the time of Julius Caesar 'eadem (ficus) fortuito satu vivit in medio foro, quae sidentia imperii fundamenta ostento fatali Curtius maximis bonis, hoc est virtute ac pietate ac morte praeclara, expleverat. aequae fortuita eodem loco est vitis atque olea, umbrae gratia sedulitate plebeia satae. ara inde sublata gladiatorio munere divi Iuli quod novissime pugnavit in foro.' According to the usual view (Jordan *Topogr.* ii. 2. 263) the fig-tree represented in the well-known reliefs which probably belonged to the Rostra (*C.R.* 1904, 140) is not the one here referred to by Pliny (despite its vicinity to the statue of Marsyas, which stood somewhere in the Forum area, near the puteal Libonis and the tribunal praetorium) but the fig-tree of the Comitium.

Prof. Hülsen (*Röm. Mitt.* 1892, 288) remarks 'Wer an der Vereinigung der

beiden räumlich getrennten Monumente, des Marsyas und der Ficus Ruminalis, Anstoss nimmt (mir scheint es nicht nötig) mag sich diesen zweiten Baum [den beim Lacus Curtius vgl. Jordan *Topogr.* i. 2. 400 Anm. 117] auf dem Relief abgebildet denken.'

Prof. Petersen is among those who prefer to see the fig-tree by the Lacus Curtius in that represented in the reliefs (*Röm. Mitt.* 1897, 327).

In the fourth century A.D. at any rate (and probably long before) a relief representing a heavily armed horseman whose horse is stumbling in a marshy place (indicated by reeds in the background) was set up close to the spot, where it was discovered in 1552 or 1553, and placed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Prof. Hülsen (*Röm. Mitt.* 1902, 322 sqq.) conjectures that the relief, which seems to be a work of a late period, is a mere copy of a far earlier one, the existence of which gave rise to the first two forms of the story given by Varro.

In front of the temple of Divus Iulius a concrete base somewhat similar in character to that of the statue of Domitian, though smaller in dimensions, has been brought to light. It bears traces of restoration, for the concrete has been hacked away in places to take the travertine blocks which immediately underlie the marble blocks of the pedestal itself: of both the travertine and the marble blocks a few are still in existence, and their upper surfaces were in fact actually visible for many years, though their nature was not previously recognized. It may perhaps be an Augustan restoration of the equestrian statue of Q. Marcius Tremulus, consul in 306 B.C., and conqueror of the Hernici, to whom 'statua equestris in foro decreta est, quae ante templum Castoris posita est' (Liv. ix. 43; cf. Cic. *Phil.* vi. 5. 13).

Explorations are still being carried on to the south-west of the temple of Divus Iulius. A line of 'pozzi rituali' runs along the north-west side of the road, which before the existence of the temple marked the boundary of the Forum on this side (*C.R.* 1904, 139), and which has been discovered among the foundations of the temple itself. Two of the 'pozzi' are to the south-west of the temple, two actually beneath it, and three to the north-east of it. The later Republican Forum was similarly bounded, we know, on the south-west and on the north-west (on the north-east no traces of such pits have so far been found), while three parallel lines of similar pits, running

from east to west (i.e. following the old solar orientation), mark the boundary between the earlier Forum and Comitium.

The central area of the Horrea Germaniana (?) (*C.R.* 1904, 139) is occupied by buildings of very late date, the walls of which rest upon an earlier travertine pavement with a gutter running round the edge of it. The area is not, however, as yet entirely cleared.

Outside the Forum excavations have been continued on the site of the Ara Pacis Augustae. The discoveries have been of the highest importance, and are fully dealt with in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, 549 sqq.: cf. also Prof. Petersen's articles in *Röm. Mitt.* 1903, 167 sqq., 330. The base of the altar itself, and the foundations of the wall surrounding it, have been partially brought to light, and also many more fragments of the blocks of marble bearing reliefs of which the latter was composed. These reliefs are, as is well known, perhaps the highest achievement of the art of the Augustan period; and it is to be hoped that the excavations, which have for the moment come to a standstill, may be completed as far as is possible under the local conditions.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNIOR.

SHORT NOTICES.

Das Floss der Odyssee, sein Bau und sein phönikischer Ursprung. Von Dr. ERNST ASSMANN. Berlin: Weidmann, 1904. Pp. 31. 8vo. 60 pf.

AN interesting contribution to the vexed question of the ship or raft of Odysseus, by a well-known authority on the subject. He brings forward evidence to shew (1) that Odysseus is represented on a raft in works of art, (2) that the word *σχεδία* is used in that sense by other writers, (3) that the *σχεδία* is a purely Oriental form of vessel, and (4) that Homer derived his conception from an Oriental source. Etymologically *σχεδία* must be derived from the Phoenicians, and in Rhodes (an island with which Homer is associated) there is a Phoenician Schedia near Ialysos. Other instances of undoubted Phoenician influences may be traced in Homer. The author seems to have made good his contention that the vessel was a raft of some kind, even if the theory of its Oriental origin requires, as he seems to think, some apology.

Die Troianischen Ausgrabungen und die Homerkritik. E. BETHE. With map. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. Pp. 13. 8vo. [Extract from *Neue Jahrb. für Klass. Altertum-Gesch.* vii.] 80 pf.

AN attempt to explain the reason why Homer should group all the stories of the heroes of the Greek mainland round Troy. The answer is to be found in the fame of a combat between Ajax and Hector which was traditionally associated with the valley of the Scamander, and in this sense the Ajax-saga is the kernel of the *Iliad*. The other Homeric combats, the author maintains, should really be associated with Hellas proper, but were transferred to Troy by the influence of the Ajax story. Hector and Paris are genuine Greeks, and it is a Greek who wrote the Homeric hymn, telling of Anchises and Aphrodite, for a Trojan prince. Ajax was the real conqueror of Troy, and Athena Ilias was his patron goddess; further, Oileus = Ileus,¹ and the cult of the hero centred round his tomb at Rhoiteion. In fact Ajax completely displaces Achilles, even as the slayer of Hector! The argument is ingenious and spiritedly put forward; but is too revolutionary for immediate general acceptance.

Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria, untersucht und beschrieben von HERMANN THIERSCH. Pp. 18; six plates and ten cuts. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1904. Folio. 30 mk.

A FULL and elaborately-illustrated description of two large tombs at Alexandria explored by Dr. H. Thiersch in 1901. The first, at Sidi-Gaber, dates from the Ptolemaic period, and has three chambers, the walls of which are decorated in the Pompeian 'incrustation' style, with festoons and architectural designs; in one chamber is a couch in relief, richly coloured and artistically designed. The decoration supports the theory of an Alexandrine origin for Pompeian wall-painting. The other tomb, in a garden at Alexandria, is known as the 'Tomb of Adam and Eve.' It has a long flight of steps leading to a large atrium, round which are several smaller chambers; the architectural details are most elaborate, and in one chamber is a sacrificial niche with the sacred snake. It appears to have been a family vault, and the date is about 100 B.C. Dr. Thiersch also discusses the bearing of the decoration of

¹ Hence the form on vases *Ἰλιάδης* for *Οἰλιάδης*; cf. *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 286.—H.B.W.

the first tomb on Greek wall-painting, and the arrangement of the second in relation to Greek domestic and sepulchral architecture.

Mitteilungen der Altertums-Kommission für Westfalen. Heft 3. With twenty-one plates and numerous cuts. Münster: 1903. Pp. 132. 8vo. 10 mk.

THE volume includes (1) a report on a river-fort excavated at Haltern, by F. Koepp, with notes by A. Bümer and P. Wilski; (2) finds on the same site and in the large camp in 1901-02, by H. Dragendorff, with note by O. Dahm (coins, weapons, etc.); (3) exploration of the Roman camp at Kneblinghausen, by A. Hartmann, with note by C. Schuchhardt; (4) the fort at Ascheberg near Burgsteinfurt, by J. H. Schmedding. The plates are well executed, and the whole forms a useful contribution to Romano-German archaeology; but it is to be regretted that German type is employed for the text.

H. B. WALTERS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Ephesus.—The following is a summary of the results of the excavations carried out in 1902 and 1903.

At the harbour fresh architectural fragments of the quay buildings were brought to light. The plan of the public square lying E. of the Roman Agora has been determined. An entrance was found at the S.W. corner, but the principal entrance was that on the W., communicating with the Roman Agora. An important inscription belonging to the first years of Hadrian's reign refers to a restoration of the tessellated pavement (*τὴν σκούτλωσιν τῆς στοᾶς ἀνέθηκεν*). An examination of the spot shows that it had been found necessary to raise the level of the ground which surrounded the threshold of the gateway standing between the two open spaces. With this work the restoration of the pavement is to be connected. Another inscription, belonging to the last years of the first century B.C., gives information about a Record Office and sets forth the prices charged for certificates of birth, marriage, etc.

Most of the work done in 1903 was carried out on the site of the Agora lying to the S.W. of the theatre. Entrance to

the Agora on the W. side was obtained by a flight of steps leading up from the adjacent street. At the top of the steps was a triple gateway, upon which the porticoes of the market abutted on either side. The buildings had been erected originally in late Hellenistic times, but they were considerably altered in the first century after Christ. This fact receives confirmation from an inscription which shows that the alterations were carried out in Domitian's time. At the S.E. of the Agora was a second gateway of marble. A dedicatory inscription proves that it was erected in the fourth—third century B.C. Several inscriptions of great value for topography were found. The following is especially interesting. *Ἀγαθὴ τύχη | ἡ πόλις τὸ σύστρωμα | τὸ πρὸ τοῦ αἰδειωρίου | καὶ τῆς Κέλσου βιβλιοθή | κης κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ προ | σόδων κληρονομίας | Ἰουλίας Ποτενίλλης*. This inscription led to the discovery of the Library founded by Ti. Julius Celsus Ptolemaeanus (consul 92 after Christ). Its E. side has been excavated, and a series of allegorical statues (*Ἐπιστήμη, Σοφία, Ἀρετή*, etc.) has been found. Thirteen large sculptured slabs have also come to light; they represent scenes of combat between barbarians and Greek warriors upon foot, scenes of sacrifice, etc. One slab is of particular interest. Selene, winged, drives a chariot drawn by three deer over the sea; she is attended by Hesperos and Nyx. A corresponding slab represents a warrior (probably intended for Augustus) driving a four-horse chariot over the allegorical figure of Ge; he is attended by Helios.¹

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Journal of Hellenic Studies. xxiv. 1904. Part 1.

1. D. G. Hogarth: Three North Delta Nomes. (Plate and cut.)

Describes exploration of Phthenetic, Lower Sebennytic, and Diospolite nomes on north coast of Delta, with object of ascertaining sites of towns mentioned by Ptolemy and in lists of Coptic Bishops; publishes an inscription of M. Aurelius' reign mentioning Pachnemounis, and others.

2. F. W. Hasluck: Inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Cyzicus. (Four cuts.)

Publishes sixty-seven, several from sculptured stelae.

3. A. M. Daniel: Damophon. (Six cuts.)

Discusses the sculptures from Lycosura; question of date cannot yet be definitely settled, but pre-

¹ *Oesterr. Jahreshefte, Beiblatt*, 1904, (Part I.).

ponderance of evidence seems to tell on the side of the fourth century.

4. T. Callander: The Tarsian Orations of Dio Chrysostom.

The orations considered with reference to the history of Tarsus and their attitude towards its moral and intellectual condition.

5. E. N. Gardiner: Phayllus and his record jump. Rejects the theory of a triple jump, incidentally shewing that *βαρὺς* means a fixed board to 'take off' from, and *σκάμμα* the dug-up ground to receive the jumper; disposes of the epigram as having any authority, and regards it merely as a rhetorical exaggeration.

6. K. A. McDowall: Some Greek Portraits. (Three plates; four cuts.)

Discusses representations of Aeschylus, Agathon, Aeschines, and Demetrius Phalereus; points out the existence of replicas of a fourth-century original, which must represent Aeschylus; identifies an Agathon at Bonn and an Aeschines at Rome, also a Demetrius in the Uffizi at Florence of Ly-sippian type.

7. E. Petersen: Andromeda. (Plate.)

Republishes and discusses the B.M. vase E 169 in connection with the literary versions of the story, pointing out that the figure formerly called Andromeda must be her lover Phineus or Agenor, and that the painting falls in with the Sophoclean version.

8. H. S. Cronin: First Report of a journey in Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia (Part III.). (Three cuts.)

Publishes twenty-four inscriptions, Greek and Latin, from Khatyn Serai, and describes the site of Lystra.

9. R. M. Dawkins: Mycenaean Vases at Torcello. (Two cuts.)

Describes four vases in the Museum there, pointing out that the diffusion of Mycenaean pottery was widest in the period of decadence.

10. C. Waldstein: The bronze statue from Cerigotto and the study of style. (Four cuts.)

A reply to Frost's article in *J.H.S.* xxiii., criticising modern methods of study of sculpture.

11. F. W. Hasluck and A. E. Henderson: On the topography of Cyzicus. (Plate and cut.)

Publishes plan with results of survey in 1902-03.

12. J. A. R. Munro: Some observations on the Persian Wars. 3. The Campaign of Plataea.

Suggestions offered towards clearing up difficulties in topography and movements of Greek army.

13. Notices of Books.

American Journal of Archaeology. 1904. Part 1.

1. A. L. Frothingham, Jun.: A revised list of Roman Memorial and Triumphal Arches.

Supplements and revises the article 'Triumph- und Ehrenbogen' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, which gave 125; about 500 are now known. In place of 80 dated and 28 undated arches the writer is able to give 408 in order of date, leaving 58 undated.

2. C. H. Weller: The Pre-Periclean Propylon of the Acropolis at Athens. (Six plates; four cuts.)

The older Propylon was first uncovered in 1840, but the drawings then made by Bohn are unsatisfactory; the site was further cleared by the writer in 1901, and much new information acquired. He restores the façade as a Doric gateway with two columns and *antae*, forming an angle of 120° with the Pelasgian wall; it dated from the time of Peisistratos.

3. Proceedings at the General Meeting, Cleveland, Dec. 1903.

Abstracts of about twenty papers then read.

4. Archaeological News, July-Dec. 1903.

Notes on recent excavations and discoveries.

H. R. W.

Revue Numismatique. 1904. Part 1.

R. Mowat. 'Réflexions sur l'ordre à suivre dans la confection d'un recueil général des monnaies antiques.'—Th. Reinach. 'Un décret de Gortyne introduisant la monnaie de bronze.' This inscription (*Samml. der gr. Dialekt Inschrift.* III. 2, no. 5911) is a decree enforcing the use of the bronze coinage and rendering illegal the currency of the silver obols. Reinach assigns the inscription to the second century, B.C. No doubt, the State made a considerable profit by using bronze pieces of nominal value in place of silver coins. It is curious to note that Gortynian obols of the period are now extremely rare, probably in consequence of the penalties provided in this decree. Reinach remarks that in Gortyna and other States where the Aeginetic weight-system prevailed, the *mina* appears to have been divided into 35 staters (70 drachms) and not as in the Attic system into 50 staters (100 drachms). This mode of reckoning had already been observed in the inscriptions of Delphi.—A. Blanchet. 'Types monétaires gaulois imités de types romains.'—Poncet and Morel. 'Le revers des monnaies dites à l'autel de Lyon.' Willers has argued that the structure represented on the coins of Lugdunum is the *ovarium* of a circus. The present writers maintain the old view that it is the altar of Rome and Augustus at Lyons.—J. Maurice. 'L'iconographie par les médailles des Empereurs romains.' An important paper on the iconography of the Emperors of the end of the third and of the fourth century (Diocletian, Maximian Hercules, Constantius Chlorus). These heads have often been set down as purely conventional, and certainly we sometimes find a head labelled Diocletian which is practically identical with one bearing another Emperor's name. Maurice maintains that the portraits of each Emperor of this period can be distinctly made out, but at the same time he reveals a serious pitfall, hitherto only partially suspected by the numismatic student, namely that the portrait on a coin is not always the portrait of the Emperor whose name accompanies it. Babelon has already pointed out that a new Emperor's name was, for convenience, sometimes placed round the bust of his lately deceased predecessor. Maurice goes farther and shows that at the period when there were several co-regent Emperors there was a regular interchange of Imperial effigies between the different mints; and sometimes a mint was under the necessity of striking coins in the name of an Emperor, the dies or model of whose portrait it had not received: in this way a name and head that did not really belong were conjoined.—E. Babelon. 'Variétés numismatiques. The *κελευστής* (*hortator, jussor, symphoniacus*) on coins. Many coins of Tarentum represent Taras seated on his dolphin with his arms stretched out before him. This is not, says Babelon, the gesture of an *orans*, but the figure 'chante et bat le *celeusma*' (as the *κελευστής* did on a trireme to encourage the rowers), 'et le poisson favori de Poseidon bondit sur les flots au son de sa voix enchanteresse et calénécée.' This is a pleasing explanation, and on some specimens the Taras seems to be almost clapping his hands. If one does not wish to go so far as Babelon, it might be suggested that the arms of the founder of Tarentum are merely stretched *ripae ulterioris amore*. On the

well-known medallion of Antoninus Pius representing the arrival of the serpent of Aesculapius at Rome, a small figure is shown in the hinder part of the vessel. This is well explained by Babelon as the *κελευστής*. It was suggested by Dressel that the hill (with its buildings) shown on this medallion is the Aventine and not the Tiber Island, as usually supposed. Desnier in his *L'île tibérine* points out some difficulties in the Aventine identification. *Sicyon*. A marble statue found at Nemea was published by Lechat (*Rev. archéol.* 1903, tom. 2, p. 205; pl. xv.) as an 'Athlète vainqueur en prière.' It represents a naked youth with hands raised: from each wrist a long knotted fillet is suspended. Babelon remarks that the gesture is not that of prayer and compares the figure with one often found on the coins of Sicyon. This latter figure appears to have some connexion

with the dove that commonly figures on the money of the same town and Babelon suggests that the figure is a diviner engaged in some 'liturgical gesture' connected with orinthomancy. The fillets are the sacred adornments often suspended from cultus-statues and from the heads of sacrificial victims.—*Reviews*. (By E. Babelon). Th. Reinach's *Jewish Coins* translated from the French by Mrs. M. Hill, with an appendix by G. F. Hill. In this edition Reinach entirely changes his view as to the date of the first issue of the Jewish Shekels. In the first edition he had assigned the issue to the first Revolt of the Jews, i.e. 66-70 A.D.; now he reverts, with some modification, to the 'orthodox' opinion of Madden, Babelon, &c., and assigns it to the time of Simon Maccabaeus, 139 B.C.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. Vol. 13, 4. 1904.

K. Collin, *Zur Geschichte der Nomina actionis im Romanischen*. J. Denk, *Der Angelus Templi bei Pseudo-Cyprian*. J. Denk, *Anabolium = anabolium*. A. Zimmermann, *Die lateinischen Personennamen auf -o, -onis*, P-Z. E. Lattes, *Etruskisch-lateinische Wörter und Wortformen der lateinischen Inschriften*. IV (conclusion). Th. Sinko, *Die descriptio orbis terrae, eine Handelsgeographie aus dem 4. Jahrh.* The text with critical notes. H. Stadler, *Zum Corpus glossariorum*. II. Schuchardt, *Cyprianus, Koprianus*. E. Wölflin, *Bemerkungen zu der Descriptio orbis*. M. Bonnet, *Cambus, subcambaster, subcavaster, sursus*. These words are given from the *Passio Theclae*. J. Grentz, *Syri und Chaldaei in der Vulgata*. G. Funaioli *Lokative bei dem älteren Plinius*. J. Denk, *Adiuratio (Pseudo-) Hieronymi*. J. Denk, *Aduro vulg. = obduro*. E. Wölflin, *Das Parhomoeon als dreifache Allitteration in der zweiten Vershälfte*.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 59, 2. 1904.

F. Solmsen, *Der Conjunctiv des sigmatischen Aorists*. Evidence for a subjunctive aor. in -σα- (lengthening of indicative -σα-). O. Hense, *Der Costüm- und Maskenwechsel des Chors in der gr. Tragödie*. Robert's assumption of a lacuna after *Eumen.* 1031 is unlikely, as the present close of Athens' speech is effective and corresponds to the last words spoken by the Furies. As for a donning by the chorus of purple robes and masks of milder aspect during the recital of the lost lines, it ought to have taken place, if necessary at all, at l. 900 (but 990-995 shew it still had *φοβερά πρόσωπα*) and could hardly be effected as R. assumes it was in the orchestra. Even in the *Alcestitis*, where we might expect the chorus to put on mourning at least behind the scenes, it is improbable that it did so. E. Ritterling, *Epigraphische Beiträge zur römischen Geschichte*. Wars in E. under Marcus. C. Fries, *Alexandrinische Untersuchungen*. Influence of Egyptian literature on Alexandrine: e.g., a passage of Maneros suggests that the idea of the Archytas ode (the resemblance of which to certain parts of the Anthology points to an Alexandrine original) was a favourite in Egypt; one form of Maneros reminds us of Propertius' last elegy; the speaking door or nut-tree has parallels in Oriental lit. K. Dieterich, *Bedeutungsgeschichte griechischer Worte*. *χώρα, ἀγρός, κώμη, πόλις (πολιτεία), ἄστυ* = Mod. Gk. *τόπος, χωράφι, χωριό, χώρα, Πόλη, πολι-*

τεία; *καιρός, χρόνος, ἔτος* = *εὐκαιρία (καλοκαίρι), καιρός, χρόνος*. P. Hildebrandt, *Beiträge zur Textgestaltung des scholiasta Bobiensis*. D. Mülder, *Ἐκτοπος ἀναλρεσις*. A composition by the author of the *Ilias*, in which he combines two old epic fragments (one in which H. stands at the gate looking out for and eager to meet Achilles, the other representing him as surprised by that hero and cut off from the city), adding to them the idea of a race for life. F. Wilhelm, *Tibulliana*. The influence upon the Alexandrine poets of the New Comedy and philosophers treating the theme of love is traceable in Latin elegy: exx. drawn mainly from 2, 3, 4, 13. J. E. Kirchner *Zur Zusammensetzung der Phyllen Antigonis und Demetrias*. A. v. Domaszewski, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Kaisergeschichte VI*. Political allusions of those parts of Hor. *Od.* 3, 2-6 in which Augustus' virtues are described. In *Miscellen*, L. Radermacher discusses *Βαυβά*, G. Knaack *Margites*, V. Szeliński continues *Zu den Sprichwörtern der Römer*, A. Brinkmann emends a passage of Galen's *περί τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐμπειρίας*.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xiii. 4. 1904.

V. Gardthausen, *Kaiser Augustus*, E. Meyer's view that Aug. really wished to restore the Republican constitution is opposed. E. Lammert, *Die neuesten Forschungen auf antiken Schlachtfeldern in Griechenland* (concluded from Part 3). Continues the account of Sellasia, with a defence of the writer's previous published account of the Macedonian *συνασπισμός*. In an addendum it is noted that G. Sotiriades (*Das Schlachtfeld von Chérona, etc.*) has proved that the Macedonian Polyandron lay further down the river than the tumultus at the W. end of the Acontion-range: we cannot then accept Kromayer's site for the *ὑπερδῆξιοι τόποι* (the high ground which helped Philip so much) and must place the battle-field further E. F. Kuntze *Die Legende von der guten Tochter in Wort und Bild*. Valerius Maximus knew two versions, one in which a father's, the other in which a mother's life is saved. The former is the older, and is found in Nonnos, popular tradition, and art. The other prevails in the various verse and prose accounts which begin with the thirteenth century. A representation of the scene recently discovered at Pompeii preserves the names (Pero and Myeon) as given by Valerius. M. Hennig, *Über Ideen in der Geschichte*. K. Brugmann's *Kurze vergl. Grammatik der indo. Sprachen* is highly praised by H. Meltzer, and C. Wachsmuth's *Athen* favourably noticed by W. Ruge.

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1904.

THE Jubilee of the Hellenic Society, which was celebrated since our last issue was printed, must not pass without notice by the *Classical Review*. To many, no doubt, it must have come as a surprise that twenty-five years had passed since the foundation of the Society; but those who scan the outline of its history, in which in as many quarto pages the Honorary Secretary briefly puts on record its achievements and activities, will wonder no longer. When the history of the rekindling of English classical scholarship in the latter portion of the nineteenth century comes to be written, the influence of the Hellenic Society will be recognised as one of the most potent factors in the revival, and the first names to be mentioned will be those of R. C. Jebb and G. A. Macmillan.

A special though a very melancholy interest attaches to the July issue of the *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica*. It is a catalogue of the ancient Greek and Latin manuscripts which survived the disastrous conflagration in the public library at Turin. Dr. Ettore Stampini, the editor of the *Rivista*, on the one hand, and Professors C. Cipolla and G. de Sanctis and Dr. C. Frati, the compilers of the catalogue, on the other, deserve the warmest thanks of classical scholars for so promptly giving to the world an account of the actual contents and present condition of this unfortunate collection. The number is indispensable to every one who has thoughts of visiting Turin for the purposes of study.

We have received a copy of the *Oresteia*
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of Aeschylus, printed from a recension by the late Richard Proctor, whose tragic death last summer is still fresh in our memories, and in a new type cut in part from his own design and in part imitated from that used in the New Testament of the Complutensian Polyglot printed in 1514. The first eight sheets were set up under his superintendence and read by him in proof. The task of seeing the remainder of their friend's work through the press has been discharged by Dr. F. G. Kenyon, his colleague at the British Museum, and, so far as concerns the typographical arrangement, by Messrs. Emery Walker, S. C. Cockerell, and A. W. Pollard, by whom the book is published. It is a quarto printed in red and black, and is a magnificent example of typography, noticeable even amid the excellent display by which modern English printing is represented in the Exhibition at the Musée Plantin at Antwerp. Two hundred and twenty-five copies have been printed, and the subscription price is two guineas. Copies, prospectuses, and specimens may be obtained from the Manager, the Chiswick Press, Took's Court, London, E.C. The text, it may be added, is not a mere reprint of a vulgate or of a favoured edition, but is the result of an independent exertion of intelligence. This may be seen from the following specimen readings from the beginning of the *Agamemnon*. Line 7 omitted. 14 ἐμὴν] εἰνοῖς (so accented). 15 ὕπνω] ἐμέ. 69 ὑποκαίων. 150 αἰτῶ. 152 στρουθῶν] ἀπωθεῖν. 180 οὐ λελέγεται πρὶν ὄν. 221 πέλας βομοῦ. 258 παῖνα. An *Odyssey* and a Theocritus by the same editor are announced.

ON ALCESTIS'S ἐπίσκηψις, EUR. *ALC.* 280-325.

Vv. 287-289 of the *Alcestis* are unconnected with what immediately precedes them. Lenting saw this clearly, and in his *Epistola Critica in Euripidis Alcestin*, Zutphen, 1821, he wrote thus (p. 54): 'Hic locus mihi videtur laborare ἀνακολουθίᾳ sententiae. Vel sic interpungam,

ὑπὲρ σέθεν
 ἀλλ'
 οὐκ ἦ. τυραννίδι,

ut ad ἀλλ' ἄνδρα τε σχεῖν repetatur παρόν· vel legam κοῦκ pro οὐκ in vs. 288'. The late Mr. Hayley lapsed from his customary acumen when he wrote his brief note on v. 287. In this Review (x [1896], 374) I too have tried by means of punctuation and emendation to connect vv. 287-289 with the preceding verses. But now, as the result of repeated study of this passage, I see clearly that vv. 287-289 should simply be removed from the text. This J. Heiland is said to have seen (cf. Hayley and Wecklein), but I do not know where he published his remarks. It should be quite plain, I am now convinced, that vv. 287-289 are the work of some one that found Alcestis's words in v. 285 *sq.* too cold and calculating in tone. That is to say, the three verses in question are merely a sentimental substitute for vv. 284-286. The 'some one' may very well have been an actor. I would add here that in v. 288 *sq.* we should point thus: οὐδ' ἐφεσάμην | ἥβης, ἔχουσα δῶρ' ἐν οἷς ἐτερπόμεν' and that we should compare with v. 289 Soph. *El.* 360.

Further on in this same speech is a very well known and very palpable interpolation in v. 312. Hayley's note should be consulted here about the way in which the verse was possibly introduced into the text.

At v. 319 I believe we may perhaps again trace the hand of the author of vv. 287-289. At any rate, v. 319 seems to be a sentimental addition to Euripides's text. Accord-

ing to Wecklein's Appendix I have been forestalled in the condemnation of v. 319; for the author notes: '319 *sq.* delet Wheeler'. But an examination of J. H. Wheeler's dissertation *De Alcestitis et Hippolyti Euripidearum interpolationibus*, Bonn, 1879, p. 31, will show that the note should read: '321 *sq.* delet Wheeler'.

I would add here that there is need of some correction in vv. 313-318. Reiske, with his remarkable power of reading Greek 'by the light of nature', saw what was needed in vv. 314-316. In v. 317 *sq.* I would restore, as Lenting suggested ('Placeret mihi, νυμφεύσω—θαρσυνῶ', *Ep. Crit.* p. 58), the first person (cf. *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 32 [1901], p. c). The whole passage will then read thus:

σὺ δ', ὦ τέκνον μοι, πῶς κορευθήσῃ καλῶς
 τοίας τυχεύουσα συζύγῳ τῷ σῶι πατρὶ
 ἢ σοὶ τιν' αἰσχροὺς προσβαλοῦσα κληδόνα
 ἥβης ἐν ἀκμῇ σους διαφθερεῖ γάμους;
 Οὐ γάρ σε μήτηρ οὔτε νυμφεύσω ποτὲ
 οὐτ' ἐν τόκοισι σοῖσι θαρσυνῶ, τέκνον·

I am prepared to hear murmurs at this point about the Megarian brigand's famous bit of furniture; but would Euripides himself, ὅπου ποτ' ἔστι, be inclined to say ὦ Λέκτρα Προκρούστει' ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ στερρὰν ἀνάγκην αἰνέσαι κεδνὸς περ ὦν? For the speech of Alcestis pruned of the excrescences—or, rather, adherescences—that I have just treated of is forty-one verses long and thus exactly matches in length Admetus's answering speech in vv. 328-368. If then I am right in my treatment of Alcestis's speech, it is reasonably certain that Admetus's contains no spurious lines and that the excision of vv. 348-356, though proposed by so acute a critic as the late F. D. Allen and accepted by Hayley, is unjustifiable, whatever we may think of the taste displayed in those verses.

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THE 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία AND THE ἡμέρα διαμετρημένη.

WHEN the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία was first printed, the fourth roll, containing the last six columns of the treatise, appeared in an almost hopelessly mutilated condition. Now, through the labours of many scholars, it has been almost entirely restored, and in the recent edition issued under the auspices of the Berlin Academy the text is continuous, save for one single passage. Elsewhere, though the exact method of filling some of the lacunas may be open to question, the sense is now almost always fairly certain.

The passage which still resists restoration occupies nineteen lines in the middle of col. 34 (ch. 67, §§ 4, 5, and ch. 68, § 1), and the subjects with which it deals are the apportionment of time between the pleadings and the consideration of the verdict, and the numbers of jurors composing the court on various occasions. An attempt has recently been made by Dr. Photiades, a Greek lawyer resident in Smyrna, to ascertain the sense of the mutilated passage, and

thereby to promote its restoration.¹ Dr. Photiades has devoted a series of articles in 'Αθηνᾶ during the last few years to an elaborate study of the organisation of the Athenian law-courts as set forth by Aristotle, and his researches have played their part in the restoration of the last six chapters of the treatise. His present article does not complete the task, since it does not even claim to restore all the defective lines, but it is a contribution towards the desired end which deserves notice. Where the materials for reconstruction are so slight as in the present case, the first step is to ascertain the general sense of the mutilated passage, and on that basis it may be possible to restore the exact words with more or less certainty.

The passage in question stands as follows in the most recent edition (I print it here in the lines of the manuscript, for convenience of reference) :

- 7 διαμετ[ρεῖται δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἡμέ]ρα[ς το]ῦ Ποσι-
δεώνος [μηνὸς] αῤῥο . . . νται
χρῶντ[αι] ια[. . .] τενταισ
10 τακλι[.] ἀπ[ο] . . . [α]σιν οἱ
δι[κ]ασ[ταὶ]] ολ . . . [ε]ἰς ὃν ἔ-
καστοι λ[.] τε . . . γὰρ ἔσ-
πευδον [.] πετ[. . .] ρος ἐξω-
θεῖν τοὺς [.] λει . . . ν ὕδωρ
15 λαμβά[ν]] εἰ[σὶν, ὁ] μὲν ἔτε-
ρος τοῖς δ[ι]ώκουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος] τοῖς φ[ι]εύγου[σ]ιν.
ἐν δὲ τοῖς [.] ατο [. . .] ἐξείλε
τῷ διατ[η]ρισμῷ] φ . δι[αιρ]εῖται δ[ὲ] ἡ ἡμ[ε]ρα
ἐπὶ τοῖς [.] ἀγῶ[ν]ω[ν] ὅ[ς]οις πρόσ-
20 εστι δεσμ[ὸς ἢ θάνατος ἢ φυγὴ ἢ ἀτ]μή[α] δὴ δήμεναι
χρημάτ[ων]] μοις [ὅ] τι χρή παθεῖν
ἢ ἀποτεῖ[σθαι]] α τῶν [δικ]αστηρίων
ἐστὶ φ[.] σο . . . [α]σιν ὅταν
δὲ δέ[λ]η] ας εἰς ἃ εἰ[σα]γαγεῖν
25 συν[έρχεται β] δικαστή[ρια εἰ]ς τὴν ἡλιαίαν
τα . [.] κη[. . .] . εἰς φ[. . .] καὶ ἃ,
τρία [δικαστήρια.

Lines 7-22 are evidently occupied with the apportionment of time in various kinds of cases, and the only chance of restoring them, even approximately, lies in ascertaining, from other evidence, from general considerations, and from the scanty remains, the main purport of the passage. The working day of the law-courts, we are informed in l. 7, was based on the duration

of daylight in the month Posideon, when the days were shortest; and this, according to an astronomical authority quoted by Dr. Photiades, was 9 hours, 25·8 minutes. According to Aeschines (*De Fals. Leg.* 126) the total length of the day, as

¹ Περὶ τῆς διαμετρημένης ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς δικαστικῆς κλειψύδρας, κατὰ τὴν 'Αριστοτέλους 'Αθηναίων Πολιτείαν, in 'Αθηνᾶ, τόμ. ιδ' (Athens, 1904).

measured by the clepsydra, was 11 amphorae; which gives a value of about 51 min. to the amphorae, and 4.3 min. to the $\chi\acute{o}\epsilon\varsigma$.¹ Consequently in private suits, in which 10 $\chi\acute{o}\epsilon\varsigma$ was the largest allowance for a single speech, no speech can have been longer than 43 minutes. With regard to public suits, to which a whole day was allotted, a different method of calculation must be adopted. Here we know that the total time was divided into three sections, one for the prosecution, one for the defence, and one for constituting the court at the beginning of the proceedings and taking its vote at the end (or votes, in the case of $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\iota\mu\eta\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$, in which the jurors had to vote twice). Dr. Photiades calculates that the jurors could not pass the voting-urns at a rate of more than 10 a minute, and consequently that a court of 1501 jurors, such as was employed in the most important cases, would spend $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the simple act of voting in a $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, or 5 hours in a $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ $\tau\iota\mu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}$. This is manifestly absurd, and it must be supposed that a separate pair of urns was provided at least for each 500 jurors (the normal size of a court), which would reduce the time spent in voting to 50 minutes. Add an hour for the process of

constituting the court, and 40 minutes for the distribution and counting of votes, and we have $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours as the allowance for the jurors in a $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and at least 4 hours in a $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ $\tau\iota\mu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}$. In the latter case, consequently, the jurors would have required more than a third of the whole working day; and Dr. Photiades' theory is that in a $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ $\tau\iota\mu\eta\tau\acute{\eta}$ half the day (or 4 h. 42 min.) was allotted to the jurors, and a quarter (2 h. 21 min.) to each of the speakers, while in a $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ the division was equal, the court and each speaker having 3 h. 8 min. assigned to them.

These calculations are necessarily uncertain (for example, 10 votes a minute seems a low rate when the jurors had nothing to do but to pass in succession and drop their vote into an urn), and in any case they do not help us to restore the mutilated passage in Aristotle, since it is evident from the remains that it did not deal with the subject in this numerical manner. Dr. Photiades' principal contribution in this direction is the suggestion that the distinction between $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\iota\mu\eta\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$ and $\acute{\alpha}\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\iota$ found a place in it; and accordingly he restores ll. 17-21 thus:

ἐν δὲ τοῖς [τιμητοῖς ἀγῶσι
τῷ διαψη[φισμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ] δι[αιρ]εῖται δ' [ἡ ἡμ]έρ[ρ]α
ἐπὶ τοῖς [γ. τιμητοῖ δὲ τῶν ἀγῶν]ω[ν δ]σοις πρόσ-
εστι δεσμ[ος ἡ θάνατος ἡ φυγὴ ἡ ἀτ]μία ἢ δήμεσις
χρημάτ[ων, καὶ οὐ κείται ἐν τοῖς νό]μοις [δ] τι χρὴ παθεῖν
ἢ ἀποτεῖ[σαι].

The papyrus gives no help here, the missing words being wholly lost, not merely defaced, while the readings of the extant portions are fairly certain. The general sense, however, of the restoration seems satisfactory. In the preceding lines (7-16) Dr. Photiades, though he offers no restoration, would find a statement that a portion of time was assigned to the dicasts (for their verdict, etc.) equal to the allowance given to each of the litigants. I am inclined rather to think that they only contained a fuller statement as to the regulation of time between the parties to it, and the necessity for such regulation. Line 8 probably goes with the preceding

words; of the letters at the end of the line none is certain except ρ and perhaps ν (which might, however, be ω , or some combination of parts of letters). In sense and extent such a supplement as $\delta\tau\alpha\upsilon\alpha\iota$ αἱ ἡμέραι $\delta\sigma\iota$ βραχύταται would be suitable. A new clause probably begins with $\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, containing perhaps a statement of some determination or control by the dicasts, governing the length of time assigned to the orators; and this is apparently followed (l. 12) by an explanation that otherwise the first speaker would always have attempted (or formerly did attempt) to encroach on the time left for his adversary, whereas now equal terms are secured for both. Then comes a reference to the necessity, in the case of $\tau\iota\mu\eta\tau\omicron\iota$ ἀγῶνες, for a second ballot, and a definition of the cases coming under this category.

For ll. 22-25 Dr. Photiades suggests the following restoration:

¹ To interpret Aeschines as meaning that each speaker had eleven amphorae for his speech (and the jurors presumably the same for considering their verdict) gives an impossibly short time to those speeches which were limited to ten or fewer $\chi\acute{o}\epsilon\varsigma$.

[τὰ δὲ δημόσια] α τῶν [δικ]αστηρίων
 ἐστὶ φ[ῶ]ν, καὶ τοῦτοις τὰ δημ[ό]σια [διδού]ουσιν ὅταν
 δὲ δέ[λ]η τι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησί]ας εἰς ἃ εἰ]σαγαγεῖν,
 συν[έρ]χεται β[ῆ] δικαστή]ρια εἰ[ς] τὴν ἡλιαίαν.

δημόσια suits the size of the lacuna better than Wilcken's πολλά but the phrase τὰ δημόσια τῶν δικαστηρίων, as equivalent to τὰ δημόσια δικαστήρια, is questionable, and is not justified by the reference to c. 59, 5 τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ τ' ἴδια καὶ τὰ δημόσια. In l. 23 οσια is certainly not the reading of the papyrus, but there has been an erasure and a correction, which make the interpretation of its remains harder even than usual. On the whole, however, it seems more natural to look for some such sense as this: 'the ordinary courts consist of 500 (or 501) jurors, and to these the ordinary cases are assigned; but when it is necessary to bring more important (or public) cases before 1000 jurors, then two courts sit together.' This is the sense given by the restoration of Kaibel-Wilamowitz; but it cannot be said that the wording of the passage is yet satisfactorily settled.

In this brief notice it has been impossible to do justice to all Dr. Photiades' arguments,

and much of his article (which includes sections dealing with δίκαι ἄνεν ὕδατος and the mechanism of the clepsydra) has been wholly passed over. It may be doubted whether certainty will ever be arrived at, except in the unlikely case of the discovery of another MS. of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία. The lacunas are too large to be bridged by conjecture alone, and we have not (as in the case of some other passages which long resisted restoration) faint relics of writing to assist and verify our conjectures. Nevertheless the main sense of most of the passage is now fairly attainable, and on the whole of the complicated machinery of the Athenian lawcourts we are now not far from possessing the whole substance of Aristotle's exposition. That this is so, is due to the conscientious labour and thought of several scholars, among whom Dr. Photiades has earned a foremost place.

F. G. KENTON.

A QUANTITATIVE DIFFICULTY IN THE NEW METRIC.

THE learning and insight of Otto Schröder seldom fail to illuminate any subject to which he applies himself. Not content with his great edition of Pindar [1900], he has during the last year, by his papers in *Hermes* and *Philologus* on the metres of Pindar, placed himself well at the front of the new metrical movement in Germany. The latter of these two papers,¹ a discussion of the 'Æolic Strophes' of Pindar, suggests a question, which has not, so far as I know, been touched upon by any of the new metricians, but which seems to me to have some bearing upon our acceptance of their views.

It is well known that one of the striking innovations proposed by the new school is the rejection of the so-called 'cyclic dactyl,' when it occurs singly, in a trochaic series, as in the Glyconic colon

— > | — — | — — | — Λ.

A typical case of the new method of treating such a colon appears at the very outset of

the paper to which I have just referred. Schroeder takes up the strophe of Pindar's second *Nemean*, which begins

ὄθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδα.

This colon is scanned by Christ

υ | — | — — υ | — — υ | —.

But Schroeder, in common with most of the reformers, rejects the 'cyclic dactyl,' and resolves the colon into a series of iambs, with one trochee,

υ — | — — υ — — | — — υ —.

The succession of longs and shorts is of course the same by either scansion, but according to the new system the words περ καί form a trochee, the diphthong in καί being shortened before the following vowel.

It is precisely at this point that my question presents itself. It has long been regarded as settled that this shortening of a

¹ *Philologus* 62, 2 [1903].

diphthong or long vowel in hiatus is a legacy from Homer, and peculiar to the dactylic foot. The evidence for this view seems to be overwhelming. In Pindar, Bacchylides, and the melic fragments, the correction occurs, in all, 352 times. According to the ordinary scansion 338 of these 352 cases appear in dactyls, divided about equally between 'dactylo-epitritic' and 'logaoedic' verse. Five cases occur in tribrachs, four in cretics, while in dissyllabic feet there is scarcely a single certain instance of shortening in hiatus. In Pindar *O.* 14, 1 and *P.* 8, 96, and in Bacchylides 10, 33 and 43, and 16, 20, to be sure, the curtailment of quantity seems to occur in trochees. But in each of the Bacchylidean instances the text and scansion are open to strong suspicion on many grounds. *P.* 8, 96 is corrected in most modern editions, and *O.* 14, 1 is emended by Schroeder himself as it was by Boeckh.

It may appear that we are begging the question when we base the enumeration on the received scansion. But this is not the case. There are thousands of feet in Greek melic poetry which are trochees according to either scansion, but among them all there is not a single undoubted instance of shortening in hiatus. Yet if we accept the scanning proposed by Schroeder, we must believe that in the Pindaric odes which he treats, alone, comprising about one half of Pindar's Aeolic strophes, correction in hiatus occurs, not merely five times in trochees,¹ but actu-

¹ *N.* 2: 1, 3; *N.* 7: 20, 101; *I.* 8: 5.

ally fourteen times in iambs.² It is scarcely necessary to add that in each of these cases, according to the received scansion, the syllable in question forms part of a 'cyclic dactyl.'

I am aware that this objection does not penetrate to the heart of the question between the old and the new metric. I grant, too, that it admits of an obvious answer. It is easy to reply that although shortening in hiatus is, in general, confined to dactyls, yet in cases where a trochee is followed immediately by an iamb, as occurs so often with the new scansion, the same acceleration of movement is brought about as that which justifies the correction in dactyls,—that the succession of two short syllables, and not the nature of the foot or feet in which they occur, is the real excuse for the curtailment of quantity. But in view of the recognized Homeric origin of the practice, and its almost entire absence in Pindar's numerous tribrachs, I question whether this answer can be accepted. Many scholars will; I think, agree with me in believing that the facts to which I have called attention afford some support for the opinion that, after all, the succession of quantities — ∪ ∪ in the Glyconic was felt by the Greek poets as a dactyl, and not as a trochee plus half an iamb.

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² Cf. *N.* 4: 79 πρόπολον ζυμεναι. εἰ δέ τοι [∪ ∪ ∪] — ∪ ∪ [∪ —] [∪ —]. So in *P.* 2: 39, 58, 74; *P.* 8: 56, 57B, 93; *N.* 2: 18; *N.* 4: 38, 46, 75, 94; *I.* 7: 32; *I.* 8: 65.

LAERTIANA.

WHEN we are to have a trustworthy text of Diogenes Laertius (who according to some authorities now should be called Laertius Diogenes) does not appear. Cobet's edition with all its improvements was an early, not very congenial, and quite imperfect piece of work; yet none has been published since. A new text founded on real knowledge and sound judgment of the MSS and in other ways brought abreast of present-day scholarship is in every way a desideratum. The man was foolish enough, but the book is of extreme value for the history, especially the literary history, of Greek philosophy. It is also, though little read, full of good things in the way of anecdotes, epigrams, and

pregnant sayings—not the author's own, be it well understood. Montaigne wished there were half a dozen of him. Finally there can be now but few Greek books, whose text is in a more neglected and faulty condition and about the MSS of which we have less reliable material to go upon. In such a state of things textual criticism is very insecure. I have therefore confined myself mainly in the following paper to minutiae with which it seems comparatively safe to deal. No doubt some of the suggestions have been anticipated.

Omissions of a word.

Diogenes introduces the story of the

tripod which the Delphic oracle ordered to be sent to the wisest living man with the words τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα φανερά τὸν εἰρηθέντα κ.τ.λ. (1. 27). It is hardly possible to make φανερά mean generally known, but, if not that, what does it mean? It may be noticed that the details of the story varied very greatly according to D. who gives a number of different forms. Perhaps therefore this is one of the many places where a negative has been lost and we should read οὐ φανερά, meaning that the true story is hard to get at.

It is well known how often ἄν is lost, especially before or after letters identical with it or resembling it. There is no need therefore to do more than indicate the following cases: 2. 35 τῆς γυναικὸς εἰπούσης (to Socrates) Ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκεις, Σὺ δέ, ἔφη, δικαίως <ἄν> ἐβούλον (or σὺ δ' <ἄν> ; [In Xen. *Apol.* 28 there is evidence both for and against the ἄν.] 2. 74 πρὸς τὸν αἰτιώμενον ὅτι ἑταίρα συνοικεῖ, Ἄρά γε, εἶπε, μὴ τι διενέγκαι <ἄν> (or <ἄν οἶε>) οἰκίαν λαβεῖν ἐν ᾗ πολλοὶ πάνν ᾤκησαν ἢ μηδεῖς ; 3. 45 (*Anthol. Pal.* 7. 108) in one of D.'s own wretched epigrams

καὶ πῶς, εἰ μὴ Φοῖβος ἄν' Ἑλλάδα φῆσε
Πλάτωνα,
ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων γράμμασιν ἠκέσαστο ;

add ἄν at the end. In 1. 48 τοῦ δὴ λοιποῦ προσεῖχον αὐτῷ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡδεὺς καὶ τυραννέσθαι ἤθελον παρ' αὐτοῦ the second καὶ should be κἄν, and so in 2. 24 καί, εἰ ὑποδημάτων ἔδει, βέρσαν μοι ἐδίδους ἦν' ἑμαυτῷ ὑποδήματα ποιησαίην ; possibly in 5. 31 κἄν (for καὶ) συμβιῶναι, but see below. On the other hand omit ἄν in 2. 76 ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζῶν παρὰ τοῦτο τι ἐλαττοῦται, οὕτως οὐδ' ἄν ἄνθρωπος (though we can supply ἐλαττοῦτο) and 6. 50 ἐρωτηθεὶς . . . ποῖος ἄν εἴη ἀμείνων (ἄριστος ?) χαλκὸς εἰς ἀνδριάντα ἔφη Ἄφ' οὗ Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐχαλκύθησαν. In such a passage—and there are several—as 5. 21 ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἄν τοῖς φίλοις προσφερόμεθα ἔφη Ὡς ἄν εὐξαίμεθα αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν προσφέρειν it is plain on a moment's reflection that ἄν has no place. The question was πῶς προσφερόμεθα, which in the oblique becomes προσφερόμεθα. Of course it might have been couched in such terms as πῶς ἄν κάλλιστα προσφερόμεθα, and then it would have remained in the oblique unchanged, but this could not be without an adverb like κάλλιστα. Such a question as 9. 113 φασὶ δὲ . . . πεθεσθαι πῶς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν ἀσφαλῶς κτήσασθαι is possible both with and without an ἄν, but the account of

the optative is not the same without as with it.

The answer of Pittacus to someone who said δεῖν ζητεῖν ἄνθρωπον σπουδαῖον, namely ἄν λίαν ζητῆς, οὐχ εὐρήσεις (1. 77) needs a καί (κἄν λίαν ζητῆς) to give it effect. So in the well-known story of Aristippus (2. 68: *Hor. Ep.* 1. 17. 13) παριόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν λάχανα πλύνων Διογένης ἔσκαψε καὶ φησιν Εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρειν (eat), οὐκ ἄν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες: ὁ δέ, Καὶ σί, εἶπεν, εἴπερ ἦδεις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἄν λάχανα ἐπλυνες we should read ἔσκαψε καὶ <Σύν> φησιν εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρειν. This is shown (1) by καὶ σί, which without a σύ preceding would be σὺ δέ: (2) by φησίν, which without a σύ before it would be a past tense like ἔσκαψε. The statement about Aristippus a little before (2. 66) ἦν δὲ ἱκανὸς ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ is I think hardly Greek without a παντί added. Ὡς seems lost in 2. 95 ἀγέροντες τὰς αἰσθήσεις <ὥς> οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσας τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν: 3. 95 ὅταν δεομένῳ παραβοηθήσῃ τις <ὥς> εἰς χρημάτων λόγον εὐπορήσῃ: ἐν in 5. 1 Aristotle's father συνεβίω Ἀμύντα τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ <ἐν> ἱατροῦ καὶ φίλου χρεῖα and 9. 62 ἀκόλουθος δ' ἦν καὶ (read κἄν) τῷ βίῳ. In the words of 4. 62 about Carneades, οὗτος τὰ τῶν Στωικῶν βιβλία ἀναγνοῦς, ἐπιμελῶς τὰ Χρυσίππου, ἐπεικὼς αὐτοῖς ἀντέλεγε there seems a gap before or after ἐπιμελῶς, which I should suggest filling up by reading <ἐν οἷς> ἐπιμελῶς. I think too the words of the introduction 6 ἀποφαίνεσθαι τε περὶ τε οὐσίας θεῶν καὶ γενέσεως οὐς καὶ πῖρ εἶναι καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ might run <ἐν> οἷς καὶ πῖρ εἶναι, for οὐς cannot well be right. (Cf. 2. 111 εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι διακηκότες Εὐβουλίδου, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος and *ib.* 133 πλείω συνάγων συμπόσια, ἐν οἷς καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν.) We should add ὦν to 7. 3 ἦκουε τοῦ Κράτητος, ἄλλως μὲν εὐτονος <ὦν> πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἰδήμων δὲ κ.τ.λ.: δεῖν perhaps to 6. 38 ἔφασκε δὲ <δεῖν> ἀντιτιθέναι τύχῃ μὲν θάρσος: μόνοι to 9. 6 ἐπιτηδένσας (Heraclitus) ἀσαφέστερον γράφαι, ὅπως οἱ δυνάμενοι <μόνοι> προσοίεν αὐτῷ (i.e. τῷ βιβλίῳ), where the loss of μόνοι after δυνάμενοι would be especially easy. There is neither sense nor grammar in 8. 66 ὅπου δὲ ἀλαζόνα καὶ φίλαντον ἐν τῇ ποιήσει ἴδοι ἄν τις, until we see that <ἔστιν> ὅπου is what the author wrote. Plato's reputed saying (5. 2) Ἀριστοτέλης ἡμᾶς ἀπελάκτισε, καθάπερ εἰ τὰ πωλάρια γεννηθέντα τὴν μητέρα can hardly be in its right form. We want something like <μεγάλα> or? <ἀπογάλακτα>? γεννηθέντα. Cf. *Aelian V.H.* 4. 9. 7. 19 ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἀρμόττοντα εἶναι ὄψει τοιαύτῃ ζητήματα

needs a *τοιαῦτα* after *τοιαύτη*. 1. 101 οὗτος ἐποίησεν τὸν τε παρὰ τοῖς Σκύθαις νομίμων καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰς εὐτέλειαν βίου καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπη ὀκτακόσια has in the same way no construction until we insert *περί* after ἐποίησεν, and 6. 23 βακτηρίᾳ δὲ ἐπηρέισατο ἀσθενήσας· ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐφόρει seems to call for a *ποτέ* or *πρῶτον* with ἐπηρέισατο, if the force of the aorist is not to be very much strained (*πρῶτον* may have been represented by *α'* and that lost before the first letter of ἀσθενήσας).

The article is probably lost in 2. 30 δέξας αὐτῷ <τοῖς> τοῦ κούρεως Μίδου ἀλεκτρυόνας: *ib.* 33 ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν τῶν τὰς λίθινους εἰκόνας κατασκευαζομένων <τὸ> τοῦ μὲν λίθου προνοεῖν . . . αὐτῶν δ' ἀμελεῖν: *ib.* 137 ὡς δὴλον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιᾶδην συμπονοίας οὐδέν τι διαφερούσης <τῆς> Πυλάδου φιλοστοργίας: 4. 47 ταῦτ' ἐστι <τὰ> κατ' ἐμέ: 6. 14 τοῦτον μόνον ἐκ πάντων <τῶν> Σωκρατικῶν Θεόπομπος ἐπαινεῖ. In 3. 103 on the other hand τῶν should be omitted from ἐὰν μὴ ὄντων τῶν νόμων κατ' ἔθην καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα χρηστῶς πολιτεύονται.

3. 61 καὶ οὗτος μὲν οὕτω διαιρεῖ καὶ τινες calls out for <ἄλλοι> τινές, unless indeed something else has been lost: so 2. 43 καὶ τοῖς μὲν <ἄλλους> ἐφυγάδενσαν, Μελήτων δὲ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν. 3. 51 should perhaps be καὶ περὶ μὲν διαλόγου, τί ποτ' ἐστὶ καὶ τίνες αὐτοῦ διαφοραὶ, ἀπόχρη <τοσαῦτα> λέγειν.

Less obvious additions are 1. 74 καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀχλλεΐτιδος χώρας μαχομένων Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων ἐστρατήγει <Μιτυληναίων> μὲν αὐτός, Ἀθηναίων δὲ Φρύνων: 2. 34 πρὸς τὸν (for τὸ) οὐκ ἀξιόλογον πλῆθος <αἰδοῦμενον> ἔφασκεν ὅμοιον εἶ τις τετραδράχμων ἐν ἀποδοκιμάζων τὸν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σωρὸν ὡς δόκιμον ἀποδέχοιτο (cf. Xen. Mem. 3. 7. 5 foll., who uses αἰδεῖσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι, αἰσχύνεσθαι): and 4. 60 ὅψ' δ' αὐτῷ γεωμετροῦντι λέγει τις Εἵτα νῦν καιρός; <καὶ ὅς> Εἵτα μηδὲ νῦν; where a reason for the loss of καὶ ὅς is obvious. 8. 34 perhaps ὅτι ὀλιγαρχικὸν <τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι>, for these words can hardly be understood from the context as it at present stands: perhaps simply <οὐκ> ὀλιγαρχικόν. 5. 31 Aristotle's tenets are stated in a very puzzling way: καὶ ἐρασθήσεσθαι δὲ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι, γαμήσειν τε μὴν καὶ βασιλεῖ συμβιώναι. There is no such phrase possible as *τε μὴν*, and, if it is meant that the philosopher will according to Aristotle marry and frequent a court, we must omit *μὴν* and write *κάν* for *καί* though the change from future to aorist with *ἄν* is very harsh. Were it not for the facts of Aristotle's life, we might be inclined to read something like *γαμήσῃ γε μὴν καὶ βασιλεῖ συμβιώναι* <οὐκ ἐθελήσεν>, and this would

account for the order of the four things mentioned, which is now very strange. Why is *γαμήσειν* divided off from *ἐρασθήσεσθαι*? Two pairs of things contrasted we could understand.

Terminations corrupted.

1. 48 ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκοῖη βία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκη τὴν Σαλαμίνα κεκτῆσθαι, κ.τ.λ. But it was not Solon who owned Salamis: it was the Athenian people. Read therefore *δοκοῖεν*. So in 4. 8 (λέγεται τὸν στέφανον) ἐξιώντα θείναι πρὸς τὸν ἰδρυμένον Ἑρμῆν, ἐνθαπερ τιθέναι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθινούς εἴωθεν. The last word has been corrected to εἰώθει, but should it not be εἰώθεσαν? On the other hand in 3. 56 Θέσπις ἓνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξηῦρεν . . . καὶ δεύτερον Αἰσχύλος, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σοφοκλῆς, καὶ συνεπλήρῳσαν τὴν τραγωδίαν it is obvious that the last verb should be singular, *συνεπλήρῳσεν*, referring to Sophocles only, just as he goes on to say *τρίτον δὲ Πλάτων* καὶ διαλεκτικὸν (λόγον προσέθηκε) καὶ ἐτελεσιούργησε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. In 6. 52 again, ἰδὼν ποτε γυναῖκας ἀπ' ἐλαίας ἀπηγχονισμένας the plural can hardly be right: Why should more than one woman be hanging there? Read *γυναῖκ'* . . . ἀπηγχονισμένην.

1. 62 ἤκαμζε περὶ τὴν τεσσαρεακοστήν ἔκτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἧς τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει ἦρξεν Ἀθηναίων καθὰ φησι Σωσικράτης· ὅτε καὶ τίθησι τοὺς νόμους, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ κ.τ.λ. For the incongruous present τίθησι I would read *τιθέναι*. Often in Diogenes side by side with finite verbs we find infinitives depending on a λέγεται or something similar understood. In the same way *ἐυνακολουθῶν* in 9. 61 should be *ἐύνακολουθεῖν*. 4. 3 ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ Σπεύσιππον ἐμάνθανον ὥδε θανέσθαι. The future infinitive is absurd, nor does *μανθάνω* properly take an infinitive at all. Read *θανόντα*. 7. 17 ὡς δὲ Κυνικός τις οὐ φήσας ἐλαιον ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ληκύθῳ προσήτησεν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· ἀπελθόντα μέντοι ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι ὁπότερος εἴη ἀναιδέστερος. Read *ἀπελθόντος*. It was the bystanders, not the Cynic, who were bidden to consider the question. In the well-known story about the disappearance of Empedocles (8. 68) *καταβὰς ὁ Πανσανίας ἔπεμψε τινὰς ζητήσοντας· ὕστερον δ' ἐκωλύθη πολυπραγμαίνειν, φάσκων εὐχῆς ἄξια συμβεβηκέναι καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ δεῖν* the passive *ἐκωλύθη* makes no sense, and should be *ἐκώλυσε*, and in a version (9. 56) of another story even better known, λέγεται δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν (Protagoras) ἀπαιτοῦντα τὸν μισθὸν Εὐάθλον τὸν μαθητὴν, ἐκείνου εἰπόντος Ἀλλ' οὐδέπω νενίκηκα, εἰπεῖν Ἀλλ', ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν νικήσω, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐνίκησα, λαβεῖν με δεῖ· ἂν δὲ

σύ, ὅτι σύ it is plain that *νενίκηκα* should be *νενίκηκας*. But in 6. 96 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι κοινωνός, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων γενηθείς, it looks as though we should read *γενηθείη* and *κοινωνόν*. 10. 119 ἀλλὰ καὶ πηρωθεὶς τὰς ὄψεις μεθέξειν αὐτὸν (τὸν σοφόν) τοῦ βίου read *κἂν πηρωθῇ* and *ib.* 126 δοξάζει for *δοξάζεται* which may be due to *φοβεῖται* and *προσίσταται* preceding it; but 6. 99 φέρεῖ seems a mistake for *φέρεται* (as for instance *ib.* 98). In 2. 114 Φρασίδῳμον . . . προσήγαγε the middle *προσηγάγετο* is probably required, and *ib.* 11 πρῶτος δ' Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ βιβλίον ἐξέδωκε συγγραφῆς for the unintelligible *συγγραφῆς* I suggest *συγγράψας*.

The corruption of future tenses to present is abundantly illustrated in the text of Diogenes. To cases already corrected add 2. 103 where ἔχειν should be *ἔξειν*: 6. 10 ἀμυνεῖσθαι: 7. 14 λέξειν καὶ γράψειν: 7. 189 εἶξιν (compare *ἔσται* following): and *ἔσται* for *ἐστί* in 7. 7. In 2. 97 the present infinitives ἀποδέχεσθαι, etc. may be right, but I do not feel very sure. *Εὐδαιμονήσει* in 2. 96 and *δόξει* in 6. 35 should be infinitives.

A very common mistake in Greek texts and one to which editors and grammar-writers have a wonderful way of blinding themselves is the confusion of comparative and superlative forms. Several cases have been detected in Diogenes (e.g. 6. 5 and the instructive case of *πρῶτον* for *πρότερον* in 2. 43) and the following are equally certain: 1. 104 ἐρωτηθεὶς τίνα τῶν πλοίων εἰσὶν ἀσφαλέστερα ἔφη τὰ νενεωλκημένα (read *ἀσφαλέστατα*): 5. 64 διατρίψας ἐν παντὶ λόγων εἶδει καὶ μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ φυσικῷ, ὅπερ εἶδος ἀρχαιότερόν τε καὶ σπουδαιότερον (ότατον in both): 7. 22 πάντων ἔλεγεν ἀπρεπότερον εἶναι τὸν τύφον καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν νέων (ἀπρεπέστατον). I have mentioned above the much more curious case of 6. 50, where ἀμείνων seems to stand for ἄριστος (ποῖος εἴη ἀμείνων χαλκὸς εἰς ἀνδριάντα).¹ In 4. 48 ἐρωτηθεὶς ποτε τίς μᾶλλον ἀγωνία ἔφη ὁ τὰ μέγιστα βουλόμενος εὐημερεῖν we should certainly read *μάλιστα*: the two words are often interchanged.

I take a number of substantival, adjectival, pronominal cases as they come. 2. 66

¹ In the well-known oracle (*schol. ad Theocr.* 14. 48):

Γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἄμεινον,
Ἰπποὶ Ὀρηκίαι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ γυναῖκες,
Ἄνδρες δ' οἱ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ καλῆς Ἀρεθούσης.
Ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ τῶνδ' εἰσὶν ἄμεινονες, ὅτε κ.τ.λ.

ἄμεινον would seem to be a mistake for *ἄριστον*, but this may be due to the *ἀμείνονες* of line 4. In Philemon (Kock 203: Meineke *Incert.* cix.) *θανεῖν ἄριστόν ἐστιν ἢ ζῆν ἀθλίως* the opposite error has been made.

ἀπέλαυε μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς (read *ἡδονῇ*) τῶν παρόντων. *ib.* 134 τῶν δὲ διδασκάλων τῶν περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ξενοκράτην, ἐτι τε Παραιβάτην τὸν Κυρηναῖον κατεφρόνει. Here the second τῶν is no doubt due to the first and should be τοῦς: the accusative following is enough to show this. In 3. 18 ὀργισθεὶς γὰρ οἱ λόγοι σου φησὶ γεροντιῶσιν καὶ ὅς Σοῦ δέ γε τεραντιῶσι the second σοῦ cannot be right. We might think of σοί, but I hardly think σοί could stand here unless we read it for the previous σου too. Perhaps οἱ σοί δέ γε is more likely. *ib.* 107 μεριστὰ δ' ὅσα ἔκ τινος σίγκειται; obviously *ἔκ τινων*. 4. 52 ἦν δὲ θεατρικὸς καὶ πολὺς ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ διαφορῆσαι; read *γελοῖως*. 5. 20 ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστι φίλος ἔφη Μία ψυχὴ δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα. This is a definition, however, not of a friend but of friendship, which indeed Aristotle was much more likely to be asked to define; and therefore we should read *φιλία*. *ib.* 54 ὅπως δὲ συνερίηται . . . <τὰ> περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν κ.τ.λ., συνεπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ Πόμπυλον τοῦτον ἐποικοῦντα αὐτόν; read *τούτων* for the quite inappropriate *τούτον*. *ib.* 58 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν ταύτην διατετριφέναι. Cobet *περί* for *ἐπὶ*, but why not *ἐπὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ ταύτῃ*? 6. 66 πρὸς τὸν λεπτοροῦντα τῇ ἑταίρᾳ; usage points to τὴν ἑταίραν. *ib.* 68 ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ κακὸς ὁ θάνατος, Πῶς, εἶπε, κακός, οὐ παρόντος οὐκ αἰσθανόμεθα; usage points as distinctly to κακόν. 6. 70 συνεχεῖ for *συνχεῖς*? 7. 14 ἐνίους δὲ καὶ χαλκὸν εἰσέπραττε τοὺς περισταμένους τὸ δίδόναι μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν. Cobet reads (I do not know how far on conjecture) τῶν περισταμένων ὥστε δεδιότας τὸ δίδόναι μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν. I suggest in any case ἐνίους for ἐνίους, just as τότε and τοὺς get confused. *ib.* 85 αὐτῷ after οἰκειούσης should probably be αὐτό. *ib.* 169 ἐκέλευεν ὀβολὸν φέρειν ἀποφορᾶς. The genitive is impossible in Greek; read *ἀποφοράν*, as *μισθοῦ* has been corrected to *μισθόν* in 7. 25. So again in 8. 13 τοῦτον γὰρ (φασι) καὶ τὸ φονεῖν ἀπαγορεύειν, μὴ ὅτι γένεσθαι (so Cobet for μὴ) ὅτι γε ἄπτεσθαι) τῶν ζώων, κοινὸν δίκαιον ἡμῖν ἐχόντων τῆς ψυχῆς the last words should surely be τὴν ψυχὴν. The *ψυχὴ* of plants was to Pythagoras their δίκαιον: their right and claim consisted in it. 9. 13 ὥστε . . . διαπορεύσθαι τῆς ὀρθῆς δοκούσης γεγράφθαι παρά σοι διηγήσεως. It may be questioned whether the genitive without *περί* is right after *διαπορεύσθαι*, but there can hardly be a doubt that we should read *ὀρθῶς*. *ib.* 18 γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἰάμβους καθ' Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ὀμήρου; put datives for the accusatives. *ib.* 51 πρῶτος ἔφη δύο λόγους εἶναι περὶ παντὸς πράγματος . . . οἷς καὶ συνηρώτα. In the special sense a man is said *ἐρωτᾶν λόγον*, etc.; read therefore οὐς.

Confusion of prepositions, particles, pronouns, etc.

1. 73 καὶ τῆρον τυράννων εὐδαιμονίζω ὅστις καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κατθάγη should, I presume, be ἐν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ according to the familiar idiom, e.g. Ar. *Lys.* 1070 εἰς ἑαυτῶν, Plat. *Theaet.* 206 A ἐν κίθαρι τοῦ; and 1. 116 ἀνιόντα εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐς Μεσσήνην must of course be ἐκ Μεσσήνης. 5. 66 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς στέφανον πολλοὺς ἀπιέναι. There seems no meaning in ἀπ-. Read παρ- or προσ-ιέναι. So again *ib.* 83 τοὺς φίλους ἐπὶ μὲν τάγαθὰ παρακαλουμένους ἀπιέναι, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτομάτους. I do not see how the ἀντι- can be justified in 7. 34 ὅς καὶ ἐκμηθῆναι φησιν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τὰ κακῶς λεγόμενα...εἰτ' ἀντιτεθῆναι αὐτά. ἀνατεθῆναι were put back seems likely, though I do not find that meaning given to ἀνατίθημι in Liddell & Scott. *ib.* 181 ἡ παρεδρεύουσα πρεσβύτις αὐτῷ is an obvious blunder for παρεδρεύουσα, the old woman who waited on him.

I should like to write ἀλλά for ἄρα in 2. 13. καὶ μὴν in 8. 75 can hardly have escaped correction by someone to καὶ μὴν. 7. 2 γοῦν is found by a very common error for δ' οὖν. In 2. 41 we find the quite formless sentence ὅτ' οὖν κατεδικάσθη, in which editors seem to suppose that ὅτε is more or less the same as τότε. I take it that here also we should read ὁ δ' οὖν, which the context makes quite suitable. It is surprising how often δ' οὖν was corrupted, usually to γοῦν or οὖν.

An epigram of Diogenes' own (3. 45) on Plato has already been quoted, but it is necessary here to give the whole of it:

καὶ πῶς, εἰ μὴ Φοῖβος ἀν' Ἑλλάδα φῦσε
Πλάτωνα,

ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων γράμμασιν ἠκέσας <ἀν>;
καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦδε γεγώς Ἀσκληπιός ἐστιν ἡτῆρ
σώματος, ὡς ψυχῆς ἀθανάτοιο Πλάτων.

It may strike the reader, and it is certainly true, that in the last couplet things are put in the wrong order and relation. Asclepius should not be compared to Plato, but Plato to Asclepius: not body to mind, but mind to body. Even Diogenes knew this. What has happened is probably the following. It is well known that καὶ and ὡς often get interchanged, as do καὶ and ἡ, from similarity in the abbreviations by which they were written. Here then καὶ γάρ is for ὡς γάρ, and we have only to read ὡς γάρ...ὡς ψυχῆς ἀθανάτοιο Πλάτων. "H seems to have got substituted for καὶ in 6. 32 τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν ἥδη τοὺς

Μακέδονας ἢ ἐκ ταπεινῶν ὑψηλοὺς γίνεσθαι. In 3. 78 αὐ should be αὐτόν (another common mistake) and in 10. 126 οὔτε γάρ should be οὐδὲ γάρ. The occasional error of a double οὐδέ for a double οὔτε I need not point out. 1. 122 ἐπὶ μᾶλλον is ἐτι μᾶλλον.

At the end of the *Anaxagoras* we read (2. 15) γεγόνاسι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀναξαγόραι, ὧν ἐν οὐδενὶ πάντα· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦν ῥήτωρ κ.τ.λ. For πάντα, which is unintelligible, we may perhaps read ταῦτά, the same characteristics, i.e. devotion to philosophy, etc., though, even that seems rather an odd expression. Ταυτό should also be read for τοῦτο in the verse quoted in 1. 29 and perhaps in 2. 73 ταυτό καὶ ἡμίονος, though there τοῦτο may stand. In the *Antisthenes* 6. 10 διδακτὴν ἀπεδέκνυε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐγενεῖς τοὺς καὶ ἐναρέτους we shall be safe in changing τοὺς to οὓς. Diogenes (6. 54) ἐρωτηθεὶς ποῶν καιρῷ δεῖ γαρμεῖν ἐφη τοὺς μὲν νέους μηδέποτε, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μηδεπώποτε. It is plain that the temporal particles have here got into some confusion. Without good MS evidence the right reading can hardly be restored with certainty, but τοὺς μὲν νέους μηδέπω (?) , τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μηδέποτε (?) or μηκέτι would give the right sense. σου in 7. 17 τὸν ὑποκάτω σου should be μου. *Prooem.* 13 καὶ οἱ μὲν σοφοὶ wants perhaps οἷδε either added after σοφοὶ or put instead of οἱ.

Antisthenes' remark to Plato (6. 7) ἐδόκει μοι καὶ σὺ ἵππος ἀν εἶναι λαμπρυντής is in the wrong tense and requires δοκεῖς. On the other hand Zeno's self-congratulation (7. 5) εὖ γε ποιῇ ἡ τύχη προσελαύνουσα ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία refers to the past and needs ἐποίη, and in 8. 85 and 9. 43 δοκεῖ should no doubt be ἐδόκει (cf. 8. 76 : 9. 7, 45, 57, etc.). δουλῶται in 1. 113 stands for δεδούλωται.

Words out of order.

A clear and simple instance occurs in 3. 69' where it is said that Plato δύο τῶν πάντων ἀπέφηνεν ἀρχάς, θεὸν καὶ ἔλλην, ὃν καὶ νοῦν προσαγορεύει καὶ αἴτιον. θεὸν καὶ ἔλλην have of course changed places. So in 2. 50 ἐχθρῶς δὲ διέκειτο πρὸς Μένωνα τὸν Φαρσάλιον περὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἀναβάσεως, τὸν ξεναγόν we may presume that τὸν ξεναγόν was first accidentally omitted and then inserted in the wrong place. In the summary of Aristotle (5. 32, 33) we read καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ ἀσώματον, ἐντελέχειαν οὔσαν τὴν πρώτην· σώματος γὰρ φυσικοῦ (! τὴν πρώτην σώματος φυσικοῦ) καὶ ὀργανικοῦ δυνάμει ζῶνιν ἐχοντος. διττῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτόν. λέγει δ' ἐντελέχειαν ἥς ἐστὶν εἰδός τι ἀσώματόν· ἡ μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν...καθ'

ἔξιν δὲ λέγεται ἐντελέχεια κ.τ.λ. This exposition is enough to puzzle anyone, until we see that διττή...κατ' αὐτὸν should follow εἰδός τι ἀσώματον and refers to ἐντελέχειαν. Zeno 7. 24 ἐν συμποσίῳ κατακείμενος σιγῇ τὴν αἰτίαν ἡρωτήθη. ἔφη οὖν τῷ ἐγκαλέσαντι ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὅτι παρὴν τις σιωπᾶν ἐπιστάμενος. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ ἐρωτῶντες παρὰ Πτολεμαίου πρέσβεις ἀφικόμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν τί εἴποιεν περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. The third sentence ἦσαν...βασιλέα should of course precede the second ἔφη...ἐπιστάμενος. In 2. 95 the words καὶ μὴ μισήσῃν, μᾶλλον δὲ μεταδιδάξῃν must be put a little earlier or a little later.

Miscellaneous.

The difference between ἀνείπον, ἀνειπεῖν, used of heralds etc. and ἀνείλον, ἀνελεῖν, used of gods and oracles, is often lost in MSS. It is quite certain that Hipponax never said of Myson (1. 107) ὃν Ἀπόλλων ἀνείπεν ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατον πάντων, but ἀνείλεν, and the same change must be made in 1. 30 twice, and in 5. 91. [Make it also twice in Dio Chrys. 31. 97 (M. 340).] In 2. 37 the right form ἀνελούσης has survived. On the other hand the aorist of αἰρεῖν has itself perhaps taken the place of another word in 1. 26 ἀμπλίστα συνεῖλε χρήματα, where συνῆγε (or συνήγαγε) seems probable. In 1. 64 again κὺν τῇ πόλει χάριν κατάθοιτο ἐξευρών, where the context is conspiracy against a tyrant, ἐξευρών seems to stand for ἐξαιρῶν or ἐξελῶν, removing, killing. The aorist εἶπε is foolishly repeated, as though it was emphatic, in Diogenes' verse 1. 85 εἶπε γάρ, εἶπε δίκην ἐτάρου τινός. It seems a mistake for εὔτε γὰρ εἶπε, the εὔτε being answered by the εἶτα following as often by ἐνθα, τότε, etc. In 4. 16 μεθύνω εἰς τὴν Ξεινοκράτους ἥξε σχολήν, ὃ δ' οὐδὲν διατραπείς ἦρε τὸν λόγον ὁμοίως the sense required, that Xenocrates went on with his lecture, is plain enough, but ἦρε cannot convey it. εἶρε has been suggested. I rather incline to ἦγε, though I cannot adduce an example of λόγον ἄγειν. 8. 46 τελευταῖοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο τῶν Πυθαγορείων οὓς καὶ Ἀριστοτένης εἶδε Ξενοφίλος τε...καὶ Φάντων κ.τ.λ. should I suppose be οὓς καὶ Ἀ. οἶδε or ᾗδει (a very common mistake). 5. 65 Lyeon is called φραστικός ἀνὴρ καὶ περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς ἄκρως συντεταγμένος, but of course Diogenes wrote συντεταμένος.

The familiar confusion of λόγος and νόμος (see for instance Ar. Eth. 5. 6 1134 a 35) has, I think, taken place in 1. 102 where the dying Anacharsis says διὰ μὲν τὸν λόγον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωθῆναι, διὰ δὲ τὸν φθόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀπολέσθαι. There is no sense in

λόγον. He means that he had returned home (σωθῆναι) διὰ τὸν νόμον, though he was said (see just before) τὰ νόμιμα παραλείπειν τῆς πατρίδος. 3. 29 Aristippos φησὶν αὐτὸν (Plato) Ἀστέρος μερακίον τινός...ἐρασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δίωνος τοῦ προσηρημένου. ἔνοι καὶ Φαίδρου φασί. Remove the stop after προσηρημένου. 4. 4 πρὸς τὸν ἐρῶντα πλουσίον ἀμόρφου ἔφη τί δέ σοι δοῖ τούτου; ἐγὼ γάρ σοι δέκα ταλάντων εὐμορφότεραν εἰρήσω. There is absolutely no point in this; but there will be some humour in it, if we read ἀμορφότεραν, or rather, as τούτου shows, ἀμορφότερον. The joke is partly the same as in the Oxford story of the tutor who, hearing another express his surprise at So-and-So's giving such bad lectures for so high a stipend, rejoined that he was himself ready to give much worse lectures for half the money. 5. 1 περιπατοῦντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συμπαρὼν διελέγετο ἅττα. περιπατῶν is suggested; perhaps συμπεριῶν (sometimes written with only one ι) would be better. 5. 36 Theophrastus was συνετώτατος and φιλοπονώτατος, Menander's teacher, and ἄλλως τε καὶ (omit?) εὐεργετικός καὶ φιλόλογος. εὐεργετικός seems, if not poor in sense, at any rate rather out of place among the other adjectives; did Diogenes write ἐνεργητικός? (In M. Aurel. 1. 7 φαντασιοπλήκτως τὸν ἀσκητικὸν ἢ τὸν εὐεργητικὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι the same suggestion is an old one). 6. 11 Antisthenes held τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἔργων εἶναι, μήτε λόγων πλείστων δεομένην μήτε μαθημάτων. No doubt we should read λόγων πλαστῶν: so Herod. 1. 68 ἐκ πλαστοῦ λόγον. 7. 20 λέγοντος δὲ τινος αὐτῷ περὶ Πολέμωνος ὡς ἄλλα προθέμενος ἄλλα λέγει, σκυθρωπώσας ἔφη Πόσων γὰρ ἡγάπας τὰ διδόμενα; this is nonsense and πόσων seems a mistake for πῶς οὐ, 'why weren't you content?' 9. 73 καὶ Ἱπποκράτην ἔπειτα ἐνδοιαστῶς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἀποφαίνεσθαι. There is no meaning in ἔπειτα. I have thought of ἔστιν ἃ or ἔνια or ἐνίοτε. There is an equally impossible ἔπειτα in 8. 58 where he is speaking of tragedies attributed to Empedocles: Ἱερώνυμος δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν (αὐτὸς conjectured: αὐτῶν?) τρισὶ καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐντετυχηκέναι (probably read). Νεάνθης δὲ νέον ὄντα γεγραφέναι τὰς τραγωδίας καὶ αὐτὸν (!) ἔπειτα αὐταῖς ἐντετυχηκέναι. Here ἔπειτα might be ἐνίοτε, but the context suggests the mention of some specific number of plays. 9. 104 οὐ γὰρ τὸ ὁρᾶν ἀναρεῖν (they do not do away with sight) ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς ὁρᾶν ἀγνοεῖν: perhaps τὸ <ὁρᾶν> πῶς ὁρᾶ, or omit ὁρᾶν and leave τὸ πῶς. 7. 86 τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῖς λογικοῖς κατὰ τελειοτέραν προστασίαν δεδομένου, τὸ κατὰ λόγον ζῆν ὁρθῶς γίνεσθαι τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν. He

is speaking of the various forms of animation (plants, animals, rational creatures) and the life *κατὰ φύσιν* for them on the Stoic theory. The point of this sentence seems to be exactly inverted, like that of 3. 45 above noticed. It should not be that rational creatures living *κατὰ φύσιν* will live *κατὰ λόγον*; but that, if they live *κατὰ λόγον*, then, being rational creatures, they will be living *κατὰ φύσιν*. In other words *λόγον* and *φύσιν* should change places. An understanding of this suggests the correction of the preceding sentence too. Speaking of animals, which as distinguished from plants have *ὁρμή impulse*, he says *τούτοις μὲν τῷ* (or *τὸ*) *κατὰ φύσιν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν διοικέσθαι*, where similarly the sense should be that for them *ζῆν κατὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν* is *ζῆν κατὰ φύσιν*: read therefore *τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν διοικέσθαι*.

On 1. 104 and 4. 48 see vol. xvi. of this Review, p. 394.

I will mention finally three or four passages, where the mistake seems to be of one type, and that a type fairly well recognised now. The type I mean is the substitution of one word for another because the former or something akin to it occurs in the context and is in the writer's mind. In 1. 59 *ἡξιώσε τ' Ἀθηναίους τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήην ἄγειν, καὶ Θέσπιν ἐκώλυσε τραγωδίας*

ἄγειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν this surely accounts for the second *ἄγειν*. There is no such phrase as *τραγωδίας ἄγειν* (we must not be misled by *agere*) and, if there were, it would mean the same with regard to Thespis as *διδάσκειν*. Probably the real word was *ποιεῖν*. Again in the lines to Dion ascribed to Plato (3. 30: *Anth. Pal.* 7. 99)

σοὶ δὲ, Δίῳ, ῥέξαντι καλῶν ἐπινίκιον ἔργων
δαίμονες εὐρείας ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεαν,
κέσαι δ' εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν πατρίδι κ.τ.λ.

εὐρείας is a strange epithet for *ἐλπίδας* and no skilful writer would have used it just before *εὐρυχόρῳ*. The lost word need not of course have resembled it. Then in 5. 57 he says *αἱ διαθήκαι κέινται ἀντίγραφα* (<*κατ'*> *ἀντίγραφα*!) *τῷ Θεοφράστου δακτυλίῳ σεσημασμένοι, μίαν μὲν παρ' Ἡγησίᾳ . . . τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔχει Ὀλυμπιόδωρος . . . τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἔλαβεν Ἀδείμαντος*, where it is difficult not to think that the second *ἑτέραν* should be *τρίτην*. Lastly in 1. 102 Anacharsis is said *παράγονόμος εἰς τὴν Σκυθίαν καὶ νομίζων τὰ νόμιμα παραλύνει τῆς πατρίδος* to have been killed by his brother. *δοκῶν* has been suggested for *νομίζων*. It seems likely enough, *νομίζων* being probably due to *νόμιμα*. But *νομιζόμενος* is also possible.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

CAESAR'S MOVEMENTS, JANUARY 21 TO FEBRUARY 14, 49 B.C.

DURING the third week in January, 49 B.C., active military operations in the North were momentarily suspended. Caesar himself was still at Ariminum, although detachments of his thirteenth legion had already occupied the coast towns as far south as Ancona, and by sending Antony to Arretium and Curio to Iguvium, he had guarded against a Pompeian advance along the western roads (Caes. *B.C.* i. 11. 4-i. 12. 2). Negotiations for peace were in progress. The pause, however, was but a brief one; Jan. 21 or 22 (Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 17. 3) Caesar heard that Pompey and the consuls had abandoned Rome, and possibly also that they were contemplating a forward movement into Picenum (*ad Att.* vii. 15. 3; 16. 2; 18. 2). Deciding therefore to re-unite his scattered forces, he sent word to Antony and to Curio, of whose occupation of Iguvium he had just been informed, to overtake him as soon as possible. He then marched slowly

down the coast, picking up his garrisons along the way. (Caes. *B.C.* i. 12. 3, *Quibus rebz cognitiz confisus municipiorum voluntatibus Caesar cohortes legionis XIII ex praesidiis deducit Auximumque proficiscitur.*)

The date at which this concentration of Caesar's forces was completed can be fixed with some precision. Curio's orders, sent Jan. 22, reached him Jan. 23; he doubtless started the 24th. To march the eighty-four miles to Ancona by way of Calis and Fanum would require at least four days; the earliest possible date of union, then, is Jan. 27 P.M. A *terminus ante quem* can be derived from Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 19, *Ecce tibi III Nonas Febr. mane accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furni, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Caesaris legationem.* The letter of Atticus here mentioned could not have left Rome later than the night of Feb. 1-2, because Cicero at Formiae (ninety-six miles distant) received it early in the

morning of Feb. 3; the enclosure from Curio would have required more than two days to come down from the North to Rome. By Jan. 28, then, at the latest, Curio knew that the embassy had failed. Since the envoys, who probably started from Teanum Jan. 23, P.M., could not reach Caesar before Jan. 27 or 28, there was not time for Curio to have received this information, unless he was then with Caesar. Curio consequently arrived Jan. 27 P.M. or early on Jan. 28.¹ Now Antony undoubtedly started at the same time as Curio, but as Arretium is about 110 Roman miles, or six days' march, from Ancona, he cannot have reached there before Jan. 29 at the very earliest, and by that time Caesar had moved on to Auximum or farther. Antony probably did not succeed in overtaking the main body of the troops before Feb. 3 at Firmum. Stoffel, *Histoire de Jules César, Guerre Civile*, vol. i. p. 9, and Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel des M. Tullius Cicero*, pp. 125-6, are therefore wrong in assuming that Antony and Curio met at or near Iguvium, and arrived at Ancona together Feb. 1 or Jan. 29.²

¹ The objection may be raised that Curio, because he knows Caesar's intention to reject all proposals of peace, is laughing at the embassy, without having heard its terms or Caesar's reply to them. The following considerations, however, make that supposition extremely improbable.

(1) For two or three days before Feb. 3 (the date of *ad Att.* vii. 19), speculations about Caesar's answer to the envoys were uppermost in Cicero's mind; see *ad Att.* vii. 16. 2; 17; 18. 1-3. From the first four lines of vii. 19 we see that he has now received information which he regards as decisive; the embassy is dismissed from his thoughts, not to be mentioned again, and he starts at once for Capua to ascertain Pompey's plans (vii. 19, last sentence; cf. vii. 16. 2). Is it then likely that, in the hasty note in which he acknowledges the packet from Atticus, Cicero would single out for special mention Curio's letter, unless that were the one which brought the all-important news?

(2) It must also be remembered that, if Curio, when he wrote to Furnius, had not rejoined the army, he had not seen Caesar since about Jan. 15, and presumably had received no word from him of date later than Jan. 22; he was not present at the conference with L. Caesar on the 18th or 19th and knew of no negotiations later than those. What then could have called forth his jests at this particular time? Besides, even assuming that Caesar was not, in point of fact, desirous of peace, he at any rate was endeavouring to seem so. Hence one of his trusted officers, when writing to a man who was in communication with prominent Pompeians, would scarcely venture any remarks tending to discredit Caesar's sincerity in his concessions of Jan. 18. But, after Curio had learned of Pompey's final reply, it would be in place for him to express Caesar's and his own dissatisfaction with that reply.

² With this later date (Feb. 3) for Antony's arrival, it is somewhat less difficult to understand why, as long afterwards as Feb. 16, Pompey (in *ad Att.*

After Caesar left Auximum, his objective point was Asculum. He says (*Caes. B.C. i. 15. 3*): . . . *Asculum Picenum proficiscitur. Id oppidum Lentulus Spinther X cohortibus tenebat; qui Caesaris adventu cognito profugit ex oppido* . . . Then, after several sentences dealing with the retreat of the Pompeian forces, he continues (*B.C. i. 16. 1*), *Recepto Firmo expulsoque Lentulo Caesar conquiri milites, qui ab eo discesserant, dilectumque institui iubet; ipse unum diem ibi rei frumentariae causa moratus Corfinium contendit*.

The first four words of chapter 16, though the reading of all the manuscripts, have rarely been allowed to stand in the text. Editors explain *Firmo* as a gloss from *ad Att.* viii. 12B. 1, and emend to *oppido* or *Asculo*. The chief reasons which have led to the change are, briefly, as follows: (cf. Kraner-Hofmann, *De Bello Civili*, 10th edition (1890), p. 226.)

(1) *Recepto Firmo expulsoque Lentulo* would naturally mean that Lentulus was driven from Firmum, while we know from 15.3 that he was stationed at Asculum;

(2) If the MSS. reading *Firmo* is retained, there is no mention of Caesar's going to Asculum, although in 15.3 he states his intention of doing so. In answer it may be said:

(1) *Expulso*, in any case, is used loosely of a hasty flight; it may here mean 'driven from the district.' Similarly *adventu* in 15.3 can be 'approach,' 'coming' rather than 'arrival' (e.g. *B.C. iii. 7. 3*). Neither word can be interpreted strictly, even if the text is changed.

(2) After Lentulus's cowardly flight, Caesar had no possible motive for going to Asculum at all; but even if he did carry out his original intention, as Stoffel (Pl. I and vol. i, p. 10) and Kraner-Hofmann (cf. Kiepert's map) believe, the entrance into the city, uneventful as, after the evacuation, it undoubtedly would be, might well be omitted, especially as the long parenthesis in 15.4-7 had intervened. We know, too, from *ad Att.* viii. 12B. 1 that Caesar actually was at Firmum. There accordingly seems to be no sufficient reason to reject the reading of all the manuscripts. This is the conclusion reached by Stoffel (vol. i, p. 218) and Schmidt (pp. 387-8). Furthermore, if, as

viii. 12C. 1) quotes a message which he has received about the concentration of Caesar's troops. See Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, pp. 130-1. This move, however, was not unknown to Pompey before Feb. 16; he distinctly says in viii. 12C. 1 that he has learned the same facts from more than one source. *Ad Att.* viii. 12B. 2 shows that he had heard of Caesar's plan at least as early as Feb. 11 or 12.

can perhaps be demonstrated, Caesar never went to Asculum, the emendation becomes not merely superfluous but also absolutely false.

As has been shown, there was no longer any necessity for Caesar to go to Asculum on his way to Corfinium; on the contrary, if he did so, he would be obliged to make a very difficult march of 110 miles over the mountains, with no road for part of the distance, and little opportunity to obtain supplies. This feat, though hard, especially in midwinter,—it was the second week in January by the Julian calendar,—was not impossible for the Pompeian soldiers from Asculum. It would have been far easier, however, to follow straight down the coast as far as Aternum, and then cross over to Corfinium, with good roads all the way. Besides, if Caesar were going to Asculum, the most direct route from Firmum did not pass through Truentum. Schmidt, p. 129, therefore argues that *ad Att.* viii. 12b. 1, *aulieris Caesarem Firmo progressum in Castrum Truentinum venisse* decides for the coast road. Still, as the additional distance by way of Truentum is not great, this alone would hardly be decisive. A stronger piece of evidence is in *ad Att.* viii. 12c. 1: Pompey at Luceria Feb. 16 received a letter from Domitius at Corfinium (140 miles distant), in answer to which he says,—*in quibus litteris scribis tibi in animo esse observare Caesarem et, si secundum mare ad me ire coepisset, confestim in Samnium ad me venturum, sin autem ille circum istaec loca commoraretur, te ei, si propius accessisset, resistere velle.* When Domitius wrote that, on Feb. 13 (Feb. 16 – 3 days for transmission), his latest information with regard to Caesar's whereabouts referred to Feb. 12 (Feb. 13 less time for the return of a scout). Immediately afterwards, Caesar must have moved from his position, for later on the same day (Feb. 13) Domitius wrote again on hearing that Caesar had turned towards him (*ad Att.* viii. 12c. 4); and Feb. 14 Caesar laid siege to Corfinium and Domitius sent the dispatch which Pompey received Feb. 17 (*ad Att.* viii. 12d). On Feb. 12, therefore, Caesar, who proved to be only two days' march distant, was at some point from which he could naturally be expected to move either *along the sea* into Apulia, or against Corfinium. Now, if Caesar had come by the inland route, and were, on Feb. 12, two days' march north of Corfinium in the mountains, the only rational inference would be that he intended to attack Corfinium; but if he were at Aternum on

the coast, 37 miles away at the fork of the roads, both Domitius's alternatives were reasonable.

In order to fix the dates of Caesar's various moves during the first week of February, it is necessary first to calculate the day on which Vibullius joined Domitius. Feb. 10, Cicero, who was at Formiae, heard from Corfinium by way of Capua (*ad Att.* vii. 24):—*Vibullium cum paucis militibus e Piceno currere ad Gnaeum, . . . Domitium non habere militum III milia.* On Feb. 7, then, if this news travelled at the usual rate, Vibullius was still some distance from Corfinium. He arrived, however, by Feb. 8, for in *ad Att.* viii. 11a, Pompey writes that Feb. 10 a message was brought from Vibullius that Domitius would start from Corfinium Feb. 9 (cf. *ad Att.* viii. 12b. 1). As this decision would naturally be formed and communicated to Pompey immediately after the two generals met, we may fairly conclude that Vibullius did not come earlier than Feb. 8.¹ A little later he wrote Pompey a second letter (see *ad Att.* viii. 12b. 1, cited above), saying that their plans were changed because of the report that Caesar had left Firmum and reached Castrum Truentinum. The news of this move of Caesar's, therefore, reached Corfinium Feb. 8 P.M. or Feb. 9 A.M. Allowing three days for the courier (130 miles), we get Feb. 5 as the probable date for Caesar's occupation of Truentum. He perhaps left Firmum (26 miles away) on Feb. 4. We need not fear that this report was a premature rumour, because we know that Domitius, as would be expected, was taking pains to get accurate information; see his own statement about his plans, *ad Att.* viii. 12c. 1,—*in animo esse observare Caesarem.* Then, too, both Schmidt (p. 129) and Stöffel (I, p. 218) employ this passage to prove the route taken; why not use it for the date as well? This conclusion is strengthened in some degree by the fact that Feb. 8, *ante lucem*, Cicero at Cales knew from Dolabella that all Picenum was lost (*ad Att.* vii. 21. 1–2).

For Caesar's arrival at Firmum, we have his statement (i. 16. 1) that he stopped there one day. This would put his coming on Feb. 2. The same date can also be obtained by working back from Feb. 8, when Lentulus's troops, under the command of Vibullius, reached Corfinium. As these

¹ If Vibullius had come on Feb. 7, the departure could have been set for the 8th instead of the 9th. Domitius would have had ample time for preparation after the arrival of Lentulus and Thermus on Feb. 5. (See *ad Att.* vii. 23. 1 and Schmidt's comment, p. 131 f.)

men had marched *magnis itineribus* (*B.C.* i. 15. 6) 110 miles through the mountains, they must have begun their retreat Feb. 3. Consequently, Caesar's capture of Firmum (25 miles from Asculum by the most direct road) was probably not later than Feb. 2. This date is also suggested by the following facts: Feb. 3, probably (*B.C.* i. 15. 5), Lentulus met troops who had fled Feb. 1 from Camerinum (30 miles to the north; no road). By the dates here assigned for Caesar's occupation of Firmum, on Jan. 29 he would have been near Cingulum, only about a dozen miles from Camerinum, and so may have caused the flight of the garrison at that place. The usual chronology, in accordance with which it is assumed that those soldiers left simultaneously with Caesar's capture of Auximum, does not give so strong a motive for their departure.

The following table summarizes the chief events of the period under discussion.

Jan. 21-22 Caesar heard of the evacuation of Rome and the capture of Iguvium, sent Antony and Curio orders to rejoin him, and marched from Ariminum to

Jan. 23	Pisaurum,
" 24	Fanum,
" 26	P.M. Ancona.
" 27 or 28	Caesar left Ancona and went to Auximum. Jan. 27 P.M. or Jan. 28 A.M., Curio joined him, and L. Caesar arrived with terms of peace.
" 28 or 29	Caesar left Auximum, and marched through Picenum, intending to go to Asculum. The 12th legion came from Gaul.
Feb. 2	Caesar occupied Firmum.
" 3	Antony overtook Caesar.
" 2-3	Lentulus, when he heard of Caesar's advance, abandoned Asculum.
" 4	On learning of Lentulus's flight, Caesar continued down the coast from Firmum,
" 5	reached Truentum, and
" 6-12	spent a week at Truentum, on the march south, and at Aternum.
" 8	Vibullius, with fugitives from Asculum and Camerinum, arrived at Corfinium.
" 13 A.M.	Caesar started inland from Aternum, and
" 14	arrived before Corfinium.

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STUDIES OF LATIN WORDS IN *-cinio*, *-cinis*.

II. *-cinium*, 'CALLING,' A PARTIALLY DEVELOPED LATIN SUFFIX.

A RECENT study by Mr. G. D. Chase (*Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, vol. 32, p. lxiii) derives *latrocinari*, *lenocinari*, *patrocinari*, *ratiocinari*, *sermocinari*, from **latronicari*, **lenonicari*, etc., which he thinks to have yielded to the analogy of the 'many verbs in *-cinari*,' to wit *halucinari*, *vaticinari*, etc. But the only thing like evidence for the type **lenonicari* is furnished by the occurrence in a historian of 300 A.D. of the adverb *lenonice*, with a variant reading *lenonie*.

In the study of the development of a suffix the only safe course is along historical lines, but historical lines are not always lines of chronological sequence in the availability of the material. For instance, the adjective *vaticinus* emerges two centuries after the denominative verb *vaticinari*. It is no violation of historical method to derive *vaticinari* from *vaticinus*, mentally substrate, at least. In the realm of semantics, too, historical method does not involve the pursuit of chronological lines: thus *vaticinari* does not show until Cicero the sense of 'rave,' but that does not warrant us in believing

that the Roman of Plautus's day had not the wit so to point the meaning of—his neighbour's—prophesying. In syntax also we may yield too much deference to chronology. It may well be, for example, that *quo* (*ne*) does not establish itself beside *ut* (*ne*) in final sentences lacking a comparative till a late post-classical period, but the sporadic psychological levelling of *quo* and *ut* cannot be rejected for a place like Horace, *Serm.* 2.1. 37. Even in history the evidence for events is often chronologically long subsequent to the date of the events, while in language the phenomena are rarely, if ever, susceptible to dating prior to the evidence that records them. Philological and historical method alike require due caution in the value put upon evidence, and a chastened imagination in the inferences drawn from it.

But it had been long before advanced (cf. Bréal, in his *Dictionnaire Étymologique*) that *latrocinium*, *tirocinium* and *patrocinium* were of different morphological constitution from *vaticinium*, *tibicinium*, etc.

Semantic reasons, however, do not require

the separation of the groups as recommended by Breal. To be sure, if we contrast extremes like *vaticinari* 'to sing prophesies' with *latrocinari* 'to go soldiering,' we shall have to recognize very different potencies in *-cinari*, if we would claim for it value as a member of a compound. By properly arranging the material, however, we may show, I believe, that *-cinium* (*-cinari*) began as a compounding member and was ending as nearly a suffix.

In the history of the development of *-cinari* we shall have nothing to do with forms like *fascinare* (: *fascinum*) and *sarcinare*—inferred from *sarcinatus*—(: *sarcina*), and the like; but *fidicina* 'harp-player,' *tibicina* 'fife-player' may be safely taken as among the earliest formations containing a derivative of *canere*. Obvious compounds still are *vaticinari* 'to sing as a prophet' (cf. Nepos *Att.* 16, 4, cited by Stowasser in his *Woerterbuch*, s.v. *vaticinus* : *cecinit ut vates*) and the hybrid *partio-cinatus* (Plautus, *Capt.* 896), of the same meaning; and if 'to prophet-sing' appear not an easy type of compound, we might fall back on *vaticinium* 'the song of the prophet,' a very simple type of compound, as a prior formation to *vaticinari*, even though *vaticinium* does not emerge in literature until after Augustus. Or we might start from the form *vati-cinus*, treated as *μητρόκτορος* 'slain by a mother' (the so-called *bāhuvrīhi* type, not *μητροκτόνος* 'mother-slaying'), and cite *vaticini furores* 'inspired utterances sung by a seer' (Ovid), and *vaticini libri* 'books sung by seers' (Livy), whence a general sense of 'prophetic' for *vaticinus*, and of 'to prophesy' for *vaticinari*.

Nor, to hold by the convenient pair, *μητρόκτορος* 'slain by a mother' and *μητροκτόνος* 'slaying a mother,' need we engage in any metaphysical subtleties specially attributable to types of compounds. The genetival first member of the compound merely submits to the usual shift as between subjective and objective, active and passive.

Ultimately we might fall back on a sort of appositional compound (*vaticinus* quasi *vates* * *canus*, like *ventus turbo*, *nemo homo*), cf. Nepos, as just cited.

But it may not be worth while to go into any special analysis of *vaticinus*. The Ovidian experiments, *fulicanus* and *faticinus*, suggest that perhaps *vaticinus* is but a substitute for *fulicanus*, attracted early into the orbit of *vatis*.

In dealing with compounds one needs to be particularly on one's guard against supposing literary language always to be the

spontaneous product of subconscious mental action. The sorted, corrected language transmitted by literature is doubtless in all respects as little primitive as the Homeric man is primitive, and compounding words is largely a literary process of word-joining, word-welding, 'homerizing,' in short, from which we can hardly exclude conscious processes of ratiocination.

As next in point of development to *vaticinatur* (Plautus), particularly in view of its Ciceronian sense, of 'raves,' we may set down *ratiocinari* 'to reason,' along with its pendant, *sermocinari* 'to discourse, converse,' of somewhat subsequent emergence.

As for *halucinatur* 'raves,' its correspondence with *vaticinatur* favours a corresponding division, *halu-cinatur*, however perplexing *halu-* may be. I suspect an ultimate onomatopoeitic origin, cf. *hullabaloo*. Plautus does not use *lenocinatur* 'wheedles, flatters,' but only *lenocinium* 'the business of a leno.' The off-hand intuition that *lenocinium* originally meant 'the singsong of the leno' is not only specifically supported by the signification of *lenocinatur*,—to which we may add the gloss *lenociniis* Donatus: *pronuntiabat autem cum suavitate cum lenociniis miris*—but we have the general evidence of words like English *cant* 'the singsong of a Gypsy mendicant,' *solicit*, now used specifically of the professional activity of the modern leno-kind; and words like *hawk*, *puff*, *cry* (wares) bear further testimony to the vocal methods of certain types of vendor. Curiously parallel with *-cinium*, thus explained, is the English 'suffix' *-monger*, properly used in *ironmonger*, but reminding us in *scandalmonger* of *sermocinatur*, and in *whoremonger* of *lenocinium*; and English *calling* 'trade, profession' is an apt equivalent of *-cinium* in *leno-cinium*, *tiro-cinium*. Nor is it impossible that behind *lenocinium* *sermocinium* lies the legend of the singing sirens, who as early as Euripides (*Andr.* 936) were proverbial also for scandalmongering. A very special weight might also be given to the gloss *canier*¹ 'leno, seductor, suaser,' which occurs in at least ten glossaries. Its apparent agreement in form with *mulier* (cf. *lena*) adds to its evidential value.

To the foregoing list Terence adds *patrocinatur* 'pleads for,' and Cicero employs *patrocinium* 'a pleading in court.' We are certainly not passing the bounds of simple probability if in these words also we

¹ Prof. M. Warren suspects *canier* of not being a real word; cf. his *St. Gall. Gloss.* c. 115.

recognize compounds, the final member of which derives from *cantil* 'sings.'

There remain *latrocinatur* 'militat,' *latrocinium* 'soldiering,' and *tirocinium* 'the first essay in soldiering or oratory.' In the signification of these words—and we may dismiss *tirocinium* from consideration as a mere pendant to *latrocinium*—I can feel no lingering trace of *canere*, but *-cinium* and *-cinari* seem to me to have sunk to the rank of mere suffixes. But, inasmuch as no wider development of *-cinium* (*-cinari*) as a quasi suffix seems to have taken place, we may ask ourselves whether there was any special reason why *latrocinium* should have developed. A clue is perhaps offered by Cicero, who says of Antony (*Phil.* vi. 4), 'semper eum duo dissimilia genera tenuerunt, lenonum et latronum: ita domesticis stupris, forensibus parricidiis delectatur.' On the comic stage the traffic, amicable and hostile, mercantile, between the lenones and the boasting soldiers was great enough in fact to have suggested the groups *leno*, *lenocinium* (*latro*, *latrocinium*). It is simpler to suppose, however, that in *lenocinium* the specific force of *-cinium* had become latent as the word had extended its range beyond the leno's singsong to the leno's calling.

The extension of the force of *-cinium* may, however, have proceeded on more general lines. A large part of every Roman comedy was *canticum*, song proper and recitative, and the speaker of the concluding lines was called *cantor* (see the notes of Brix on the close of the *Trinummus*, and of Wagner on *Andria*, 980). That the original actor sang his own cantica is hardly to be called in question, as Livy expressly records that the actor and dramatist, Livius Andronicus, cracked his voice by singing, and afterwards merely gesticulated his parts, while a lad sang them behind the scenes: and even prior to Andronicus, according to the same authority, the musical *saturae*¹ were sung and acted by the *histriones* (*ludiones*). We might reasonably conclude, in accordance with these statements, that at this early period *canere* (*cantare*), sc. *partes*, threatened to be delivered as, in fact, at a

later period, it actually was delivered, as a quasi twin to *agere*, sc. *partes*; accordingly, we might define *latrocinium* as 'the rôle (trade) of a mercenary.' For the meaning assigned to *canere*, we may cite the parallel idiom of *Cyclopa saltare* 'to dance the rôle of Cyclops.'

Again, if the Greek game of πῶλις be identical with, or similar to, the Roman *ludus latruncularum* (cf. Groos, *The Play of Man*, p. 191), thus permitting us to assign the Roman game an earlier date than the lexical citations attest, then *latrocinatur* 'plays soldier' might have been a term developed in play, perhaps even by the child 'playing soldiers.' The semantic developments involved are all corroborated not only by the English verb *play* (1) a game, (2) an instrument, (3) a rôle, but also, though with less completeness, by Latin *ludere*; while Grk. παίζειν lacks the third usage only.

Béal's separation of *lenocinium* and its kind from *vaticinium* and its kind would doubtless never have been made, save for the morphological difficulty of *lenocinium* instead of the more normal **lenonocinium* or **lenicinium* (: *lena* 'she-leno,' cf. *homocida*). One can hardly write **lenonocinium* without thinking of the haplogical forms *vene[ni]-ficium*,² *se[mi]-modius*, *gra[ti]-tulatur* (like *opi-tulatur*): cf. Brugmann, *Griech. Gram.*³, p. 167, footnote:

['Denn] die den Bildungen *latrocinium latrocinor*, *lenocinium*, *tirocinium*, u. dgl. zu Grunde liegenden *latrocinus* usw. (vgl. *vaticinium vaticinor* von *vaticinus*) sind aus **latroni-cinus* usw. hervorgegangen. Vgl. *histrionicus*, *patricius*, *cinericus* und *latrunculus* aus **latroni-culus*.'

Briefly to sum up, I suppose *lenocinium* to have come from *lenö[ni]-cinium* 'leno-singsong, leno-calling,'—a formative type like *vati-cinium* 'prophet-singsong,'—and to have furnished the model for *latrocinium*, etc.

EDWIN W. FAY.

¹ See Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgeschichte*, § 9, who, after a synoptic debate whether such dramatic *saturae* existed or not, reaches an affirmative conclusion.

² The derivation of *ueneficius* from **uenesficius* has difficulties to meet in *opifex munificus*. On the other hand, we may account for **uen[ni]-ficius* from either **uenēnificus* or **uenēnificus* (cf. Lindsay's *Captivi*, Appendix, § 1, and especially *dimidius*), but hardly from **uenēnificus*.

REVIEWS.

CORNISH'S TRANSLATION OF CATULLUS.

The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus.
With an English Translation by FRANCIS
WARR CORNISH, M.A., Late Fellow of
King's College, Cambridge. Cambridge:
University Press. 1904. Pp. xi, 160.
7s. 6d. net.

PROSE versions of Catullus are not so common amongst us as translations in verse, and if a new one was needed (which is perhaps doubtful), most readers will nowadays prefer a close and accurate representation of the poet, to any new metrical attempt. I have found Mr. Cornish's prose interesting enough to read through from beginning to end, and can only regret the necessity (familiar to any reader of Catullus), by which he has felt himself bound to mark by lacunae, the many indecencies of the poet. The most scrupulous will find here nothing to object to; the volume, which is handsomely printed and bound to correspond, may lie on a drawing-room table without offending anybody's squeamishness.

The version is perhaps a little unequal, it has its tame or unworked passages, chiefly in the less interesting or more objectionable poems. But I do not think these detract much from the general excellence of the book. What was wanted was a translation more completely up to date than those which exist, which should combine a Latin text based on the best sources yet known with a version as faithful and spirited as should satisfy the requirements of English philological training. This our new editor has given us.

Catullus is so well known that I can hardly do better than quote Mr. Cornish's renderings of some of his more familiar passages. Such are *scurra* 'dinner-table wit,' *mimice ac moleste* 'like a vulgar mountebank,' *ocelle* 'apple of my eye,' *sonitu suo* *pote* *Tintinant aures* 'my ears tingle with inward humming,' *mirifice Meus crimina Calvos explicasset* 'had drawn out in splendid style his accusations,' *uentorumque simul require cursum* 'with them call for the swiftness of the winds,' *unica fama* 'honour unparagoned,' *gaudet splendida* 'is gay and gorgeous,' *Neptunia uincla*, 'Neptune's forged circle,' *boni coniuges bene uiuunt* 'happy

pair, live happily,' *minus est inuisa parenti* 'is less distasteful to her father,' *lacuum pecoris hostem* 'that foe of the herds that drew on the left,' *ubi umida albicantis loca litoris adiit* 'when he came to the watery stretches of the white-gleaming shore,' *rara uerecundae furta feremus eras* 'I will bear the faults, for few they are, of my modest mistress.'

The following is a fair specimen of a passage of greater length, from one of the most pathetic of the love-poems, lxxvi, from which Petrarch has drawn the inspiration of at least two of his sonnets. *Quin tu animum offirmas* &c.

'Why do you not settle your mind firmly and draw back and cease to be miserable in despite of the Gods? It is difficult suddenly to lay aside a long-standing love. It is difficult; but you should accomplish it one way or another. This is the only safety, this you must carry through, this you are to do, whether it is possible or impossible... No longer is this my prayer, that she should love me in return, or, for that is impossible, that she should consent to be chaste. I would myself be well again and put away this baleful sickness. O ye Gods, grant me this in return for my piety.'

In lxiv. 104 *tacito succendit uota labello* I do not understand the transl. 'not unsweet were the gifts, though vainly promised to the Gods, which she kindled with silent lip.' In this no account is made of *uota*, which can hardly be a participle. In xlvii. 2 *scabies famesque munda* which Mr. Cornish renders 'plague and mere famine,' I do not think *mere* in any way translates *munda*. In the passage of Martial *At tu sub urbe possides famem mundam*, the meaning is obvious 'a polite starvation' i.e. a villa without any supplies and only useful as adding to its owner's consideration as a man of means. But it is surely very dubious whether *mundi* of Catullus' MSS is to be so emended, or indeed altered at all. Similarly '*balmy warmth*' is no true translation of *egelidos tepores*. Nor do I see any great gain in inserting *ut* in lv. 29 *quos iunctos, Cameri, [ut] mihi dicares* 'though you should harness all these and press them into my service,' which comes in awkwardly in a passage of ten verses where elisions are

rare, and, if we follow the MSS, only of a light kind such as interrupts but little the easy flow of the hendecasyllable. On the other hand Mr. Cornish's rejection of O's *lecticulo* in lvii. 7 against *lectulo* of all other MSS appears to me sound and judicious in spite of Munro's advocacy. Palaeography comes in here with unusual force, showing that an expansion such as of *lectulo* into *lecticulo* is a common phenomenon in MSS both Greek and Latin, of which *Phasidicos* and probably *Loudicos* are well-known instances in Catullus.

Our new editor follows, as might be expected, the prevailing view of the inter-

relation of the Catullian MSS: his modest appendix of Notes on the readings, occasionally cites the newly-discovered *R(omanus)*, Ottoboni 1829, about which we look for more complete instruction from its American discoverer, Prof. Gardner Hale, and a partial collation of which is included in my own new edition in the *Bibliotheca Oconiensis*. The interest of the problem does not seem to be at an end, and as yet we have no account of the obscure interval which elapsed between the rediscovery of the poems in the first quarter of cent. xiv. and the date of *G* (the Germanensis) 1375.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

LINDSAY'S *NONIUS MARCELLUS*.

Nonii Marcelli de compendiosa doctrina libros XX Onionsianis copiis usus edidit WALLACE M. LINDSAY. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903. Pp. xlii + 997. Mk. 17.20.

THIS edition of Nonius will be greeted with interest by all scholars. It may be said to be the first edition of the whole of Nonius based upon an adequate critical apparatus. The field is one with which Mr. Lindsay has long been familiar, and in which he has already made important contributions to our knowledge. In 1895 he edited Books I-III, using the materials left by Mr. Onions, and adding, as the result of his own collation, the readings of the Escorial MS. Not to mention articles in various periodicals dealing with the manuscript tradition, his book, entitled *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin* (1901), discussed with great fulness the sources of Nonius and his manner of compilation, and propounded new views of great importance for the reconstruction and arrangement of the Fragments of Republican Latinity. The subject has been since treated by Oscar Froehde 'zur Kommentartheorie bei Nonius' (*Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie August Wilmanns gewidmet*, Leipzig, 1903). The total result of recent investigation tends to place Nonius in a more favourable light. He was in no sense a genius, but neither was he a mere ignorant, thoughtless compiler. Some of his material he doubtless drew from glossaries and commentaries, and collectanea, like the work of Gellius, but he also read for himself, not always with the greatest intelligence, the authors whom he quotes.

Moreover, the mechanical regularity of his citations, when more closely examined, is quite surprising and often furnishes interesting clues, as has been pointed out by Mr. Lindsay.

In the Preface Mr. Lindsay discusses the little that is known about Nonius, enumerates the ancient writers to whom his citations are confined, characterises the archetype and the three families of codices upon which the tradition of the text rests, and gives a brief enumeration of the individual MSS. with three separate stemmata representing the tradition of the text in (1) Books I-III, (2) Book IV, (3) Books V-XX. There can be no question that this definite grouping of the MSS. marks a great advance over the edition of Lucian Mueller in 1888, and has conduced to a simplification of the critical apparatus. The importance of the corrections in the Florentine MS. (indicated by F³) must be fully recognised, but whether they are derived from the archetype, or are, in part at least, due to conjecture, is a question upon which scholars may differ, and even Onions, who was the first to call attention to their value, admitted the difficulty of deciding in every case what corrections were due to F³. The subject of correcting hands is always a perplexing one, but as to the main questions concerning the relation and grouping of the MSS. we believe that the statements of Mr. Lindsay will be found to hold.

To turn now to the text. One has only to compare a few pages of the edition of Gerlach and Roth (Basle, 1842) to see what an immense improvement the last sixty

years have effected. The merits and demerits of earlier editions have been pointed out by Nettleship in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xxi. Gerlach and Roth make no attempt to distinguish between prose and poetry in the quotations, and often allow most obvious corruptions of the text to stand unnoted. Quicherat's edition (Paris, 1872) used new manuscripts and marked a great advance. Lucian Mueller, with unlimited confidence in his power to restore the *ipsissima verba* of ancient writers, often deviated very widely from the MSS. and under the guise of emendation introduced many impossible readings which can only be regarded as new corruptions of the text. Nevertheless, his edition, based on better collations, contains much that is valuable and suggestive. Mr. Lindsay in his treatment of citations has shown himself very conservative, and often has preferred to let the MS. reading stand, with a + to indicate that it is corrupt, rather than accept plausible and, as some might think, almost certain emendations which have been proposed. Thus, in the quotation (p. 538 m.) from Varro's *Sesquialixes*, he reads

suspendit Laribus + marinas mollis pilas,
etc.

while editors generally have accepted *manias* (so, too, Wissowa in his article on the Lares in Roscher's *Lexikon*), Lindsay suggests *amarinus* (*amer.*). There is an evident allusion to the custom of the *oscilla*, and one may perhaps compare the gloss (Corp. Gl. V. 317, 21) *oscilla simaria idest ḡ persona*, where the word *simaria*, like *marinas*, is doubtful. Under *austra*, p. 12, 3 m. *rotarum cadi* is rightly kept. Of the many conjectures for *pelum cedere*, p. 16, 12 m. no one is accepted, and numerous instances of similar caution might be pointed out. Even in the case of authors, which have come down to us, no attempt is made to conform the text of the Nonius quotation to that of the received text. Allowance has been properly made for carelessness on the part of Nonius, or for the possibility that the text accessible to him represented a different recension. Thus it is clear that Nonius used a text of Terence by no means identical with that of the Bembinus, but showing some of its peculiar readings. This had been pointed out by Bartels in a dissertation published in 1883, which now needs revision. Nonius agrees with the Bembinus in his citation of *And.* 956, *Heauton.* 314, 950, *Eun.* 399, 684, 1056. Readings, how-

ever, not a few are found which coincide with those of the δ and γ families of codices. In *Ad.* 263 the excellent reading *laborem* (so Nonius) for *amorem* is found not only in the Lipsiensis, but, as has been shown by Kauer, was the correction of Jovialis in the Bembinus. In quoting *Ad.* 87, Nonius has the better reading *dissignavit*, although the Bembinus has *designavit*. However, in *Ad.* 554 we may hesitate to accept *qui volt* against the concurrent testimony of the Terence MSS. and Donatus in favour of *quidem*. So in quoting *Ph.* 146 *immo* may have been omitted by Nonius, for *habet* is certainly a gloss not attested in any of the MSS. of Terence.

As to the order of the plays in the text used by Nonius, the evidence is not very ample, but Lindsay thinks it was *Andria*, *Adelphoe*, *Phormio*, *Hecyra*, *Heautontimorumenos*, *Eunuchus*. The position of *Phormio* before *Hecyra* was doubtless due, in an alphabetical arrangement, to the spelling *Formio*, of which we have traces in the MSS. e.g. in p. 110, 27 m. *Terentius formavit angens si* is a corruption of *Terentius Phorm. abi tange si*. The order *Hecyra*, *Heauton.*, *Eunuchus* may be due originally to a MS., where these names were written as e.g. in codex E. ECHIRA, EAVTONTIMORVMENOS, EVNVCHVS.

We have already indicated that Mr. Lindsay has shown great restraint in regard to incorporating in the text his own conjectures, although he has made some admirable suggestions introduced by *fortasse* at the foot of the page. The number of the corrupt passages is still so great that the reviewer is tempted to offer a few suggestions.

Under *gigeria* p. 119 m the MSS. have *intestina gallinarum conhis etita cocta*, for which Dousa conjectured *cum isiciis cocta*. Lindsay proposes *cum isicia* (*vel isiciata*). May we not keep *etita* and read *intestina gallinarum concisa* (or *contusa*) *et ita cocta*? which may be an abbreviation of a still longer description. Apicius has *et sic coques* ii. 55, *et sic coque* vii. 260 and 291, cf. *concides—et ita inferes* iii. 91; *concisa* and *cocta* occur together in v. 194. Cato is fond of this use of *ita* and Scribonius uses it in §§ 38, 72, 75, 122, etc. Scribonius uses both *concisa* and *contusa*, cf. § 44 *contusa cocta*, and for *concisa* §§ 255 and 264. Under *præficae* p. 67 m. Lindsay prints with the MSS. (from Varro's *de Vita Populi Romani*) '*dein neniam cantari solitam ad libias et fides+eorumque ludistras cursicassent*, noting Scaliger's conjecture *eorum*

qui ludis Troicis. May we not read *eorum* *qui ludis trigas cursitassent*? Isidorus connects (Orig. 18, 38) *trigae* with the *dii inferi*, and the change from G to C in a capital MS. would be easy. We might even conjecture *cursigassent* for *cursicassent*, if *cursigare* for *cursu agere* were a probable formation for Varro. (*cursu agere* occurs Pelagonius 33.) Under *flaccet* p. 110 M. Lindsay prints the fragment from Lucilius

hic est Macedo, si + agrion longiu' flaccet,

but does not mention Marx's defence of Agrion = 'Αγρίων in *Rhein. Mus.* 41 p. 551.

One of the most perplexing and at the same time most interesting fragments is that from Varro's *Eumenides* M. 119. 1, which Buecheler gives under 150. Lindsay prints as follows, '*cum illoc venio, video gallorum frequentiam in templo, qui, dum e scena coronam addatam inponeret aedilis + signosiae + et deam gallantes vario retinebant studio.*' The MSS. have *essena hora nam*, for which *e scena coronam* is the ingenious conjecture of Scaliger, while Lachmann proposed *messem hornam* (so Thesaurus L.L. under *aedilis*). Lindsay's proposal of *signo Gnosiae* is certainly very tempting palaeographically. I omit here other conjectures. I propose, adhering more closely to the MSS. to read '*cum illoc venio, video gallorum frequentiam in templo, qui, dum essena hornum addatam inponeret aedilis signo siae, Eidaeam (= Idaeam) gallantes vario retinebant (recinebant?) studio.*' This is not the place for extended comment, and I hope to treat the passage with the problems which it involves more fully elsewhere. *Essena* from ἑσσην I take in the sense of 'queen bee,' the change of gender from the Greek, being perhaps influenced by the gender of Latin *apis*. For

ἑσσην as priest of Artemis and μέλισσα as priestess of Artemis, Demeter, and Cybele, see the *Lexica*. For the symbolic use of the bee see Pauly-Wissowa iii. 449. *siae* is the gen. of σία = θεά. This dialectic form must have been known to the Romans. Compare the etymology of *Sibylla* given by Servius *Aen.* 3. 445, 6. 12. That the strange form *siae* is used here may be due to the fact that the imported goddess was known to the Romans as ἡ μεγάλη σία and in fact this may have given rise to the name of her festival *Megalesia*. The intrusion of *n* (cf. *Thesaurus*) would make it conform to other adjectives in *-ensis*, and probably the real origin was soon obscured. The Romans could not pronounce *θ*, and it is significant that from the Gk. θεός, θεά we get in the Romance languages ital. *zio, zia*, prov. *tia*, *sia*, span. ptg. *tio, tia*. (Cf. Körting, *Wörterbuch*, under **thūs*.) If *Numasios* of the Prenestine Fibula was a deity, as Bréal thinks, may it not equal *Numa sios* i.e. *Numa divus*? We may perhaps thus compare *Leucesie*, the much discussed form of the carmen Saliare with *Leucetius*, *Loucetius* (cf. Gk. λευκοθέα and λευκοσία). The same element may perhaps be found in the much vexed *Toitesiai*, of the Duenos inscription, in *Loebasius*, and *Libassius*. Prudence forbids my extending the lists to *Bandusia* and other names, and I am not unaware of the difficulties involved, and the impossibility of proof. Nonius still presents many problems, and we may well be grateful to Mr. Lindsay for doing so much to forward their solution. Of typographical errors I have noted only a few, among them *pius* for *pius* 291, 2 M *moenia* for *moeniae* in the *Apparatus Criticus* 393, 9 M.

MINTON WARREN.

WEST'S LATIN GRAMMAR.

A Latin Grammar for Schools. By ANDREW F. WEST, Professor of Latin in Princeton University. New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1902. Pp. xi., 262. 90 cents.

It is evident that the grammar of moderate size has gained the approval of many Latin teachers and that it continues to grow in general favour. Nothing in fact has been more characteristic of classical instruction in recent years than the introduction and

wide use of the briefer grammar. Thus Prof. Bennett in his recently published *Teaching of Latin* is authority for the statement that within the last six years no fewer than six shorter grammars have been published in the United States and that as many more are reported to be in preparation. Hitherto the briefer grammar has either been based directly upon some larger work, or it has been a manual suitable either for school or college use.

Prof. West's book, which is one of Appleton's *Twentieth Century Text-Books*, is the first briefer grammar intended for schools alone; its aim, according to the statement of the preface, is to present only 'those facts which a boy can use in reading his school authors.' Whether a grammar of so limited a scope is in accordance with sound principles and will meet with favour, must be considered an open question. Many teachers will approve the view which has been emphasized by Dettweiler and will be disposed to hold with him that the grammar which is used should be the same throughout the student's course, and should not be changed in passing from the preparatory school to the college. Certainly the thorough familiarity with the grammar which is so desirable an acquisition for the student can be most easily gained through the use of one book.

The grammar with which Prof. West's book most naturally suggests comparison is that of Prof. Bennett, although the latter is not intended exclusively for the use of secondary schools. The arrangement which is followed by Prof. West is the same as that of Bennett, with some minor differences which do not call for special comment. If now we compare corresponding sections in the two grammars, we notice at once that the rules of syntax are greatly condensed by Prof. West and most often are given only in the rough. A case in point is the genitive with adjectives in Bennett, § 204, and West, § 352. Bennett gives not only a general rule, but no less than six subdivisions in varying type; West has only a brief statement which does not even mention the construction of *similis*. Similarly in his rule for the dative of the agent, West, § 339, does not distinguish between the regular use of this construction with the gerundive and its only occasional use with the compound tenses of the passive; in treating the uses of the predicate participle, § 651, he does not mention manner and means, nor does he note the restrictions upon the use of the future participle. The corresponding sections in Bennett are much more complete. This extreme condensation is evidently intentional on Prof. West's part, and, as is clear from some statements of his preface, has been adopted by him in protest against what he considers the disproportionate attention paid to syntax by Latin teachers. Yet it would seem that the process has been carried too far, and at times does not furnish the boy with 'the facts which he

needs to use in reading his school authors,' and I may add, also needs to use in writing his Latin composition. Hence we find that the poetical character of the infinitive of purpose and the infinitive after *dignus* is not indicated, § 630, 1 and 2, nor the poetical character of the accusative after *induo*, § 315, though this last construction to be sure is found even in colloquial prose, as Riemann points out, with *indutus*, the perfect participle. Similarly *nē* with the first imperative is given as one of the normal ways of expressing a prohibition, § 496, without any hint of its poetical and colloquial character, although on the preceding page the far more legitimate use of the perfect subjunctive in prohibitions is described as chiefly poetical. We do not believe it can be justly claimed that the character of these constructions does not concern boys in the schools; for not only do Latin teachers insist upon correct syntax in the writing of Latin prose, but when the boy passes from Cicero to Vergil, many questions of poetical idiom arise which honest study cannot blink. It is no doubt true, as Prof. Gildersleeve long ago summed up in one of his pithy formulae, and as Prof. Postgate has recently said in substance in the *Classical Review*, that 'a minimum of syntax' is the part of wisdom in teaching undergraduate students, yet the Latin grammar must not on that account be noticeably incomplete. It should surely contain a statement of *all* the most important rules of syntax and leave to the instructor the task of selecting the smaller number of rules he may wish to teach.

It must not be thought, however, that Prof. West has always limited himself to such summary statements as those which have been cited above; he notes, for example, the poetical character of some constructions, such as the Greek accusative, § 321, and in many sections adopts a much fuller treatment, *e.g.*, the case-construction of verbs of memory, § 364, the use of causal clauses, § 542. Even when the rules of grammar seem too much abridged, they are stated by Prof. West in a clear and compact form, which gives evidence of the experienced teacher, while the English rendering of the Latin examples is often noticeably apt and well-phrased.

Several cases have been noticed in which Prof. West's statements are not fully in accord with recent grammatical study or are otherwise inaccurate. Thus in § 367 the rule given for the construction of judicial verbs seems to say that the charge is put in

the genitive, but the penalty in the ablative, e.g., *capite damnare*. Yet no such distinction can be properly made; Cicero has both *capitis damnare*, *Quinct.* 32, and *capite damnare*, *Verr.* V. 109. In § 617 Prof. West retains the old rule that the unreal present apodosis *errarem* is changed in indirect discourse to the periphrasis *erraturum esse*. This use of the present periphrastic is, however, recognized by Gildersleeve-Lodge as almost entirely hypothetical, and the evidence that the perfect periphrastic, —*rum fuisse*, was used instead is well summarized by Riemann, *Syntax Lat.*, p. 437. A curious slip confusing the quantity of vowels and syllables occurs in § 688; § 227 *nōlō* should be given as a contraction of *nevolō* rather than of *nōn volō*; § 244 the accent *quibūscum* should, according to the Latin grammarians, be *quisbūscūm*; § 439 *utrique* more frequently means *both parties* than *both*. On the important question of the use of moods in relative clauses Prof. West contents himself with the rule, § 586, that relative clauses have the same use of moods as the corresponding kinds of conjunctive clauses. This statement contains a general truth which will scarcely be called in question, but it is too vaguely expressed to be very helpful in concrete cases. For example, Prof. West treats the mood of causal relative clauses by referring to the rule that conjunctive causal clauses take the indicative or subjunctive, according as the introductory conjunction is *quandō*, *quod*, etc., or *cum*. This statement may seem to agree with Prof. Hale's well-known

teaching that causal *qui*-clauses may take either the indicative or the subjunctive, but in reality goes considerably beyond that teaching. For Prof. Hale has been careful to point out that the indicative *qui*-clause is only a *tacit* causal clause, while the subjunctive is an *explicit* causal clause and brings the causal relation into especial prominence. 'The indicative clause conveys the causal relation without expressing it, while the subjunctive clause expresses the relation' (*Cum-Constructions*, p. 104). We are not surprised to find that in practice Prof. West limits himself to explaining the use of the *subjunctive* mood in the *c* clauses, since, with one exception, all the examples which he cites illustrate this mood.

As has already been suggested, sufficient care has not always been exercised by Prof. West in the selection of his examples, e.g., § 659 *nē glē*, § 356 *mille passuum*,—the latter scarcely a model example of the use of the partitive genitive for young students. In the marking of long vowels some omissions and some inconsistencies have been noted, as § 644 *pontem*, but § 245 *mōntem*, etc. Among the too numerous misprints we may mention § 564 *videor* for *videar*, § 559 *parva* for *parvī*.

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[*Note*.—As Prof. Radford has directed his observations almost exclusively to the *Syntax* of Prof. West's *Grammar*, it is proper to add that its *Accidence* also stands in need of revision.—Ed. C.R.]

ABBOTT'S FROM LETTER TO SPIRIT.

From Letter to Spirit. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. London: A. and C. Black. 20s. net.

THIS is the third volume of Dr. Abbott's *Diatessarica*. It aims at reconstructing from the variant narratives and references of the N.T. and extra-canonical-sources an original account—written or oral—of certain particulars in the Gospel-story. Incidentally Dr. Abbott gives us a most valuable dissertation of 43 pages on Bath Kol, i.e. Voices from Heaven in Jewish Tradition, reprinting in an Appendix Pinner's collection of examples from the

Talmuds and Targums; he gives us a useful restatement in another Appendix of the reasons for believing that the so-called Second Epistle of St. Peter is a forgery, and in yet another a convincing review of Eusebius' promise to record the evidence accessible to him that bore on the canonicity or authenticity of Christian writings. He demonstrates anew the correctness of Bishop Lightfoot's interpretation of that promise.

The particulars in the Gospel-story selected for discussion in this book concern the Baptism, the Transfiguration, The Voice from Heaven in St. John, The Lord's Prayer, especially the clause 'Thy Will be

done'; but the writer also raises important questions in regard to the original form of the precept about 'taking up the cross,' and of some details of the Crucifixion-narrative, besides proposing some new translations of the sacred text.

The validity of many of Dr. Abbott's conclusions¹ stands or falls with the soundness of his theory of an original Hebrew or Aramaic Gospel-story, the translations of which no one with a knowledge at firsthand of the Gospel-facts remained alive to correct or contradict when our gospels took shape. It is impossible here to argue the question,² but it will be well to state what results the writer has attained which seem tolerably certain to be correct.

(1) In S. Mark i. 7 *ὁπίσω μου* = 'one of my followers or disciples'—a sense missed by the other synoptists, but paralleled by S. John i. 27.

(2) *Perhaps* S. Luke iii. 22 *σωματικῶ εἶδει* = 'in His plenitude,' cf. S. Paul *Coloss.* i. 19 and ii. 9, 1 *Thess.* v. 22.

(3) 'Deliver us from the Evil One' was not an original clause of the Lord's Prayer, but an interpretation of the preceding clause.

(4) *ὥσεὶ περιστερὰν* does not mean, in the account of the Spirit's descent, that this visible form was assumed, but that our Lord was the Spirit's home, and abiding-place. Exactly how this sense is to be deduced, is disputable: in § 736 variations are quoted in a story about R. Hillel, which seem to make unnecessary the postulation of a Hebrew original misunderstood.

(5) All supposed quotations of Deut. xviii. 15ff. in the Ante-Nicene Fathers are really drawn from S. Luke *Acts* iii. 22ff.

(6) *Perhaps* in S. Mark only ix. 4 the true translation is 'and he appeared to them Elijah with Moses; and they (*i.e.* the disciples) were conversing with Jesus. And Peter answered, etc.'

(7) In 1 *Cor.* xi. 23 we should translate 'the same night that he was delivered up (for our sins)' and cf. *Rom.* viii. 32, and so perhaps in Mk. xiv. 41 and Mt. xvii. 22, xx. 18, xxvi. 45 and more certainly in Mt. xxvi. 2.

(8) The expression 'take up the cross' must mean 'wear the yoke' of the *furcifer* preparatory to crucifixion: it may disguise

'take on the yoke of Christ's service' (cf. S. Matthew xi. 29), analogous to the regular Hebrew 'the yoke of the Law, of the Kingdom of Heaven.' Dr. Abbott seems not to quote S. John xix. 17. Was *ξύλον* avoided because of Deut. xxi. 23? It is used in S. Luke *Acts*, S. Paul *Galat.* and 1 S. Peter.

(9) In Jn. xii. 27 'why should I say, "Father, save me from this hour"? Nay, for this cause came I, etc.'; and in Jn. xviii. 11 probably 'Put up the sword into the sheath. The cup that the Father hath given me, I shall (forsooth, according to thy will) not drink.'

One general intention runs through the book—to vindicate the spiritual, if not historical, superiority of S. John: and there can be little doubt that the more searching criticism to which the Synoptists have been of recent years subjected makes such a position more and more tenable. Dr. Abbott is at the opposite pole to those critics who found in the Synoptists a more human and therefore a more credible Christ: he will have no weakness of the flesh (§§ 923, 958, 988), no strong crying and tears, no 'Thy Will be done,' and seeks to correct the other three Gospels so that they may harmonize with the picture presented in the Fourth.

To refer to one detail of the arrangement before passing on to suggest oversights and blemishes, the printing in full of all the authorities in two Appendices is a laudable custom, which would that more writers would follow!

Dr. Abbott would probably prefer that instead of vague commendation definite points for reconsideration should be mentioned. Such would be these.

(1) Justin's 'fire kindled in the Jordan' (and its congeners) is traceable to the traditions preserved in S. Luke xii. 49, 50 and S. Matt. iii. 11 = S. Luke iii. 16. (Cf. also 978b.)

(2) In view of S. Matt. ii. 23 a re-examination of the O.T. quotations in this Gospel should show whether the writer knew any Hebrew at all. (Cf. §§ 787, 830.)

(3) 'Luke relates the whole [descent of the Spirit]... as a fact' (p. 51). The Oral hypothesis, as restated by Dr. A. Wright, has not been disproved and might explain this divergence.

(4) In § 614 the invocation of Greek corruption, failing Hebrew, is very unconvincing. In § 832 why must everything a writer says be derived from an earlier

¹ *c.g.* § 689.

² It may be asked whether the original would not be Aramaic, not Hebrew; and whether, except S. Paul, any one was likely to Targumize in New Hebrew or even perhaps understand it. If not, are not all the solutions from New Hebrew out of place?

source? Surely Justin and Tertullian may independently hit on the same argument.

(5) The testimony of S. Paul's Epistles to early traditions is ignored: e.g. *Rom.* vi. 3, 4 throws light on S. Mark i. 10.

(6) The whole question of the relation of the LXX to MT. needs re-sifting before many of Dr. Abbott's arguments can be accepted. If the MT. has been revised since the LXX was made, or re-adjusted to meet Christian controversy, much that he says will at least be modified, e.g. §§ 629, 666a, 927.

(7) Surely (§ 630a) our Lord's custom of praying is likely enough for S. Luke to be correct in recording it even if other evangelists do not, without resorting to the hypothesis that he has misunderstood some Hebrew word.

(8) Is not the true translation of S. John i. 51 'Ye shall see that the heavens have been opened (at the Baptism), and are open, and that the angels do ascend, etc.'? And is not the meaning that our Lord, they will see, is—a Beth-el i.e. the thought is the same as in S. John ii. 21. As to the 'falling down' before our Lord (§§ 656–8) I have been in the habit of associating S. Luke ii. 34 with S. John xviii. 6 and a passage in the Gospel of Peter.

(9) Far-fetched explanations seem to be offered in §§ 649, 660a, 943 (where S. Luke's 'standing up pray' (xxii. 46) is thought to conceal that the three 'pillars' (cf. *Gal.* ii. 9) were to pray!), 946, 958, 964a, 985a, 986a.

(10) If LXX is generally superior to MT, in Isaiah xi. 2 (§ 669a) may not πνεῦμα τοῦ (ἢ τοῦ) θεοῦ be 'a judge's Spirit'? And in xi. 3 does ἐμπλήσει receive any light from Jer. iv. 12 quoted 674a?

(11) The special use of each N.T. writer needs separate investigation as regards his use e.g. of prepositions ἐπί, εἰς, just as much as the different books of the LXX do not necessarily observe the same use. Dr. Abbott throughout treats O.T. and N.T. too much as units. On p. 104, his own example from the LXX seems to show that εἰς and ἐπί were used indifferently by some. (Cf. §§ 677a and 850: also § 879b and p. 186 where this expectation of invariable uniformity reappears.)

(12) Has 'Ben Zoma's view' of the 'dove' been otherwise expunged from Rabbinic literature because to do so made against the Christians?

(13) In § 738b Dr. Abbott ignores the best known instance of THEY = God, viz. S. Luke xvi. 9.

(14) In Mt. xi. 25 = Lk. x. 21, if the introductory words to the λόγια are not simply different because supplied by the Evangelists themselves, may not an Aramaic original = ἐξομολογῆσθαι (as in *Rom.* x. 10) reconcile them?

(15) Keim years ago took Mt. xxvi. 41 to refer (in part at least) to our Lord (§ 941a).

To take broader issues, the writer seems not to give sufficient weight (e.g. §§ 608, 673, 907) to a consideration he formerly urged himself in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, viz. the impossibility of successive storytellers keeping exactly to what they have heard, or of two eyewitnesses telling precisely the same story. Hence he wants to see in every divergence an offshoot from some Hebrew original mistranslated; and the invariable success with which this original is discovered throws discredit even on what probably are sound suggestions.

Again, if a particular corruption or mistranslation has been made in the LXX, is not that, by the law of probability, a reason for *not* expecting the same mistake but others similar to it to be made again in the N.T.? Dr. Abbott thinks otherwise but does he find that the same mistranslation recurs in the LXX? Is not his method (of collecting known mistakes, to trace them again in unknown regions) unscientific? At least, palaeographical errors except in very common words are not so expected to reappear.

And has he made his account with the fact that the LXX is not a uniformly executed translation, done at one time, but piece-meal? Just as e.g. *cruse* was only used by the English translator of Samuel and Kings, do not words and constructions occur in the LXX in strata? Is not this why throughout Isaiah 'the spirit of the Lord' is rendered so differently from elsewhere?¹ Moreover, he does not pay nearly sufficient attention to the results of recent Egyptian discoveries.² For him, the only Greek available for an Evangelist is bounded by the corners of the LXX (see § 885a): but even the MT of Daniel—two

¹ §§ 669a and 675.

² In Mk. xiv. 36, e.g., Dr. Abbott seeks to demonstrate that the only right translation must be 'it is no question what I will, but what Thou wilt,' arguing from late Greek authors. But all these authors exhibit some tinge of Attic diction, style, and construction: S. Mark surely does not. Dr. Moulton's examples therefore in the April number of this *Review* (p. 154) justify the A.V. This example may show how much distrust must be felt of commentaries built on a knowledge of classical Greek only, or united even to a knowledge of the LXX.

centuries earlier—shows that Greek was making way in Palestine: and in Galilee a considerable influx of Greek must have taken place by 50 A.D. It has always seemed to me that the same confined idea underlay many of W.-H.'s list of O.T. quotations in the N.T., and many lists of supposed quotations of the N.T. in the Fathers and Apocryphal Books (*e.g.* perhaps 897a).

Again, it is reasonable to suppose that the first efforts to express the Gospel in Greek were the most barbarous, and that smoothness came with time. As it seems to me, S. Mark retains strong traces of these¹ first uncouth attempts, while certain set forms like the Lord's Prayer might be expected to be worse than even the bulk of his narrative. (The development of the English liturgy would be analogous to this process.) Thus I suppose ἐπι-ιούσιος to be a particularly barbarous form, and Dr. Abbott might supplement his list of S. John's paraphrases of Synoptic words (*cf.* p. 312) by an identification I have suggested of ἄρτος ἐπι-ιούσιος with ὁ καταβαίνων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (*vi.* 33).² Similarly S. Mark has ἐπιβαλὼν (as if 'slamming³ out of the house') ἔκλαιε, where S. Matthew even reaches ἐξελθὼν ἔξω. So I doubt not S. Mark's σχιζόμενος τοὺς οὐρανοὺς is to be explained, without reading into it any of the deep design suggested in § 642.

Another fallacy which infects the writer like most others who have written on the subject is this. If two accounts disagree, and a third account equally detailed exist, it must almost always, even if its writer knew nothing of the other two accounts,

¹ Thus I should doubt if he knew (§ 945) the nice Greek use of κάθημαι = 'remain doing nothing,' and am not fully satisfied with the argument on *xiv.* 36 *παρένευκε*.

² The ἐπ- = κατὰ may reassure Dr. Abbott in regard to the harmony of Mk. *i.* 10 and its parallels.

³ Perhaps such a vulgar use misunderstood gave rise to S. Luke *ix.* 62 if Dr. Abbott is right in making this resemble Acts *ix.* 5.

side with one or the other. When the spurious Gospel of Peter was found, it was amazing to observe how little this law of probability was recognized. Dr. Abbott observes (§§ 656, 974) that 'in almost every case where Luke omits or entirely alters an important statement of Mark, John intervenes to clear up some obscurity or corruption.' This sort of observation needs to be supplemented by others, showing how often he obscures—by giving a new view—important statements common to SS. Mark and Luke, and so on.

In conclusion, it ought to be said that the temper of Dr. Abbott's writing is worthy of his subject, and, if some of his theories appear fanciful, for others, as has been said, he deserves the thanks of all readers of the Bible, for he has shown us the true significance of unregarded words. With his plea for more frequent study of Targums and Talmuds and Hebrew thought all sober students must heartily sympathize; and no less with his insistence on the study of Plato and Philo if we are to understand S. John. Unfortunately a portion of a Latin Father is the uniform diet given to diocesan examinees.

But it is shown once more by this work that these N.T. problems will never be solved until a group of scholars undertakes the work. And for some reason this is the more necessary since the study of Rabbinical learning seems to have the same deflecting power over the logical faculties that the pursuit of mediaeval scholasticism or Celtic *origines* has.⁴ A group of scholars could not only carry out with one purpose a multitude of necessary investigations subsidiary to a final solution, but could criticize, correct, and stimulate each other's work.

T. NICKLIN.

⁴ Dr. Abbott derives from Sabach(thanei) variously understood no less than nine distinct Gospel statements.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ZEUS, JUPITER, AND THE OAK.

(Conclusion.)

Etruria.

PROF. RIDGEWAY rightly lays stress on the tradition that, before the advent of the

Etruscans, Pelasgians from Thessaly had settled in N. Italy and made common cause with the kindred tribe of the Aborigines.¹ He further advances the attractive and indeed brilliant hypothesis that the quasi-Greek works of art (bronzes, scarabs,

¹ *E.A.* *i.* 231 ff.

frescoes, etc.) found in Etruria are due to the Pelasgian element in the Etruscan population.¹ If this be so, we may look to find traces of the triple Pelasgian Zeus among the artistic products of Etruria. The Etruscan scarab here reproduced² shows a



FIG. 1.

naked male deity with a *himation* over his left arm in the act of stepping into a chariot. He grasps a thunderbolt in his right hand, a trident in his left; while at his feet is a dog. We can hardly be mistaken in regarding this singular figure as the threefold Pelasgian god: the thunderbolt marks him as Zeus, the trident as Poseidon, the dog (Cerberus) and the chariot as Hades.³ This triple Zeus was the god of Dodona; and it is known that the Pelasgians who crossed from Thessaly to Italy and allied themselves with their kinsmen the Aborigines continued to worship the Dodonaean Zeus.⁴ Hence the oak-cult can be detected in sundry settlements of the Etruscans. For example, the Etruscans once occupied the Vatican near Rome⁵; and Pliny states⁶ that 'on the Vatican is an oak-tree (*ilex*) older than Rome itself, bearing a bronze inscription in Etruscan letters, which proves that even in those early days the tree was thought worthy of religious veneration.' Gellius mentions a 'Vaticanus deus' and notes the tradition that he drew his name 'a vaticiniis';⁷ this would suit well a god like that of Dodona. Again, the Etruscans had a settlement on the Caelian,⁸

which in ancient times was covered with oak-woods and known as the *Mons Querquetulanus*.⁹ The *Notitia Regionum*¹⁰ records an 'arbores sanctam' on the same height, presumably the sacred oak of the Etruscan settlers. This inference is strongly supported by a bas-relief found at Rome, probably on the Caelian: it shows three figures inscribed *Heruli Iuliano, Iori Caelio, and Genio Caelimontis*; Hercules has a club and a lion-skin the Genius is seated on the hill and holds a laurel; but the central figure, that of Jupiter Caelius, has an eagle, a thunderbolt, and a sceptre, and by him is represented an oak-tree.¹¹

Portents connected with these sacred oaks were interpreted by Etruscan *haruspices*.¹² Hence in the corrupt Hesychian gloss ἀροσπίκες ὄρνις ἐπιτεκομμένα we should restore ἀροσπίκες = *haruspices*.¹³ The lightning lore of these diviners was ascribed to an Etruscan nymph Begoe,¹⁴ or Vegone,¹⁵ whose name possibly denotes an oak-nymph (φηγός).¹⁶

The Etruscan Lucumons on state occasions used to wear the costume of Jupiter¹⁷ and must have been regarded as his special representatives, if not actually as embodiments of him. Their curule seats¹⁸ and purple raiment¹⁹ were such as befitted the man-god.²⁰ A sceptre with an eagle perched upon it²¹ proclaimed the human Jupiter. The *Etrusca corona*, a large gold crown of oak-leaves enriched with acorns of precious stones and golden ribands,²² marked the man as vice-gerent of the oak-god. The golden *bullæ* slung from his neck²³ was sign

¹ Tac. ann. 4. 65.

¹⁰ Regio ii. 'Caelemontium.'

¹¹ Dessau 3080.

¹² Suet. *Vesp.* 5, cp. Pers. 2. 24 ff. and Varr. *r.r.* 1. 40.

¹³ The restoration is confirmed by the order ἄρος, ἄροσπίκες, ἄροτον. On the *Copt Oaks* of Charnwood Forest in Leicestershire see *County Folk-lore* iii. 25 ff.

¹⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 6. 72.

¹⁵ Cp. Amm. Marc. 17. 10. 2 in...libris...Vegonicis, Grom. Lat. p. 348 ex libris...Vegoiae, p. 350 Vegoiae: see Pauly-Wissowa iii. 194.

¹⁶ Cp. *C.R.* xviii. 79.

¹⁷ Müller-Deecke *Die Etrusker* ii. 43.

¹⁸ Jan on Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 6. 7 collects the literary evidence and Müller-Deecke *op. cit.* i. 346, n. 55 the monumental.

¹⁹ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 62, Fest. s.v. 'picta' p. 197 Lind., *alib.*

²⁰ *C.R.* xvii. 410, xviii. 84 n. 1; xvii. 404, 416 f.

²¹ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 62.

²² Tertull. *de coron.* 13, Plin. *n.h.* 21. 6, 33. 11, *alib.* Figured in Etruscan art: *Micali mon. ined.* pl. 49, 1; Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* i. 394 ff., 456, ii. 484. See also the painting of a *triumphator* found in the *Macellum* at Pompeii (Roux-Barré iii. 55, pl. 2. 120).

²³ Plut. *v. Rom.* 25, Festus s.v. 'Sardi venales,' p. 252 Lind.

¹ *Ib.* i. 250 ff.

² Fig. 1 = Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus Gemmentaf. 3, 7, cp. Creuzer *Symbolik*³ iii. 1 pl. 6, 27, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemm.* pl. 18, 6. The gem is a chalcedony scarab, formerly in the Dehn collection.

³ So Panofka ('Über verlegene Mythen' in *Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad.* 1829 p. 35, pl. 1, 5) and Welcker (*Gr. Götterl.* i. 162, n. 5), who call the god Zeus Triopas. Creuzer (*Symbolik*³ iii. 204) and Overbeck (*Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 259) take the same view—'ein Zeus als Herrscher in den drei Reichen.' Furtwängler (*Ant. Gemm.* ii. 87) thinks that the animal at the feet of the god is not a dog but 'ein kleiner Seedrahe.'

⁴ *C.R.* xvii. 269.

⁵ Paul. exc. Fest. s.v. 'Vaticanus' p. 161 Lind.

⁶ *N. h.* 16. 237.

⁷ *N. A.* 16. 17.

⁸ Ref. in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 1273.

and symbol of the sun-god: a sun-king must wear a miniature sun.¹ Lastly, 'the Tyrrhenian custom that the king of each town was preceded by a licitor bearing an axe along with his bundle of rods'² implies that the king as representative of the god must be armed with the weapon of the god: the bundle of rods may be a conventional substitute for the trees of the tree-god.³ That the Etruscan kings were thought to be incarnations of Jupiter might be inferred also from the legend that the wife of Corythus, king of Cortona, bore a son to Jupiter.⁴ In a tomb at Vulci was found a magnificent crown made of golden oak-leaves,⁵ which must have belonged to an Etruscan king. It is significant too that Aeneas is said⁶ to have planted a huge oak-tree decked with spoils on the tomb of Mezentius, king of the Pelasgian⁷ or Etruscan town Agylla, and that this oak-tree was regarded as an effigy of Mezentius himself.⁸ The transmission of the Etruscan royal insignia to the kings, dictators, triumphators, etc. of Rome is too well known to need illustration.⁹

Latium Vetus.

At several towns of the Latini the cult of an oak-Jupiter may be traced. Tibur worshipped Jupiter Praestes,¹⁰ and pointed to a

¹ The use of the *bulla* as a prophylactic amulet (Dar.-Sagl. s.v. 'bulla') is probably derived from its use as a solar symbol: cp. the apotropaic moon—Hesych. *σεληνίς*: φυλακτήριον ὑπὲρ ἐγκρήματος τοῖς παιδίοις and Jahn 'Über d. Aberglauben des bösen Blicks' in *Berichte über d. Verhandl. d. k. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaft. zu Leipzig* 1855 p. 42, n. 48. Another symbol of Jupiter used as a prophylactic sign was a sprig of oak-leaves: to the exx. quoted by Jahn *ib.* p. 105 from votive hands add *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* no. 875, figs. 21, 22.

² Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 61.

³ Thus the Scythians, whose land was devoid of trees (Hdt. 4. 19, 61), worshipped Ares under the form of an iron scimitar set upright on many bundles of sticks (*ib.* 62). At Rhegium there was a temple of Diana *Φακελίτης* (Prob. in Verg. *buc.* p. 348 Lion) or *Φακελίη* (Lucil. *sat.* 3. 72 Bähr.) founded by Orestes, who had brought the image from Taurica in a bundle of sticks and on his departure 'left his sword in a tree' (Cato *orig.* 3 ap. Prob. l.c.). In both these cases there is the same combination of weapon and bundle of sticks as in that of the Etruscan *fusces*.

⁴ Serv. *Aen.* 7. 207: cp. Zeus and the wife of Amphitryon, *C.R.* xvii. 409. Another version made Corythus the son of Jupiter (Serv. *Aen.* 3. 167).

⁵ Dar.-Sagl. i. 1522, n. 53, fig. 1972.

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 11. 5 ff.

⁷ Ridgeway *E.A.* i. 244 ff.

⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11. 16, cp. 173.

⁹ Details in Müller-Deecke *Die Etrusker* i. 344 ff.

¹⁰ Dessau 3401; cp. 3028, *C.I.L.* 14. 3557, which record a Jupiter Territor and a Jupiter Custos at Tibur.

group of three ancient oaks as the spot where its eponym Tiburnus or Tiburtus had been inaugurated.¹¹ Since Tibur, according to the older form of its local legend,¹² was founded by Catillus the Arcadian, father of Tiburtus and comrade of Evander, it may be surmised that its triad of sacred oaks was the residence of the triple Pelasgian oak-Zeus.¹³ The Tiburtine cult of Vesta¹⁴ proves the maintenance of a perpetual fire.

Other oak-kings meet us at Laurentum. Here was 'the palace of Picus¹⁵ thick-set with trees and ancestral awe'¹⁶; also the funeral mound of king Dercennus topped by a shady oak.¹⁷

The oak-cult of Jupiter and Fortuna at Praeneste I have already considered.¹⁸ So numerous were the oaks of the neighbourhood that Servius¹⁹ derives *Praeneste* from *πρίνος*! He adds that Caeculus, who founded the town, was the son of Vulcan, having been conceived by his mother from a spark off the hearth, and that he proved his divine origin to an incredulous crowd by enveloping them with flame. The sacred hearth and the divine king are quite in keeping with the oak-cult. Erulus, another king of the Praenestines, obtained from his mother Feronia three lives,²⁰ so that he was a sort of Geryones.²¹ As Feronia at Praeneste was associated with Fortuna,²² and Fortuna with Jupiter, it is probable that Erulus was *τρίψυχος* as the embodiment of a triple Jupiter.

The Querquetulani were members of the Latin League²³ inhabiting an oak-clad district identified by Gell²⁴ with Corcollo between Gabii and Hadrian's Villa. They shared in the Latin sacrifice to Jupiter on the Alban Mount,²⁵ but are otherwise unknown.

In 458 B.C. Roman envoys were sent to complain that the Aequi had broken a

¹¹ Plin. *n.h.* 16. 237.

¹² Cato *orig.* 2, *frag.* 56 Peter. See Roscher *Lex.* and Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 'Catillus.'

¹³ Cp. the tree-trinities discussed in *C.R.* xvii. 406 ff.

¹⁴ Dyer in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 1203.

¹⁵ I.e. *Δρυοκοκόπτης*, the Woodpecker: see *C.R.* xvii. 412, xviii. 80 f., 83 f.

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 7. 171 f.

¹⁷ *Ib.* 11. 851. Cp. the tomb of Ilus: *C.R.* xvii. 77. Note also the fountain sacred to the Sun at Laurentum (Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 55).

¹⁸ *C.R.* xvii. 420 f.

¹⁹ *Aen.* 7. 678.

²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 8. 564, Lyd. *de mens.* 1. 8.

²¹ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 564.

²² Orelli 1756.

²³ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 5. 61.

²⁴ *Top. Rom.* ii. 187.

²⁵ Plin. *n.h.* 3. 69.

treaty concluded in 459. They were bidden to make their complaint to a huge oak on Mount Algidus, under the shade of whose branches the Aequian commander had his quarters; and this they actually did.¹ The *praetorium* under the sacred oak is certainly a primitive trait.

The common cult of the Latini was that of Jupiter Latiaris in a grove² of oaks³ on the summit of the Alban Mount. It is surely significant that at Albano was found a broken bas-relief of archaistic style thus described by Brunn: 'The central figure is a god, bearded and crowned, who by the attributes of a thunderbolt and a trident on his right, and a cornucopia surmounted by an eagle on his left side is shown to be Jupiter conceived as lord of the sky, the sea, and the underworld.'⁴ In short, it is an unmistakable representation of the triple Pelasgian god. Agreeably to this we read that Latinus, the eponymous king of the Latini, was identified with Jupiter Latiaris: Festus⁵ states that 'he vanished in a battle with Mezentius king of Caere and was thought to have become Jupiter Latiaris.' His wife Amata bore a name that was common to all Vestals,⁶ and is usually⁷ connected with the cult of Vesta Albana: indeed a sacred fire was kept burning on the Alban hearth down to the latest days of Paganism.⁸ Aeneas the founder of the Alban dynasty, like Latinus, disappeared in a battle with Mezentius or with Turnus and was worshipped as Jupiter Indiges.⁹ His son Ascanius was succeeded by Silvius and a whole line of Silvii.¹⁰ The name *Ascanius*, as Dr. J. H. Moulton suggests to me, perhaps denoted an 'oak'-king (cp. ἄρκ-ρ-α, 'oak'). Further, the cognomen of the *Silvii* may be taken to imply that they were representatives of a tree-god; and, since Virgil introduces them one and all as crowned 'civili . . . quercu,'¹¹ this tree-god must have been an oak-Jupiter. On a sarco-

phagus in the Mattei collection at Rome Rhea Silvia reclines beneath an oak-tree.¹² Romulus Silvius the eleventh in descent was a veritable Salmoneus. Ovid¹³ describes him as 'Remulus...imitator fulminis'; and Dionysius,¹⁴ who calls him Alladius, says that 'in contempt of the gods he contrived mock thunderbolts and noises like thunder, wherewith he thought to frighten men as though he were a god. But a storm fraught with rain and lightning falling upon his house, and the lake near which it stood swelling in an unusual manner, he was drowned with his whole family.' Dionysius¹⁵ also records the tradition that Iulus, son of Ascanius, disputed the claim of the first Silvius to the throne: 'and to Iulus in place of the sovereignty a certain holy power and honour was given, preferable to the royal dignity both for security and for ease; and this his posterity enjoy down to the present time, being called Julii from him.' Now the name Iulus has been traced¹⁶ through the forms *Diovilus*, *Iovilus*, *Iohilus*, *Ioilus*, *Iulus*, and in all probability denoted originally a human Jupiter. It appears, then, that in the Alban district there were two lines of divine or priestly kings, both claiming affinity to Jupiter. The Julii probably lived in Bovillae at the foot of the mountain; for an ancient altar found there is inscribed¹⁷ *Vediovei Patrei genteiles Iuliei. Vediovei aara leege Albana dicata*. Also Tiberius dedicated a chapel to the Julian gens at Bovillae, including a statue of the deified Augustus;¹⁸ and it is known that Circensian games were held there in honour of the same house.¹⁹ But where did the Silvii or 'Woodland' kings reside? Cicero²⁰ speaks of the 'nemora' of Jupiter

¹² C. Robert *die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* iii. 2, p. 229, pl. 60.

¹³ *Met.* 14. 617 f.

¹⁴ *Ant. Rom.* 1. 71.

¹⁵ *Ib.* 1. 70. Preller-Jordan ii. 336 n., cp. Diodor. ap. Euseb. i. 389 Aucher: Iulius autem imperio cedere coactus pontifex maximus constitutus fuit et fere secundus rex habebatur, a quo ortam Iuliam familiam hucusque perdurare aiunt.

¹⁶ Bücheler in *Rh. Mus.* 1889 xliiii. 135, 1890 xlii. 323. See Stolz *Hist. Gramm. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 204, 460. The derivation of *Iulus* from *Jupiter* is asserted by the auctor *de origine gent. Rom.* 15. 5.

¹⁷ Dessau 2988. Another inser. found at Castel Gandolfo on the Alban Lake mentions a certain L. Manlius, who was *rex sacrorum* and *quattuorvir* at Bovillae. Dessau 4942 suggests that he was *rex* at Bovillae, not Rome: but?

¹⁸ Tac. *ann.* 2. 41.

¹⁹ Tac. *ib.* 15. 23. See further Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa iii. 798 f.

²⁰ *Pro Mil.* 85.

¹ Liv. 3. 25.

² Liv. 1. 31. 3.

³ This may be inferred from the statement that the sow of Alba Longa was found 'sub ilicibus' (Verg. *Aen.* 8. 43, Auson. *epist.* 7. 17).

⁴ *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1861 p. 86.

⁵ *S.v.* 'oscillantes' p. 193 Lind., cp. schol. Bob. in Cic. *pro Planc.* p. 256.

⁶ Gell. 1. 12. 14, 19.

⁷ Roscher *Lex.* i. 266 f.

⁸ Juv. 4. 60 with Mayor's n.

⁹ Liv. 1. 2. 6, Plin. *n.h.* 3. 56, Serv. *Aen.* 1. 259, 4. 620.

¹⁰ See the lists in Marindin *Class. Dict.* s.v. 'Silvius.'

¹¹ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 772, an important passage to which Dr. Frazer drew my attention.

Latiaris. When, therefore, we recall the fact that a *rex Nemorensis* lived at Nemi on the lower slopes of the mountain and kept guard over a sacred tree in the precinct of Diana, it is tempting to suppose that he was the representative of the old Silvan dynasty. He was *ἐκφύρης αἰεί* not only because he had to be constantly on the watch for assailants,¹ but also perhaps because, as Dr. Frazer first suggested in the *Golden Bough*¹ ii. 369 f., he personated Jupiter.² Dr. Frazer's further conjecture³ that he was originally put to death at the end of a set period would, on this showing, be supported by the practice of *oscillatio* at the *Feriae Latinae*: for, on the one hand, *oscilla* are undoubtedly relics of human sacrifice offered to tree-gods;⁴ and, on the other, Festus⁵ states that the *oscillatio* of the Latin panegyris was instituted because the body of Latinus, who was identified with Jupiter Latiaris, could not be found. Another trace of the human sacrifice is to be seen in the Roman custom of presenting to Jupiter Latiaris during the Latin festival the warm blood of a *bestiarius*.⁶ The race of four-horse chariots that took place at the same time on the Capitol,⁷ i.e. on the Capitolium Vetus, which was probably identical with the Collis Latiaris on the south side of the Quirinal,⁸ like the races at Olympia and elsewhere,⁹ may have sprung from an original contest for the post of priestly-king, a contest perpetuated in the *monomachia* of Nemi. When in 231 B.C. C. Papirius Maso introduced the practice of celebrating a lesser triumph on the Alban Mount,¹⁰ he was but expressing afresh the deep-seated belief of the Latini that the victor for the time being should be clad in the insignia of Jupiter Latiaris. Hence the large sceptre

surmounted by an eagle that he bears on a Praenestine *cista*.¹¹

Rome.

The earliest temple at Rome was that of Jupiter Feretrius planned by Romulus, when he had with his own hands slain the king of the Caeninenses and deposited his spoils on the Capitol 'at an oak held sacred by the shepherds.'¹² Prof. Ridgeway has argued that the Aborigines of Rome were akin to the Pelasgians.¹³ It would appear, then, that on the Roman Capitol there was the cult of an oak-Jupiter resembling the Pelasgian oak-Zeus. His title Feretrius is obviously derived from *feretrum*, the *feretrum* in question being a lopped trunk or wooden cross to which the votive armour was attached.¹⁴ This explanation fits both the literary and the monumental evidence. Plutarch¹⁵ says: 'Romulus, that he might pay his vow in a manner well-pleasing to Jupiter... cut down an enormous oak which was growing in the camp, trimmed it to the shape of a trophy, and fastened about it all the weapons of Acron in order due.' And again,¹⁶ 'Marcellus cut down the large straight stock of a flourishing oak and decked it like a trophy, binding and attaching thereto the spoils, which he arranged round it each in its suitable place.' Dionysius¹⁷ equates *Feretrius* with *τροπαιοῦχος*, *σκυλοφόρος*, *ὑπερφερέτης*; and Livy¹⁸ in his description of Romulus as '*spolia... suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens*' implies a trophy-like support. The historians' words are illustrated by a denarius of the gens Cornelia,¹⁹ which shows M. Claudius Marcellus carrying a portable trophy of the usual type up the steps of a small tetrastyle building: he is presenting the *spolia opima* that he won in 222 B.C. from the Insubrian chief Viridomarus at the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius. This practice, which was indeed a definite law,²⁰ perhaps arose from the ancient custom that the king as priest of the oak-god must be able to slay all comers.²¹

¹ Strab. 239.

² Cp. Salmoneus on a vase already figured (*C.R.* xvii. 276). Zeus Λαβρανδεύς at Mylasa had a sword, as had Zeus Χρυσάοριος at Stratonicea (*ib.* 417). Orestes founded a cult of Diana at Rhegium and 'left his sword in a tree' (*supra* p. 362 n. 3); Orestes founded a cult of Diana at Aricia (*Serv. Aen.* 6. 136) and the local priest is armed with a sword. The parallel suggests that the latter, like the former, was a divine weapon.

³ See *C.R.* xvi. 369.

⁴ Marindin in *Smith Diet. Ant.* 2 ii. 305. *Oscilla* are in effect the skulls of the victims: cp. *C.R.* xvii. 269 ff.

⁵ *S.v.* 'oscillantes' p. 193 Lind., cp. schol. Bob. in *Cic. pro Planc.* p. 256.

⁶ Tertull. *apol.* 9, *alib.* See Marquardt iii. 285 n.

⁷ Plin. *n.h.* 27. 45. The victor drank *absinthium*.

⁸ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 653.

⁹ *C.R.* xvii. 273 ff., 278, 411, xviii. 88.

¹⁰ Plin. *n.h.* 15. 126, Val. Max. 3. 6. 5.

¹¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 745 = *mon. ined.* x pl. 29.

¹² Liv. 1. 10. 5.

¹³ *E.A.* i. 254 ff.

¹⁴ See De-Vit *s.v.* 'feretrum,' 'ferculum.'

¹⁵ *V. Rom.* 16.

¹⁶ *V. Marcell.* 8.

¹⁷ *Ant. Rom.* 2. 34.

¹⁸ Liv. 1. 10. 5, cp. Sil 5. 167 f. *quis opima volenti | dona Iovi portet feretro suspensa cruento.*

¹⁹ Babelon *Monn. de la Rép.* i. 352.

²⁰ Fest. *s.v.* 'opima' p. 190 Lind.

²¹ *C.R.* xvi. 377 n. 1, cp. xvii. 270 f. Another outcome of the same custom may be the *Ludi Tarpeii*

We may here pause to note that the trophy commonly erected on a field of battle by Greek or Roman victors was nothing but a rude image of the oak-Zeus or oak-Jupiter in his character as war-god. Euripides¹ expressly terms it *Ζητὸς . . . βέρας*; and Virgil² relates how it was fashioned out of an oak-tree—'ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis.' Thus the form of the trophy points backwards to the tree-cult and forwards to the anthropomorphic cult of the god. Before it came the 'Waffenbaum'³ e.g. an oak-tree decked with the spoils of war⁴; after it, the *xoanon*.⁵ Tree, quasi-tree, carved image are three stages in a progressive series. In the 'oak held sacred by the shepherds' we have the first; in the *feretrum* or trophy, the second: Jupiter Feretrius never reached the third.⁶

In his temple were kept two objects of peculiar sanctity, a sceptre and a piece of flint. Jupiter was immanent in both. 'The reason,' says Servius,⁷ 'why the sceptre is used when a treaty has to be made is this. Our forefathers on all such occasions were wont to produce an image of Jupiter. This was difficult, especially when the treaty was made with a distant tribe. A way out of the difficulty was for them to hold a sceptre and so copy as it were the image of Jupiter; for the sceptre is peculiar to himself.' Since we have elsewhere⁸ seen the sceptre of Zeus used as a substitute for the tree-god, we may fairly understand this sceptre of Jupiter Feretrius in the same sense. The flint-stone also was held to be 'antiquum Iovis signum'⁹; and the indwelling of the god in his symbol is attested by his alternative title, Jupiter Lapis.¹⁰ Modern opinion is divided as to whether the flint was worked or unworked.¹¹ On the one hand it was of such a sort that the Fetiales could take it

eis τὴν χεῖρα,¹² and slaughter a pig with it.¹³ On the other hand it is never described as a worked flint; and we are told¹⁴ that in 201 B.C. the Senate sent the Fetiales with several similar stones to Africa. On the whole it seems probable that it was an unhafted neolithic celt,¹⁵ preserved among the Aborigines of Latium from an immemorial past.¹⁶ These celts certainly aroused the religious awe of the ancients: sundry extant specimens bear Gnostic or Mithraic inscriptions,¹⁷ and Pliny¹⁸ mentions *cerauniae* 'resembling axes.' They were, then, taken to be thunderbolts—a world-wide superstition.¹⁹ I conclude that the 'lapis silex' of Jupiter Feretrius was the weapon and symbol of the sky-god, just as the stone axe in the palace of Minos was the weapon and symbol of Zeus.²⁰

But was the sky-god also a water-god and an earth-god? His connexion with water is best known by the primitive ceremony of the *aquaelicium* or *aquilicium*.²¹ In time of drought the *pontifices* took a stone called the *manalis lapis* from its normal position near the temple of Mars outside the Porta Capena and drew it into the city. It was attended by matrons with bare feet and streaming hair and by the magistrates without their tokens of office. This stone was probably a baetyl of Jupiter Elicius;²² for Petronius²³ with reference to the procession says 'Iovem aquam exorabant,' and Tertullian,²⁴ 'aquilicia Iovis immolatis, nudipedalia populo denuntiatis.' Now the title Elicius was also spelt Ilicius, and I have already suggested that Jupiter Ilicius was Jupiter of the oak (*ilex*).²⁵ This suggestion is borne out by what we know of the locality.²⁶ The Porta Capena adjoined the Porta Querquetulana,²⁷ inside which was an

¹² Polyb. 3. 25. 7.

¹³ Liv. 1. 24. 8 f., 9. 5. 3, Serv. *Aen.* 8. 641.

¹⁴ Liv. 30. 43. 9.

¹⁵ For Italian neoliths see Sir J. Evans *Stone Implements*² Index p. 745 f.

¹⁶ On the Terramare (Neolithic to Bronze Age) civilisation of Latium, see Ridgeway *E.A.* i. 234 ff. On its connexion with the Aborigines and Pelasgians, *ib.* 254 ff.

¹⁷ Sir J. Evans *Stone Implements*² p. 61 ff, fig. 11.

¹⁸ *N.h.* 37. 135.

¹⁹ Sir J. Evans *op. cit.* p. 56 ff.

²⁰ *C.R.* xvii. 408.

²¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 658. On Jupiter Imbricator, Pluvius, Pluvialis, see Preller-Jordan i. 190 n. 1.

²² Roscher *ib.* 656 ff.

²³ *Sat.* 44.

²⁴ *Apol.* 40.

²⁵ *C.R.* xvii. 270.

²⁶ Note also the term *nudipedalia*, which recalls the cult at Dodona, where the priests of the oak-Zeus were *ἀνυπόδητοι*: *C.R.* xvii. 180, cp. 186.

²⁷ Schneider *das alte Rom* plan 4 ff.

or Capitolini instituted by Romulus in honour of Jupiter Feretrius (*Piso frag.* 7 Peter). The prize in the *certamen Capitolinum* founded by Domitian was an oak-wreath (*Juv.* 6. 387, *Stat. silv.* 5. 3. 231, *Mart.* 4. 54. 1, 9. 24. 5).

¹ *Phoen.* 1250.

² *Aen.* 11. 5.

³ Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 71 ff.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 10. 423, Lucan 1. 136 ff., *Stat. Theb.* 2. 707 ff., Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 339. See *C.R.* xviii. 84 n. 2.

⁵ Bötticher *op. cit.* p. 215 ff.

⁶ Unless indeed Tib. 1. 10. 20 'stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus' can be referred to a *xoanon* of him. But this is very doubtful: see Overbeck *Kunst myth.* Zeus p. 555, n. 19.

⁷ *Aen.* 12. 206.

⁸ At Chaeronea: *C.R.* xvii. 277.

⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 641.

¹⁰ Gell. 1. 21. 4, cp. Polyb. 3. 25. 6 f.

¹¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 674 ff.

oak-grove under the protection of the Querquetulanae Virae.¹ Immediately outside the Porta Capena, *i.e.* in the spot from which the *manalis lapis* was taken, was the Nemus Egeriae,² a wood sacred to an oak-nymph,³ whose name not improbably connects with αἴγρεος in its earlier sense of 'oak.'⁴ Ovid⁵ describes the wooded base of the Aventine as 'black with the shade of the ilex'—a likely home for Jupiter *Ilicius*. Here, he says,⁶ 'a perpetual spring of water manabat saxo'—an allusion perhaps to the *manalis lapis*. He further relates that Numa, when the people was panic-stricken by continual lightnings and rain, repaired to this wood, caught Picus and Faunus by guile, induced them to call Jupiter down from heaven, and in a famous colloquy persuaded him to accept surrogates for human sacrifice.⁷ The conception of Jupiter as at once sky-god and water-god runs through the whole myth.

Again, it was probably as a water-god that Jupiter mated Juturna,⁸ an ancient Latin goddess of 'lakes and sounding rivers,'⁹ whose name is clearly related to his own. At Rome Juturna figures in connexion with a small group of buildings in the Forum, the antiquity of which is proved by the fact that they have the trapezoidal form commonly found in the terramare villages of Italy.¹⁰ The old water-house of Juturna, the pit beneath the hearth of Vesta, the Regia, the Niger Lapis, the Tullianum, are all trapezoidal in structure and belong to the Aborigines¹¹ of Rome. Juturna's well-head stood next to the house of the Vestals and must have been used by them.¹² 'The little group of the thatched hut beside the spring was completed by a grove of oak-trees, growing on the side of the Palatine. In this grove fuel was once cut for the sacred fire, which might only burn the wood of oaks,¹³ or in later times, of

other "fruitful" trees.... Some of its trees were still standing in the time of Cicero,¹⁴ and the memory of it had not died away even in the third century A.D., for a bough of oak, the "quercus robur" of Jove, appears behind the last Temple of Vesta on the Uffizi bas-relief.¹⁵ The immense importance attached by the Romans to the maintenance of the fire on Vesta's hearth is to be explained not by the mere necessity of keeping a fire alight for secular purposes, but by the primitive belief that the priestly-king, the representative of the sun-god, can thus by mimetic magic preserve the very forces of the sun.¹⁶ When through negligence the fire went out, it had to be rekindled by means of a fire-drill,¹⁷ a process which symbolised the revolution of the sun itself.¹⁸

Lastly, the Romans recognised a chthonian Jupiter in Vediovis, whose character is clear from the devotion-formula *Dis pater Veiovis Manes* etc.,¹⁹ from the translation of his name as τοῦ καταχθονίου Διός,²⁰ and from direct statements such as that of Martianus Capella²¹: 'Pluton quem etiam Ditem Veiovemque dixere.' He too was an oak-god, as may be inferred not only from the site of his sanctuary μεθόριον δνοῖν δρυμῶν²² but also from the oak-wreath that he wears on coins of the Fonteii, Gargili, and Ogulnii.²³ Moreover, that he was sky-god and water-god as well as earth-god appears from his attributes, the thunderbolt²⁴ and the trident.²⁵ We have already found him worshipped at Bovillae by the Julii, who were the royal priests and human representatives of Jupiter.²⁶

If the Romans had thus from a very early period believed in Jupiter as supreme over a threefold domain, there was a foundation 1900 p. 172, fig. 17)—a point to which Dr. Frazer first drew my attention.

¹⁴ *De div.* 1. 101.

¹⁵ *Notizie degli Scavi* 1900 p. 161, fig. 2, Hülsen *das Forum Romanum* p. 157, fig. 78. The extract in the text is from Mrs. Burton-Brown's book p. 38 f.

¹⁶ *C.R.* xvii. 185. See further *Folk-Lore* xv. (1904) 'The European Sky-god.'

¹⁷ Paul. *exc.* Fest. s.v. 'ignis' p. 78 Lind.

¹⁸ *C.R.* xvii. 419 ff., xviii. 327 with context. Cp. Flor. 1. 2. 3 focum Vestae virginibus colendum dedit (sc. Numa) ut ad simulacrum caelestium siderum custos imperii flamma vigilaret. Is this a mere rhetorical flourish?

¹⁹ Macrob. 3. 9. 10.

²⁰ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 10. 3. See Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer* p. 190.

²¹ 2. 166.

²² Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 2. 15.

²³ Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* i. 507, 532, ii. 266.

²⁴ *Ib.* i. 281, 506 ff., 532, ii. 8, 133, 266.

²⁵ *Ib.* ii. 6, 8.

²⁶ *Supra* p. 363.

¹ Fest. s.v. 'Querquetulanae virae' p. 221 Lind.

² Schneider *l.c.*

³ Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 9 νυμφῶν μὲν δρυάδων.

⁴ Schrader *Realex.* p. 207 connects αἴγρεος with αἰγίλας, αἰγανός. The change from **Egeria* to *Egeria* was due to popular etymology (Paul. *exc.* Fest. s.v. 'Egeriae' p. 58 Lind.); cp. the form *Eγελίαν* (Plut. *l.c.*).

⁵ Fest. 3. 295.

⁶ *Ib.* 298.

⁷ *C.R.* xvii. 269 f.

⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 12. 140 f., Ov. *fast.* 2. 585 ff.

⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 12. 139.

¹⁰ Burton-Brown *Rec. Excav. in the Rom. Forum* p. 21 f.

¹¹ *Supra* p. 365 n. 16.

¹² Burton-Brown *op. cit.* p. 20.

¹³ Comm. Boni actually found the charred remains of these oak-logs on the spot (*Notizie degli Scavi*

of popular faith for certain phrases used by their poets and certain statements made by their philosophers. The poets know Jupiter not only as sky-god but also as Jupiter acquareus¹ and as Jupiter Stygius,² Tartareus,³ infernus,⁴ niger,⁵ etc.; so that Ovid⁶ can say: 'Jupiter arces | temperat aetherias et mundi regna *triformis*.' The systematisers of theology⁷ also recognised three Jupiters, the son of Aether born in Arcadia, the son of Caelus (or Saturn) also an Arcadian by birth, and the son of Saturn born and buried in Crete.

Of the triple Jupiter no three-bodied or three-headed or three-eyed representations are extant. But it is noteworthy that tradition⁸ brought to Rome a certain Argus, who was entertained by Evander but on plotting the king's death was killed by his comrades and buried at the Argiletum. Other accounts⁹ made Argus killed by Evander himself, or stated that he was the brother of Argeus and son of Phineus and Danae who settled in Rome and was there put to death by the Aborigines. These traditions point to a Pelasgian or Aboriginal Argus at Rome, who should be compared with the Pelasgian Argus (=the three-eyed Zeus¹⁰) in Greece. To the same Pelasgian or Aboriginal stratum belong the *argei* or *sevagenarii*, the superannuated representatives of a tree-god whose institution was traced back to the oak-Zeus of Dodona.¹¹ We thus obtain fresh confirmation of the conjecture that early Rome had a triple oak-Jupiter corresponding to the triple oak-Zeus¹² of Argos. Now Greek vases¹³ show Argos Πανόπτης with a Janiform head, which—since he was the triple Zeus—may be regarded as a modification of a three-

faced head. This suggests the possibility that certain Janiform heads of Jupiter are to be similarly explained: there is one in the Palazzo Spada at Rome,¹⁴ and another on a coin of Geta¹⁵ (Fig. 2), which shows a



double-headed Jupiter armed with a thunderbolt and a spear (Jupiter Quirinus?). Indeed Janus himself may have been originally *τριπρόσωπος*. As such he is portrayed on a middle-brass of Hadrian¹⁶: he stands facing us, a bearded figure with one hand resting on his hip and the other holding a sceptre, while his three visages are distinctly seen, one full-face, the other two in profile. Further, the Celtic three-headed god, of whom I shall have more to say elsewhere, has been identified with Janus.¹⁷

The existence of a triple Janus supports my argument for the existence of a triple Jupiter, since, as Dr. Frazer pointed out to me, there are strong reasons for believing that Janus was only another form of Jupiter.¹⁸ To begin with, his name connects with Ζεύς, *Jupiter*, etc.,¹⁹ and the following pairs of divinities should be equated:

¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 91 f.

¹⁵ *Ib.* p. 92.

¹ Claud. *de cons. Mall. Theod.* 282. Cp. Dessau 3027 (Beneventum) *Iovi tutelari maris*.

² Verg. *Aen.* 4. 638, Ov. *fast.* 5. 448, *alib.*

³ Val. Flacc. 1. 730, Sil. 2. 671.

⁴ Sen. *II. F.* 47, cp. Prudent. *c. Symmach.* 1. 388.

⁵ Sil. 8. 116, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 49.

⁶ *Met.* 15. 858 f.

⁷ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14, cp. Ampel. 9.

⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 345.

⁹ Interp. Serv. *ib.*

¹⁰ *C.R.* xviii. 75, 82.

¹¹ *Ib.* xvii. 269 n.2.

¹² That the triple Zeus of Argos was an oak-god appears not only from his connexion with Phorbas (*C.R.* xviii. 76), but also from an amethyst at Florence (Panofka *Argos Panoptes* Berlin 1838 pl. 1, 2) which shows Argus as guardian of the cow Io seated under a tree that is part oak, part olive, and from a paste at Berlin (Creuzer *Symbolik* 3 ii. 323, pl. 8, 28) on which he is beleheaded by Hermes beside a similar oak-olive (see *C.R.* xvii. 273 and xviii. 88).

¹³ Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 476, 478, Dar-Sagl. i. 419 fig. 508.

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¹⁶ Cohen *Deser. des monn. imp.* 2 ii. 129, nos. 281, 282. R. Mowat in the *Bulletin épigraphique* iii. 168 takes this to be Janus Quadrifrons with his fourth face concealed. It is probable that Janus with four faces (Macrob. 1. 9. 13, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1, Suid. s.v. *Ἰανονέπιος*, *alib.*) was an amplification, not of Janus with three faces, but of Janus with two; for Janus Quadrifrons was also called Janus Geminus (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 8). Similar relations appear to have subsisted between Hermes τετρακέφαλος (Hesych. s.v. *Ἑρμῆς τρικέφαλος*, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 172, 2, 3), Hermes τρικέφαλος (Aristoph. *frag.* 468 D., Philochor. *ap.* Harpoer. s.v. *τρικέφαλος*, *alib.*: Tzetz. *Lyc.* 680 states that according to some authorities Hermes had three heads *ὡς οὐράνιος, θαλάσσιος καὶ ἐπίγειος*) and Hermes δικέφαλος (Roscher *Lex.* i. 2415 ff.).

¹⁷ S. Reinach *Bronzes figurés* p. 187 f.

¹⁸ S. Linde *de Iano summo Romanorum deo* Lund 1891. The question 'an Iani et Iovis recta discretio sit' is discussed from a religious and philosophical point of view by Aug. *de civ. D.* 7. 10.

¹⁹ See Corssen *Ausspr.* 2 i. 212 and the lit. cited in Dar-Sagl. iii. 610.

{ Ζεύς (Ζᾱν κ.τ.λ.) and Διώνη.
 { Janus (Janus) and Diana (Jana).
 { Jupiter and Juno.

Next note that Jupiter was actually sur-named Janus; for an inscription from Aquileia records a dedication *Iovi Diano*.¹ Conversely, several titles of Janus recall Jupiter. Thus the oldest hymns of the Salii spoke of him as 'deorum deus,'² and he was often invoked as *Ianus pater*³ or *Ianus pater*.⁴ Again, according to one version⁵ Janus not Jupiter was the mate of Juturna; and the title Janus Junonius⁶ implies a similar relation to Juno. On certain occasions joint offerings were made to Janus and Jupiter,⁷ or to Janus and Juno,⁸ or to Janus and Jupiter and Juno.⁹ Janus alone took precedence of Jupiter in the divine hierarchy¹⁰ and the *rex sacrorum*, who seems to have been in a sense his special priest, took similar precedence of the *flamen Dialis*.¹¹ In view of these facts I would venture to suggest that Janus was the name under which Jupiter was worshipped by the Aborigines of Rome, a tribe—as Prof. Ridgeway has shown¹²—akin to the Pelasgians, and that, when these Aborigines were conquered by the incoming Italians, their ancient deity Janus and his

consort Jana were retained side by side with the Italian Jupiter and Juno. Herodian¹³ calls Janus θεὸν ἀρχαιότατον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιχόριον; Labeo¹⁴ terms him Πατρίκιον ὡσεὶ ἀντόχθονα; and Septimius Serenus¹⁵ says of him: 'tibi vetus ara caluit Aborigineo sacello.'

Whether the three-headed Janus was an oak-god, we do not know for certain. But it is probable. The oak sacred to Thybris,¹⁶ his son,¹⁷ points in that direction. When the Plebs seceded to the Janiculum, an ancient seat of Janus, it was in a grove of oaks that Q. Hortensius the dictator passed his famous law 'ut quod ea iussisset omnes Quirites teneret.'¹⁸ Plutarch¹⁹ states that Marcellus fashioned a trophy out of a large oak-tree and presented it to Jupiter Feretrius; but Virgil and Servius make him present it to Quirinus, and according to the rule quoted by Festus from the *libri pontificum* the precise dedication should have been 'Iani Quirino.'²⁰ This title *Quirinus* which is elsewhere borne by Janus,²¹ I take to mean 'the oak-god' (conn. *quer-cu-s*, *πρῖνο-s*),²²

¹³ 1. 49.

¹⁴ Ap. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1.

¹⁵ Bährens *P.L.M. fragg.* p. 387.

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 10. 423.

¹⁷ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 330.

¹⁸ Plin. *n. h.* 16. 37, cp. Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 42 and the *vicus Aeseleti* on the Tiber-bank opposite to the Janiculum (Pauly-Wissowa i. 682).

¹⁹ V. Marcell. 8.

²⁰ Verg. *Aen.* 6. 859, Serv. *ad loc.*, Fest. s.v. 'opima' p. 190 Lind.

²¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 16 and 40.

²² This view submitted to Prof. Conway elicited the following reply (Jan. 10, 1903): 'First as to *Quirinus*. Further reflexion attracts me greatly to your derivation; the word seems so exactly the counterpart of Gr. *πρῖνος*, which properly would be an adjective (and thence a derivative substantive meaning 'the tree rather like an oak'): I should therefore trace it not to **Querinus* (though I do not say, and I doubt if any one can, that this form could not have given *quirinus*) but to *qu(z)rinus* the almost literal equivalent of Gr. *πρῖνος*=IEu. *q̑r-īnos*. The meaning of *Quirites* 'oaken-spear-men' would be excellent. Further it gives, at last, an excellent meaning for the Sabine town *Cures* (for **Quires* probably) i.e. "The Oaks," [The country about Cures abounded in oaks: Strab. 228. J.G.F.] and explains the connexion felt between this name and *Quirites* for which there has hitherto been no historical explanation that I know of. Mars *Quirinus* the god 'of the oak' is very parallel to your Dodonaean Zeus. As to the influence of an *i* in a neighbouring syllable, which, I suggest, converted **Quirinus* into *Quirinus*, cf. *diligat*, *colligit*, as against *neglegit*, primitively against genetivus (Brugmann *Grundr.* i. 2 § 244, 3). These are near, but not quite parallel. No one has yet collected examples of the changes in pre-tonic syllables like *Quir-* in *Quirinus*, but some changes there certainly were.'

Dr. J. H. Moulton, whom I consulted on the same subject, wrote to me last June as follows: '*quirinus*

¹ C.I.L. v. 783.

² Macrobi. 1. 9. 14, 16. Varro *de ling. Lat.* 7. 27 quotes a Salian line in which the phrase 'divom deo' occurs. He has also (*ib.* 26) preserved five lines of a Salian hymn which, if we could be sure of the reading *o Zou* (Lindsay *Lat. lang.* p. 5), would prove that the Salii identified Janus with Zeus. Bährens *P.L.M. fragg.* p. 30 prints them thus: Ozeū, o dōmine, es omnium | patēr. Patūci, Cloēsi, | es iāneūs, iānēs es! | duonūs cerūs es oēnūs, | promēlios dēuon rēcūm. Procl. *hymn.* 6. 3, 15 addresses Janus as Zeus: χαῖρ' Ἰανε πρόπατορ, Ζεὺ ἄφθιτε, χαῖρ' ὕπαρτε Ζεῦ.

³ Macrobi. 1. 9. 15, Cat. *de re rust.* 134, Hor. *epist.* 1. 16. 59, cp. *sat.* 2. 6. 20, Verg. *Aen.* 8. 357, Juv. 6. 393, Arnob. 3. 29, Dessau 3320, 3323, 3325, 5047 f., *alib.*

⁴ Gell. 5. 12. 5, cp. Dessau 3322 *Ianipatri*, 3324 *Iani patro*.

⁵ Arnob. 3. 29.

⁶ Macrobi. 1. 9. 15 f., 1. 15. 19, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1, Serv. *Aen.* 7. 610.

⁷ Cat. *de re rust.* 141 illustration of farm.

⁸ Macrobi. 1. 9. 16, 1. 15. 19 all Kalends. Cp. Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer*, p. 91 f. In Verg. *Aen.* 7. 620, Ov. *fast.* 1. 265 f., it is Juno who opens the gates of Janus: cp. Serv. *Aen.* 2. 610, 7. 610. Moreover Civ. *de n. d.* 2. 68 equates Juno Lucina with Diana Omnivaga, i.e. with the consort of Janus.

⁹ Cat. *de re rust.* 134 before harvesting.

¹⁰ Cic. *de n. d.* 2. 67, Arnob. 3. 29, Macrobi. 1. 9. 9: cxx. in Liv. 8. 9. 6, Cat. *de re rust.* 134, 141, Dessau 5047 f.

¹¹ Preller-Jordan i. 61, Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 20, Roscher *Lex.* ii. 43. See also Diet. Ant. s.v. 'Agonalia.'

¹² E. A. i. 254 ff.

quiris, the Sabino *curis*,¹ being the 'oaken spear,'² and *Quirites*, the 'men of the oaken spear.'³ Now a tree-god is often represented by a post or sceptre or spear.⁴ In the Tigillum Sororium,⁵ adjoining which were altars to Juno Sororia and to Janus Curiatius, I would recognise such a representation of the triple Janus. It was a trixylon composed of two vertical beams and a cross-bar; and the 'trigemini Horatii et Curiatii,' with whose legend it was connected, were possibly the champions of the triple god.⁶ The Tigillum Sororium is expressly compared⁷ with the 'yoke,' under which conquered troops were made to pass: this too, being an erection of three staves⁸ or spears,⁹ may well have been a symbol of Janus Quirinus. Finally, every door, since it consisted of a lintel and two side-posts, was sacred to Janus¹⁰ and named after him: *ianua* is derived from *Ianus*, not *Ianus* from *ianua*.

Diana or Jana was likewise *triceps*, *triformis*, *triplex*, *tergemina*,¹¹ and an oak-goddess. One of her most famous cults was

etc. will fit *πῑρος* very well if we suppose a word like *q̄ri* or *q̄'ri*, 'an oak,' or (incorporating the suffix, which might be like the -en in *oaken*), *q̄(r)inos*: in view of *quirites* I rather prefer the former. In that case we must entirely separate *quercus*, Idg. perq̄u-, to which belong *fir*, Skt. *parkati*, and the derivatives *Erku-nia* (Keltic *Her-cyniū*), Norse *Florgynn*, Lith. *Perkānas*, O Slav. *Perūni*, and (I think possibly) Skt. *Parjanya*. The similarity of *quercus* and *quirinus* will be accidental like that of *sorry* and *sorrow*, etc.'

It should be added that Schrader *Preh. Antiq.* p. 272 n. 1 connected *quer-c-us* with *πῑ-v-os* (for *q̄ri-no-s*, cp. *quer-n-us*), and that Linde *de Iano* etc. p. 43 f. referred the title *Quirinus* to the root of *quercus*, though he took it to mean 'the god of the strong, fortified place' not 'the oak-god.'

¹ Conway, *Italic Dialects*, i. 353.

² Cp. *δῶρον* and *δῶρ*, *αἰγᾶνῃ* and *aesculus* (*aeg-sculus). In Val. Fl. 6. 243 *quercus* = 'spear.'

³ Cp. Fest. p. 196 Lind. *Pilumnus populo* in carmine Saliari Romani velut pilis uti assueti.

⁴ Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 226 ff., 232 ff. Id. *ib.* 238 argues that Janus Quirinus was represented by the spears or staves of the Salii.

⁵ Fest. s.v. 'Sororium tigillum,' p. 240 Lind., *alib.* Cp. Jupiter Tigillus (Aug. *de civ. D.* 7. 11).

⁶ The cognomen Trigeminus recurs in the plebeian gens Curiatia (Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 1831): cp. Tri-cipitinus the father of Lueretia (Liv. 1. 59. 8, Cic. *de rep.* 2. 47, *de legg.* 2. 10) and perhaps the Italian family of the Trivulzi, whose crest was a three-faced head (A. Heiss *les médailleurs de la renaissance* Vittore Pisano, pp. 19, 33 no. 7).

⁷ Liv. 1. 26. 13, *alib.*

⁸ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22.

⁹ Liv. 3. 28. 11.

¹⁰ Preller-Jordan, i. 172 f.

¹¹ Ov. *met.* 7. 194 *triceps* Hecate: Hor. *od.* 3. 22. 4 *diva triformis*, *alib.*: Ov. *her.* 12. 79 *triplicis vultus*...Dianae, *alib.*: Verg. *Aen.* 4. 511 *tergeminae* Hecaten, *tria virginis ora* Dianae.

that on the Mons Tifata near Capua, and Paulus¹² interprets *tifata* by *ilicet*, 'oak groves.' He adds: 'Romae autem *Tifata curia*,'¹³ which suggests that the word *curia* (cp. *curis*, Janus *Curiatius*, etc.) originally denoted an 'oak-grove.' It has long been held that *curia* is related to *Quirites*,¹⁴ and it is highly probable that the local council would meet in the grove of the local oak-god: the Galatian senate met at *Δρυ-νέμερος*¹⁵; the Romans, as we have just seen, in *aesculato*. That the sacred tree of Diana at Nemi was an oak is probable from the fact that the grove in which it stood was sacred to Egeria¹⁶ the oak-nymph. Another important cult-centre of Diana was on the oak-clad Mt. Algidus.¹⁷ The chief temple of Diana at Rome was on the Aventine,¹⁸ whose slopes were covered in early days with the oak-wood of *Pieus* and *Faunus*¹⁹: *Pieus* (= *δρυκολάπτης*) was constantly associated with the oak-cult, and *Faunus* was the husband of an oak-nymph.²⁰ A 'very great and venerable sanctuary of Diana' was on the Caeliolus,²¹ which formed part of the Mons Quercetulanus.²² There was also an ancient Dianium on the Fagutal²³: the beech-trees of the spot may have been a ritual, as they were certainly an etymological (*φηγός* = *fagus*), equivalent for oaks; Varro²⁴ in his account of the Esquiline mentions the view that it was so called 'ab eo quod *aescul[is]* consi[tae] a rege Tullio essent' and supports it by the statement that there were in the vicinity 'lucus... facutalis et Larum Quercetulanum sacellum.' The same change from oak to beech may have taken place on the hill called Corne near Tusculum, where Diana was worshipped in an ancient grove 'lugei nemoris.'²⁵ The cult of an oak-Diana is well illustrated by a relief in the Palazzo Colonna at Rome, reproduced as Fig. 3 (= Bötticher *Baumkultus* Fig. 26).²⁶ An old but fruitful oak stands in a walled enclosure, its trunk

¹² Paul. *exc. Fest.* p. 156 Lind.

¹³ Cp. *ib.* p. 38 Lind. *CuriaTia jana* (Seal. *Curia tifata*) a Curio dicta, quia eo loco domum habuerat.

¹⁴ Stolz *Hist. Grammat. d. Lat. Spr.* i. 253 f.

¹⁵ Strab. 567.

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 7. 763, 775.

¹⁷ Hor. *od.* 1. 21. 6, c. *sacc.* 69, cp. *od.* 3. 23. 9 f.

¹⁸ Liv. 1. 45, *alib.*

¹⁹ Ov. *fast.* 3. 295.

²⁰ Plut. *v. Cæs.* 9.

²¹ Cic. *de har. resp.* 32.

²² Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.

²³ *C.R.* xvi. 380 n. 3.

²⁴ *De ling. Lat.* 15.

²⁵ Plin. *n. h.* 16. 242.

²⁶ Th. Schreiber *die Hellenistischen Reliefbilder* pl. 15.

bound with a fillet. Beside it is a column with fillets and a lighted torch, supporting an oil-vessel or lamp (?). Close by is a small circular building, from which rises a baetylic pillar bearing another fillet and a couple of lighted torches. In the foreground is a statue of Diana wearing a fawn-skin and carrying a young doe on her shoulder. The whole design points clearly to the maintenance of a perpetual fire before the oak: Diana Nemorensis was surnamed Vesta.¹

The connexion between Diana and the oak corresponds to that between Artemis and the oak. The oak-Diana at Nemi is parallel to Artemis *Σαπώρις* or *Σαπώρια*

at Ephesus was set up by the Amazon Hippo *φηγῶ ὑπ' ἐπιδρέμῳ*,⁶ and statues of the Ephesian Artemis are decorated with a necklace of acorns.⁷ Neleus founded Miletus on the site of a fine oak-tree out of which he had made a *xoanon* of Artemis.⁸ Coins of the Acarnanian League show Artemis in a wreath of oak⁹: on the oak-wreath of Hecate see *C.R.* xviii. 80. Lastly, Aristophanes¹⁰ salutes Artemis as 'the Maid that haunts the oak-clad hills.'

S. Linde argues that the dea Dia worshipped by the Arval Brothers was but another form of Diana or Jana¹¹: cp. the relation of *Δία* to *Διώνη* in Greece.¹² Peculiar sanctity attached to the oak-trees of her



FIG. 3.

(*σαπώρις* = 'old oak') at Troezen.² Virbius was to the former what Hippolytus was to the latter, and so was naturally regarded as Hippolytus redivivus³: the name *Virbius* is, I conceive, identical with that of *Ἴρβος*, the father of Astrabacus and Alopecus, who found the *xoanon* of Artemis *Λυγυόδεσμα* at Sparta.⁴ The *rex Nemorensis* perhaps had his counterpart in king *Σάπων*, i.e. king 'Oak,' at Troezen.⁵ Again, the first image of Artemis

grove near Rome; for one of the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for the year 87 A.D. runs — 'in luco deae Diae, quod ramus ex arbore ilicina ob [v]etustatem deciderit, piaculum factum est per calatorem et [p]ublicos.'¹³ Her temple was round like that of Vesta and on its holy table were set out archaic *ollae* like those of Vesta.¹⁴

It is tolerably clear, then, that Janus

¹ Dessau 3243.

² Paus. 2. 30. 7, 2. 32. 10, Hesych. s.v. *Σαπώρια* *Ἀρτέμις*.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761 ff., Serv. *ad loc.*, Ov. *met.* 15. 543 ff.

⁴ Paus. 3. 16. 9. Standing in Roscher *Lcx.* ii. 317 had on other grounds conjectured that *Ἴρβος* belonged to 'den Kreis der Vegetationsdämonen.'

⁵ Paus. 2. 30. 7.

⁶ Call. *h. Dian.* 238 f.

⁷ E.g. Baumeister *Denkm.* p. 131, fig. 138.

⁸ Schol. Call. *h. Iov.* 77.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Thessaly, etc. p. 169, pl. 27, 5.

¹⁰ *Thesm.* 114 f.

¹¹ Linde *de Iano* etc. p. 9.

¹² *C.R.* xvii. 177 f.

¹³ Dessau 5045.

¹⁴ Pauly-Wissowa ii. 1472, Roscher *Lcx.* i. 967.

and Jana were both triple oak-deities worshipped by the Aborigines of Rome. Tradition said that Janus reigned as a king on the Janiculan,¹ which probably implies that the local *rex* was regarded as the incarnation of Janus and bore his name. This belief in Janus incarnate has left traces of itself at a much later date. Coins of the gens Pompeia represent a double-headed Janus with the features of Pompey,² and coins of Commodus make the emperor Janiform.³ The primitive folk over whom king Janus reigned claimed to be sprung from oak-trees⁴ and—as we now know—buried their infant dead in trunks of oak,⁵ very possibly with some idea of re-birth.⁶

I have suggested that, when the Aborigines were overcome by the Italians, Jupiter took his place beside Janus and by degrees ousted that deity from his ancient pre-eminence. Throughout the whole of Roman history there was a latent belief in 'humani loves.'⁷ Not only did kings, dictators, triumphing generals, and praetors presiding at the games wear the insignia of Jupiter, but as soon as the empire was established there was a recrudescence of the belief that the ruling monarch was Jupiter incarnate. Julius Caesar was actually worshipped under the title *Jupiter* and provided with M. Antonius as *flamen Dialis*⁸—a most singular case of history repeating itself; for we have seen that the Julii of yore were human Jupiters.⁹ Greek coins name Livia the wife of Augustus ΑΙΒΙΑΝ·ΗΠΑΝ.¹⁰ Caligula assumed the title *Optimus Maximus* and had the head of a famous Greek statue of Zeus 'Ολύμπιος replaced by a head of himself. He was also saluted as Jupiter Latiaris,¹¹ a fact perhaps connected with his assassination of the rex Nemorensis¹² who seems to have personated that god.¹³ Domitian was

called *Zeús*¹⁴ and *Jupiter*¹⁵ by the poets. A dedication to Hadrian as *Ioví Olympio* is extant.¹⁶ Oppian¹⁷ speaks of Septimius Severus as 'the Ausonian *Zeús*.' Diocletian aped the majesty of Jupiter and took the name *Iovius*.¹⁸ This identification of the emperor with Jupiter doubtless inspired many works of art: e.g. the cornelian at Berlin here figured (Fig. 4),¹⁹ which repre-



sents two Jupiters with thunderbolt and eagle-tipped sceptre seated side by side, may have been meant to suggest that the terrestrial Jupiter was as potent as his celestial counterpart—²⁰ cp. Mart. 9. 86. 8 utrumque Iovem, i.e. Domitian and Jupiter. It would thus afford a Roman parallel to the central scene of the Parthenon frieze, which—if I may hazard a conjecture—depicts the βασιλεύς and βασίλισσα of Athens about to receive the sacred *peplos* and two thrones from their respective attendants: the king perhaps wearing the former and seated, with his consort, on the latter, will then take his place among the enthroned deities on either hand. A signed cornelian in the Orleans collection is described by S. Reinach as 'Jupiter ou Auguste en Jupiter,' the latter view being taken by most archaeologists.²¹ A cameo formerly in the Marlborough cabinet shows Claudius as Jupiter.²² And similar portraits of emperors in the guise of Jupiter are known in statuary also.²³

Much of the pomp affected by the Roman emperors was due to this rôle of human

¹ Aenob. 3. 29, Macrob. 1. 7. 19, Serv. *Aen.* 8. 319.

² Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* ii. 351.

³ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 52 n., Dar.-Sagl. iii. 612.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 8. 315. Cp. *C.R.* xv. 322 ff. and *Anth. Pal.* 9. 312. 5 f. Zonas Sardinianus κοινὰν γὰρ ἔλεγον | αὐτὴν ὡς πρότεροι πατέρες ἐν τῷ ὄρεϊ.

⁵ G. Boni *Bimbi Romulei* Roma 1904 pp. 7, 9, 13, 17 figures the oak-trunks with their contents.

⁶ *C.R.* xvii. 83 f.

⁷ Plant. *Cas.* 334.

⁸ Cass. Dio 44. 6. 4, cp. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 110.

⁹ *Supra* p. 363. Caesar had a palatial villa built for himself at Nemi (Suet. *Jul.* 46): was this due to a reminiscence of the royal position once held there by the Julii?

¹⁰ Stevenson *Dict. Coins* p. 247.

¹¹ Suet. *Calig.* 22.

¹² *Ib.* 35.

¹³ *Supra* p. 364.

¹⁴ Dionys. *per.* 210.

¹⁵ Stat. *silv.* 1. 6. 27, Mart. 9. 28. 10, 14. 1. 2; cp. 6. 10. 9 Tonantis, with Friedländer's n.

¹⁶ Dessau 320.

¹⁷ Opp. *cyn.* 3.

¹⁸ Dumy *Hist. of Rome* vi. 539. Cp. *Pancz.* 1. 13. 3 f., Claud. *de bell. Gihl.* 418 f., Dessau 621, 634, 658 f., 661, 665.

¹⁹ Fig. 4. = Overbeek *Kunstmyth.* Zeus, Gemmen-taf. 3. 6.

²⁰ Dr. Frazer suggests that the small head above perhaps symbolises Jupiter *Capitolinus*: cp. Serv. *Aen.* 8. 315 *caput humanum quod Oli diceretur*. For other conjectures as to the interpretation of this difficult gem see Overbeek *ib.* p. 257 f., Wernicke *ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 42.

²¹ S. Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 142, pl. 129, 23.

²² Furtwängler *ant. Gemmen* pl. 65, 48.

²³ E.g. Overbeek *Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 203 f.

Jupiter.¹ Caesar's chariot dedicated on the Capitol ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Διὶ² and Nero's peregrinations in triumphal cars,³ the eagle released from the pyre of Augustus and later emperors,⁴ these and many other indications point to the same conclusion. Numismatic types of *consecratio* are a lofty pyre surmounted by a four-horse chariot or an eagle bearing upwards the imperial soul.⁵ With these compare the coins of Amaseia that refer to the cult of the oak-Zeus⁶ (Fig. 5):



FIG. 5.

in both cases we have the pyre, the *quadriga* and the eagle. Even the connexion with the oak is not wanting; for coins of the gens Julia show Pietas wearing a wreath of oak,⁷ while over the door of Augustus⁸ and his successors⁹ an oak-crown was regularly suspended by decree of the Senate. If it be objected that this was but the *corona civica* bestowed in perpetuity,¹⁰ it must be remembered that the *corona civica* was made of oak-leaves because the oak was sacred to Jupiter.¹¹ When the Roman emperors were thus adorned, they were but following the

practice of the ancient oak-kings, the Silvii whom Virgil represents as crowned 'civilis . . . quereu.'¹² The general impression produced on the public by the sight of Augustus' palace may be gathered from Ovid's couplet: 'et Iovis haec' dixi 'domus est?' quod ut esso putarem, | augurium menti querna corona dabat.¹³

When the Italian Jupiter succeeded to the Aboriginal Janus he brought in his train two other gods, who together with him stood at the head of Roman religion throughout the historical period. The triad Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus were represented by the three *flamines maiores*, who in order of precedence immediately followed the king.¹⁴ Some of the oldest religious usages of Rome linked their names together. Thus the Salii were 'in tutela Iovis Martis Quirini.'¹⁵ Numa ordained that the first *spolia opima* should be presented to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, the third to Quirinus.¹⁶ The first treaty with Carthage was made by the *fetiales* in the name of Jupiter Lapis, the last in that of Mars and Quirinus.¹⁷ The same three gods are conjointly invoked in the old formula of *devotio*.¹⁸ My suggestion is that they were originally three forms of Jupiter, Mars being Jupiter as a war-god¹⁹ and Quirinus Jupiter as an oak-god. Servius²⁰ definitely states that Quirinus was the pacific form of Mars; and his identification is accepted by all:²¹ I have only to add that, if *Quirinus* means 'oak-god,' we should expect to find the oak sacred to Mars. And this was the case. Aeneas lopped a huge oak-tree and set it up 'tibi, magne, tropaeum, | Bellipotens.'²² An oak adorned with spoils

¹ Dr. Frazer remarks that Jupiter was surnamed *Rex* (Cic. *de rep.* 3. 14. 23, cp. Cass. Dio 44. 11. 3), as Juno was *Regina* (see Preller-Jordan ii. 473 Index).

² Cass. Dio 43. 14. 6, 43. 21. 2, 43. 45. 2, cp. Suet. *Jul.* 76.

³ Suet. *Nero* 25.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa iv. 902.

⁵ Stevenson *Dict. Coins* p. 248 ff.

⁶ Fig. 5 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Pontus, etc. pl. 2. 6. For description see *C.R.* xviii. 80.

⁷ Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* ii. 17. Pietas was equivalent to Julius Caesar, as we see from an *aureus* of the same gens, which portrays a veiled head of Pietas with the features of Caesar (*ib.* p. 16).

⁸ Mon. Ancyrae. 6. 14, Cass. Dio 53. 16. 4, Ov. *met.* 1. 562 f., *fast.* 1. 614, 4. 953, *trist.* 3. 1. 36, Plin. *n.h.* 16. 8, cp. Tac. *ann.* 2. 83.

⁹ Val. Max. 2. 8. 7, Plin. *n.h.* 16. 7, Suet. *Tib.* 26, *Calig.* 19, *Claud.* 17.

¹⁰ Cass. Dio 53. 16. 4, Val. Max. 2. 8. 7, Ov. *trist.* 3. 1. 39 ff., Sen. *de clem.* 1. 26. 5. Cp. the oak-crown OIB CIVIS SERVATOS constantly represented on imperial coins.

¹¹ Plin. *n.h.* 16. 11 f., cp. Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 92, v. *Coriol.* 3.

¹² *Aen.* 6. 772.

¹³ Ov. *trist.* 3. 1. 35 f.

¹⁴ Fest. s.v. 'ordo' p. 189 Lind.

¹⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 8. 663.

¹⁶ *Ib.* 6. 860, Plut. v. *Marcell.* 8.

¹⁷ Polyb. 3. 25. 6.

¹⁸ Liv. 8. 9. 6.

¹⁹ *Mars* is derived from *Ma-vors*; compare the intermediate form *Maurte* (Dessau 3142). *Ma-vors* is according to Pauli for **Mas-vort-s*, 'Männerwender'; according to Solmsen for **macs-vort-s* (Subst. **maghos maghes*): see Stolz *Hist. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.* 1. 440. In any case the second half of the word connects with *vert-o*, so that Jupiter *Ma-vors* might correspond to Zeus Τροπαῖος (Preller-Robert p. 140). Some support for this is afforded by a Bruttian inser. ΔιουΦει Φερσσορει ταυροποι, which proves the existence of an Oscan Jupiter *Versor* = 'qui hostes vertit in fugam' (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 612). Similarly **Apns* may have been a Thracian differentiation of Zeus Ἀπειος (cp. Grimm *Teut. Myth.* p. 201 ff., Preller-Robert pp. 140 f., 335, P. Gardner in *Nem. Chron.* xx. 50).

²⁰ *Aen.* 1. 292, 6. 860.

²¹ Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer* p. 139.

²² Verg. *Aen.* 11. 5 ff.

is promised to Mavors by the poet Claudian.¹ Valerius Flaccus describes the tree on which the golden fleece was hung as the oak of Mavors or Mars or Gradivus.² On the suburban estate of the Flavii was an ancient oak sacred to Mars.³ The woodpecker too, a bird regularly associated with the oak, was known as the *picus Martius*.⁴ It remains to show that Quirinus was one with Jupiter. This appears not only from the fact that Janus, the Aboriginal Jupiter, was surnamed Quirinus, but also from the fact that the Italian Jupiter bore the same surname: two tiles from Casteldieri⁵ are inscribed [*Io*]vi Quirino and [*Iovi* Cyprin[o] U. Tati Mar. Juno too, whose cult on the Arx corresponded to that of Jupiter on the Capitolium, wore like her partner a wreath of oak,⁶ and was titled *Quiritis* (*Curitis*) at Rome and elsewhere.⁷ Again, all these deities were symbolised by a staff or spear. Of Janus as represented by the staves or spears of the Salii, etc., and of Jupiter as represented by a sceptre, we have spoken.⁸ The oldest *xoanon* of Mars at Rome was likewise a spear (*δῶρυ*, *hasta*) kept in the Regia and addressed as *Mars*:⁹ when the *hastae Martiae* stirred, it was a sign of war and sacrifices were offered to Jupiter, Mars, etc.¹⁰ We hear also of the 'arma Quirini';¹¹ coins of the gens Făbia show a *flamen Quirinalis* seated with an *apex*, a spear, and a shield marked QVIRIN;¹² and antiquarians derived *Quirinus* from *quiris* (*curis*).¹³ Juno Quiritis (*Curitis*) was also known as Juno Quiris (*Curis*)¹⁴ from the spear with which she was originally identified.¹⁵ Further, Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus—like Janus before them—all bore the title *pater*,¹⁶ while Juno was correspondingly *mater*.¹⁷ If the view here taken of the triad Jupiter, Mars,

Quirinus is correct, one might expect that the third member of the triad should bear not only the adjectival name Quirinus, but also a proper name like those of Jupiter and Mars. This expectation is justified; for in the Praenestine Calendar March 7 is a festival [*Iovi*s *M*]artis *Fedivis inter duos lucos*.¹⁸ Cp. also the Umbrian triad Jupiter, Mars, Vofionus (*Juve, Marte, Vafione*), who were worshipped under the common title Grabovius.¹⁹ Again, if Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus were indeed but diverse forms of Jupiter, the curiously discrepant accounts of the *spolia opima* become at once consistent. All authorities agree that Romulus dedicated the spoils of Acon to Jupiter Feretrius. But, whereas Livy²⁰ states that Cossus did the same with those of Iar Tolumnius, Servius²¹ is equally explicit in declaring that Cossus dedicated them to Mars.²² And, whereas Plutarch²³ asserts that Marcellus presented the spoils of Viridomarus to Jupiter Feretrius, Virgil²⁴ and Servius *ad loc.* make him present them to Quirinus. Finally, it is not surprising to find that sundry Roman monarchs were related to Mars and Quirinus rather than to Jupiter. Romulus, the son of Mars by Rhea Silvia²⁵ was identified with Quirinus²⁶ just as Latinus and Aeneas were identified with Jupiter. Hadrian and later emperors were portrayed as Mars.²⁷ Cicero calls Julius Caesar '*στύραον* Quirino' and 'Quirini contubernalem' because a statue of him inscribed *deo invicto* had been erected in the temple of Quirinus.²⁸ Augustus had a round temple of Mars Ultor built 'in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius'²⁹ and was himself saluted as Quirinus.³⁰

Varro enumerated the gods recognised by Romulus as follows: 'Janum, Iovem,

¹ In Rufin. 1. 339.

² 5. 229 ff., 251 f., 7. 519.

³ Suet. *Vesp.* 5.

⁴ Roscher *Lcx.* ii. 2430 f.

⁵ Dessau 3036.

⁶ Plut. *quacstl. Rom.* 92.

⁷ Roscher *Lcx.* ii. 596 ff.

⁸ *Supra* p. 369 nn. 4, 8, 9; p. 365.

⁹ Varro *ap. Clem. Al. pr. tr.* 4. 46, Arnob. 6. 11, Plut. *v. Rom.* 29, ep. Serv. *Aen.* 8. 3.

¹⁰ Gell. 4. 6. 1 f., *alib.*

¹¹ Fest. s.v. 'persillum' p. 199 Lind., ep. Verg. *georg.* 3. 27.

¹² Babelon *monn. de la Rép.* i. 484.

¹³ Fest. s.v. 'Quirinus' p. 217 Lind., Serv. *Aen.* 1. 292, Isid. *origg.* 9. 2. 84.

¹⁴ Roscher *Lcx.* ii. 597.

¹⁵ Bötticher *Baumkultus* p. 238.

¹⁶ On *Maspipter* or *Marspipter* see Preller-Jordan i. 335; on *Quirinus pater*, Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer* p. 139.

¹⁷ Roscher *Lcx.* ii. 589.

¹⁸ So Preller-Jordan i. 362 n. 4.

¹⁹ Roscher *Lcx.* i. 1728 f., ii. 636, 2385.

²⁰ 1. 29. 5.

²¹ *Aen.* 6. 860.

²² Conceivably the word *triumpe* in the hymn of the Arval Brothers (Dessau 5039) describes Mars as an originally threefold god.

²³ *V. Marcell.* 8.

²⁴ *Aen.* 6. 859.

²⁵ Note the connexion with the Alban line: *supra* p. 362 f. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 760 makes the original Silvius 'lean on a headless spear,' thereby hinting at *quiris*, *Quirites*.

²⁶ Preller-Jordan i. 374. Dr. Frazer reminds me that the vision of the deified Romulus was reported by *Julius Proculus*, a patrician from Alba (Plut. *v. Rom.* 28, Ov. *fast.* 4. 99 *alib.*).

²⁷ Stevenson *Dict. Coins* p. 539 f.

²⁸ Cic. *ad Att.* 12. 45. 3, 13. 28. 3, Cass. Dio 43. 45. 3.

²⁹ Cass. Dio 54. 8; Roscher *Lcx.* ii. 2392.

³⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 1. 292.

Martem, Picum, Faunum, Tiberinum, Herculeum,¹ etc. Numa's series was Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and Vesta.² These are, without exception, precisely the deities whom we have found in connexion with the oak-cult at Rome.

The Umbro-Sabellian States.

The *tegula mammata* here figured³ was found at Urbisaglia in Picenum and repre-

cornice,⁵ show that we have here to do with an actual cult. It is obviously that of the triple Jupiter: the thunderbolt marks him as a sky-god; the trident and dolphin as a sea-god; the fork as an earth-god.

The Pelasgian settlers in central Italy are said to have worshipped the Dodonaean Zeus,⁶ whose head crowned with an oak-wreath appears on coins of Teate⁷ and Larinum.⁸ At Hyria, the Metropolis of the



FIG. 6.

sents *Iove Iutor*⁴ clad in a purple cloak: he is armed with a thunderbolt and a trident in his left hand and a two-pronged fork in his right, while a dolphin appears at his side. The title *Iutor* and the black strokes in the upper right hand corner, which J. Schmidt takes to denote an architectural

Messapians,⁹ where the palace of one of the ancient native kings was shown in Strabo's time,¹⁰ a skeleton has been found wearing a golden crown of twelve oak-leaves.¹¹ The

¹ *Ap. Augustin. de civ. Dei* 4. 23.

² *Preller-Jordan* i. 61 n.1.

³ From *Mon. dell' Inst. arch.* xi. pl. 17, 1.

⁴ *Dessau*, 3031.

⁵ *Annal. dell' Inst. arch.* lii. 63.

⁶ *Dionys. ant. Rom.* 1. 19 : *C.R.* xvii. 269.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Italy* p. 145, nos. 1, 2.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 71, no. 7.

⁹ *Hdt.* 7. 170.

¹⁰ *Strab.* 282.

¹¹ *Arch. Zeit.* xxxv. 180.

facts are consistent with the view that throughout the Italian peninsula there was a Pelasgian or quasi-Pelasgian stratum of population in which the cult of the triple oak-god represented by an oak-king had at one time flourished.

Mars, as a specialised form of Jupiter, had probably arisen before the Italians entered Italy. We find him worshipped side by side with Jupiter in both the eastern (Umbro-Sabellian) and western (Latin) branches, and there is some evidence that the differentiation took place outside the peninsula: thus the ancient Italian title for Jupiter, *Loucetius* or *Lucetius*,¹ is applied in the forms *Loucetius* and *Leucetius* to Mars throughout the Celtic area.² However that may be, it is clear that the Italian Mars constantly figures as a warlike Jupiter. As such he was an oak-god in the Umbro-Sabellian states. The Flavii in their Sabine home had an old oak sacred to Mars.³ The Picentines derived their name from the woodpecker of Mars, which had guided their wanderings.⁴ At Tiora Matiena, a town of the Aborigines in the territory of the Aequi, there was an ancient oracle of Mars consisting of a woodpecker perched upon a post.⁵ Dionysius expressly compares it to the oracle at Dodona, so that Wagler is probably right in his surmise that the post was of oak.⁶ It is represented on various ancient gems⁷ as a pillar with a serpent twined round it, a woodpecker perched upon it, and sometimes a ram laid as an offering before it: in front of the pillar stands a warrior apparently consulting the oracle. The Picus Martius (*piqueur Martier*), who figures on the Tables of Iguvium,⁸ shows that the Umbrians had the same cult.

But, despite the popularity of Mars, Jupiter retained his hold on the Italian mind.⁹ One of the most striking proofs of this is the series of *Iuvilas* or heraldic dedications found in Campania.¹⁰ Prof. Conway¹¹

says of them: 'Only one of the insce. explicitly dedicates its *iuvilū* to any one in particular, namely 108, which 'stands' to Jupiter *Flagius. The most obvious derivation for the word (*d*)*iuvilū* itself is from (*d*)*iou-* or (*d*)*iouio-*. But further, 109 relates to a *iuvilū* standing 'next to the door of the *lucus*' (which was presumably sacred to some one). A large number of the Curti specimens...were found...within the precinct of a temple identified as that of Juno Lucina... It is quite possible [W. R.] that she shared the temple with her divine consort, as Dione shared with Zeus the temple at Dodona.' I would suggest that the *iuvilū* column marked with the armorial bearings of this or that family represents the ancestor of the family in his character as a human Jupiter.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

N.B.—A sequel to the foregoing paper dealing with analogous beliefs in the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Balto-Slavonic areas will appear in *Folk Lore* 1904-1905 under the title 'The European Sky-god.' The first instalment of it, containing a summary of my conclusions so far as they affect the Greeks and including some modifications of the views expressed in the present series of articles, was published in September last.

A. B. C.

MACH'S GREEK SCULPTURE.

Greek Sculpture, its Spirit and Principles.

By EDMUND VON MACH. Svo. Boston. 1903. Pp. viii+357. 32 full page illustrations in text, and 40 Plates at end.

THE author has arranged his material in two parts, the first dealing with the principles on which he conceives the Greek sculptor to have worked, the second forming a short history of his art.

If Dr. von Mach is satisfied with having done something to further the diffusion of interest in ancient sculpture, this much he is entitled to claim. It is, however, certain that this encomium could be applied to any well-illustrated work written by anyone adequately familiar with his materials. Dr. von Mach adds little to what has been said before, and his additions will not find much favour.

The most original and the least satisfactory chapter is that which the author devotes to the origin of art. A work of

¹ Roscher *Lex.* ii. 654.

² *Ib.* ii. 1982 f. For this among other reasons Prof. Rhys holds that 'the Roman Mars was...a sort of duplicate of Jupiter, owing his existence alongside of the greater god to the composite character of the ancient Roman community' (*Hibbert Lectures* 1886 p. 133).

³ Suet. *Vesp.* 5.

⁴ Strab. 240, Plin. *n.h.* 3. 110, Paul. *exc. Fest.* s.v. 'Picena' p. 117 Lind.

⁵ Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 14.

⁶ P. Wagler *die Eiche in alter u. neuer Zeit* ii. 23.

⁷ Furtwängler *ant. Gemm.* pl. 24, 10 and 16.

⁸ Conway *Italic Dialects* i. 421 f., ii. 645.

⁹ See Aust's article in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 634 ff.

¹⁰ Conway *op. cit.* i. 101 ff.

¹¹ *Ib.* p. 109.

art, he tells us, is the result of the 'clarification of memory conceptions.' This statement is either obvious or misleading. He is wasting labour if he merely means that some such process must precede the giving concrete expression to idea, while he is misleading if he would have us believe that in this lies the sole or main origin of art. The clarification of memory conceptions is one of many necessary antecedents of an artistic effort, it is part of the *modus operandi* of the repeated wonder on which he has nothing to tell us; but to make it an active cause is to take no account of the double growth, the side by side advance of rightness and beauty, and to beg the eternal question as to whether verisimilitude or loveliness is the aim and sphere of art.

To pass from a particular issue to the general treatment, one is disillusioned of the belief that painstaking observation of detail never fails to add to real knowledge. To be frank, the author has caught the mannerism of observation rather than learned its essence. He has been at pains to collect data, but there is a seldom-bridged hiatus between these and his nebulous deductions, while the same logical failing is apparent in the contrast between his quite commonplace accounts of works of ancient art and the pompous headlines with which these accounts are prefaced.

It goes without saying that the largest possible concession must be made to individual taste: yet inevitably and rightly the reader's acquiescence in his author's judgment on general questions will be modified by his particular pronouncements on familiar works of art. In its proper perspective the columnar 'Hera' of the Louvre is a work of much interest and some skill, but when Dr. von Mach attributes to it a 'truly noble and undeniable grandeur' he invokes once and for all criticism of his criticism.

The plates, though awkwardly arranged for reference, are plentiful and good, a particularly useful feature being the reproduction of familiar works from unfamiliar points of view.

JOHN H. BAKER-PENOYE.

COLLIGNON'S AND COUVE'S CATALOGUE OF PAINTED VASES AT ATHENS.

Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes. By M. COLLIGNON and L. COUVE.

Atlas of Plates. Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1904. Pp. 22. Fifty-two plates, nine cuts. 25 fr.

WE owe an apology to M. Collignon for a misunderstanding of his announcement accompanying the text of this Catalogue issued in 1902 (see *C.R.* 1902, p. 427). It was there stated that a supplementary volume was to follow containing plates of 'les formes des vases,' which we took to imply outline drawings of the different shapes such as were issued with the Berlin and other Catalogues. These, as M. Collignon justly remarks in his present preface, are at the present day an anachronism, and we are well pleased to find ourselves mistaken.

In the Atlas under notice photographic illustrations of 256 vases are given, the compiler's object being as far as possible to include all peculiar types as well as the ordinary forms. Hence the earlier fabrics naturally occupy a large proportion of the plates. They are accompanied by a summary description of the vases, with indications of the subjects, short bibliographies, and other necessary details. The whole serves to give a very fair idea of the contents of this valuable collection and this is of more service to the average student than the fuller but somewhat dry details of a *Catalogue raisonné*. For the earlier vases the illustrations are quite adequate, but most people will probably agree that for vases of the more developed period with elaborate figure subjects, the ordinary photographic process will never produce really satisfactory results. However M. Collignon would probably disclaim any further aim than that of reproducing the typical forms and giving a general idea of what the vases are like, and so we have no hesitation in tendering him our heartiest thanks for a really interesting and valuable publication, including as it does many new types and hitherto unpublished specimens.

H. B. WALTERS.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Miletus.—The chief results of the excavations (October 1902 to May 1903) were (1) the discovery of a large Agora to the S. of the Bouleuterion, and (2) the complete uncovering of the theatre, which, in its present condition, is Roman, but undoubtedly stands on the site of an older Greek theatre. Among the most interest-

ing inscriptions found are five fragments of two public calendars (*παπατήγματα*) arranged according to the signs of the Zodiac. They can be definitely assigned to the year 109 B.C. Another inscription gives the signature of the sculptor Silanion. Information as to a contemplated strike on the part of the workmen engaged in building the Roman theatre is afforded by an inscription of about the time of Trajan or Hadrian. The dispute was referred to the arbitration of the Oracle, whose reply seems to counsel a policy of conciliation. A letter of King Eumenes II to the League of Ionic towns has been found on the front of a marble base. The King accepts honours offered to him, and lays especial stress on the connection which he can claim with Miletus through his mother, who was a citizen of Cyzicus. He expresses his pleasure at the erection of a statue of himself at Miletus. The present inscription is cut on the base of the statue in question. Interesting, too, are the following inscriptions built into a Byzantine church on the S.W. of the city:—

(a) τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου [θεοῦ ὑψί]σ-
του σωτήρος | Οὐλπιον Κάρπον | βουλευτὴν ὁ
στασιῶν ('guild') | τῶν κατὰ πόλιν κηπουρῶν
τὸν ἴδιον ἐνεργέτη[ν] | ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σω-
τηρι[ας].

(b) Οὐλπιον Κάρπον | τὸν προφίτην τοῦ |
ἁγιωτάτου θεοῦ | ὑψίστου | ὁ στόλος τῶν σω-
ληροκεντῶν | ('mussel-fishers') τὸν ἴδιον ἐν-
εργέτην διὰ πάντων.

Other important discoveries are a circular marble structure near the Lion Bay, decorated with reliefs of hippocamps, dolphins, ships' prows, etc., and, in the S.E. angle of the same bay, a sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios.¹

Rhodes.—At Lindos the temple of Athena with its Propylaea has been uncovered. The inscriptions found are likely to prove of importance for the history of artists of the Hellenistic Period.²

ITALY.

Praeneste.—The following objects have been discovered together in a vineyard near the site of the ancient forum. (1) Part of a male statue wearing toga. Probably of the 4th century after Christ. (2) Pedestal of a statue inscribed with a dedication which has apparently ousted an older inscription. It belongs to the last years of the 4th century. The dedication is in honour of one P. Aelius Apollonaris Arlenius, who, dying at eighteen (*cum...agens annum oc-*

tarum decimum aetate desideratus corporeo carcere liberaretur) requested his father to grant to the 'collegia' of Praeneste an estate (*duas casas*) adjoining the lands belonging to the town. The father (*vir perfectissimus, actor causarum, praeses Corsicae, praefectus vigiliis*) acceded to the dying request of his son. The property thus given might not be alienated, and the acceptance of the gift involved the celebration of two *convivia* every year in honour of the aforesaid P. Aelius Apollonaris.³

Bolsena.—At Gazzetta, a little to the N.W. of Bolsena, tombs of the chamber type have been discovered. In one tomb were fragments of silvered ware (cf. *B.M. Cat. of Vases*, iv. G 180 ff.). One group of these fragments belongs to a krater with designs in relief in friezes, representing (1) a swan with wings spread and a nude female figure riding on a swimming goat (Aphrodite ἐπιτραγία?); (2) a group of two male and two female figures round a head of Silenos. One of the figures appears to represent Athene, but the design seems to be purely decorative. Below the handles were human heads in relief. Other fragments belong to a vase with reliefs depicting a combat of Greeks and Amazons (cf. *B.M. G 185* and *Mon. dell' Inst.* ix. pl. xxvi. 1a). Another vase shows Herakles and Aphrodite (?) seated on a rock with Eros between them (cf. *B.M. G 187* and *Mon.* ix. pl. xxvi. 3). The necropolis to which this tomb belongs dates from the 3rd—2nd century B.C.⁴

S. RUSSIA.

Stanitz (*Kuban District*).—A very rich tomb has been opened. By the skeleton of a man were found two solid diadems ornamented with rosettes and flowers, an iron sword in splendid gold scabbard, and an iron battle-axe with gold-covered wooden handle (cf. *Ant. du Bosph. Cimmérien*, pl. xxvi.). On the scabbard are designs of monstrous animals, two winged genii, and a recumbent stag. The axe is decorated with four recumbent wild goats. In the same tomb was a large gold figure of a panther, which had probably adorned a shield (cf. *Compte-Rendu*, 1897). The panther's ears are inlaid with strips of coloured paste, his eyes with glass or precious stones.

Kiev.—Near the village of Zorouka several *tumuli* with graves of the 5th—4th cent. B.C. have been excavated. The walls of the tombs are in many cases

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1904, part 1.

² *Ibid.* 1904, part 2.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, part 11.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1903, part 12.

decorated with gold plaques stamped with figures of wild goats, gryphons, and birds. Greek amphorae and bronze utensils have also been found. The most noteworthy discoveries are a round object in gold similar to that figured in *Compte-Rendu*, 1876, pl. ii. 2, and a red-figured kylix of the middle of the 5th cent. inscribed Δελφινία(ν) ἐννῇ ἱππο(ν).

Beresanĭ (anc. Βορσθενίς), *Black Sea*.—An archaic necropolis has yielded Milesian, protocorinthian, and Corinthian ware. Two kylikes signed by Tleson and a fragment of black-glazed ware inscribed Ἀπτα(ν)πης (sc. Ἀφροδίτης) have also been found, as well as some electrum plaques and earrings of archaic style.²

NORTH AFRICA.

Tripolis.—The site of Leptis Magna has recently been explored, but only the position of the Circus can be determined without excavation.

Two rock-hewn graves a few miles W. of Oea are of interest. At the back of the niche of one two genii are seen holding up a portrait of the deceased. On either side is a youth with a torch, and below is the design of a race in a circus. The cover of the niche has a lioness painted on it, with the inscription *quae leo iacet*. On the corresponding cover of the other tomb is a lion with the words [*qu*]i leo iacet. The designs are Mithraic and indicate that the deceased persons had attained to the grade of *leo*.

Tunis.—Three more marble sarcophagi with sculptured reliefs have been found. One represents a priestess with wings springing from her thighs and folded over in front of her. The sculpture is richly coloured. The other two show a priest with the r. hand raised in the attitude of adoration. The reliefs are of fine style and belong to the 4th or 3rd century B.C.

At Dugga the site of the forum has in all probability been discovered. A small temple with columns, perhaps that of the Pietas Augusta, a gateway, and the baths have also been unearthed. A mosaic from a private house represents three Cyclopes forging a thunderbolt (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 8. 425).

At Gighthis the forum and the quarter lying between the forum and the sea have been cleared. In the latter, which seems to have been inhabited chiefly by the seafaring class, two temples have been found. The one (hexastyle) was probably dedicated to Isis, since a head of that goddess was discovered in it. In the other was a statue

of Hygieia. S. of the forum lay the *macellum*, near which is a villa freely decorated with fresco-paintings. One of these represents a flower seller and is inscribed *vende felici*.

Near Schebba on the N. border of the Syrtis Minor two fresh villas have been discovered with fine mosaics. One represents Orion and Orpheus surrounded by all manner of beasts and fishes arranged in medallions. Another shows Silenos on an ass attended by Pan and a Faun.

Algiers.—At Timgad four fresh baths have come to light. The wealth of the town in baths is remarkable. A temple surrounded by a large *περίβολος* contains dedications to several gods—among them a *Silvanus deus patrius* and a *genius (coloniae)*. The temple is, as is usual with African temples, tetrastyle. Of new mosaics one of Amphitrite borne by Hippocamps is noteworthy as the best hitherto found in Timgad.²

SPAIN.

Osuna (Urso).—Part of a fortification wall has here been excavated. In the neighbourhood are traces of a battle fought in ancient times. Lead sling-bullets, some inscribed in relief GN. MAG. IMP. and others bearing Iberian characters, have been found, together with arms of every kind. The inscriptions make it probable that the battle is to be connected with the campaign which ended at Munda. The Gnaeus Magnus must be a son of Pompey the Great. The fortification wall was evidently built in haste, for various architectural fragments, bas-reliefs, and pieces of sculpture in the round have been found embedded in it. The reliefs are in the stone of the country and bear designs both of military and religious character. To the former class belongs a procession of armed warriors, perhaps to be connected with funeral games, since an acrobat rather strangely mingles with the soldiers. The second class is represented by a person playing flutes, a priest, and two women bearing libations. Another fragment shows the head and forearm of a negro who has been dashed to the ground by the paw of a wild beast. These sculptures, though of no great artistic merit, are very important as illustrating the art and manners of the natives of Spain at a time preceding the Roman Conquest.

The Roman theatre at Osuna has been somewhat promiscuously excavated. It is well preserved. Among the noteworthy

² *Arch. Anz.* 1904, part 1.

finds are the hands and feet of a colossal statue, with the inscription *BALIAE LEG* on the sole of one of the sandals, and a marble statue of the type of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos.²

BRITAIN.

Caerwent (Venta Silurum).—An interesting inscription reads . . . leg. leg. i (i) Aug. (ustae), proconsul (i) provinc(iae) Narbonensis, leg(ato) Aug. pr. pr. provi(nciae) Lugudunensis, ex decreto ordinis, respub(licae) civit(atis) Silurum. From this it appears that in Britain, as in Gaul, the Celtic Cantons were made the unit of local administration.³

The S. gate of Venta Silurum has just been brought to light. As is the case with the N. gate, it had an internal and external archway, and between the arches was a flat ceiling over which passed the walk along the top of the city walls. The gateway had been blocked with rough stonework in Roman times, possibly through fear of native attacks.

An interesting inscribed stone has also been found. It is a dedication to Mars by M. Nonius Romanus and is dated 124 after Christ.⁵

Newcastle-on-Tyne.—Two inscriptions found in the river: (1) Imp. Antonius Aug. pio p. pat. velixatio (sic) leg. ii Aug. et leg. vi. Vic. et leg. xxv. v. con[t]r[i]buti ex Ger(maniis) duobus (sic) sub Julio Vero leg. Aug. pr. p. (2) On an altar: Ociano (sic) leg. vi. vi(atrix) p(ia) f(idelis).²

Rough Castle (Scotland).—A small *castellum* belonging to the *vallum Antonini* has been explored. An inscription from the central building reads: Imp. Ca[es]ar[i] Tito [Aelio] Hadriano [Auto]nino Aug. [pio] p. p. coh. vi. [Ner]viorum pri[nci]pia f[ec]it. This shows that the central building of a *castellum* was called *principia*. N.W. of the fort a series of small oblong trenches arranged in ten rows has been discovered (cf. Caesar's *lilia*. *Bell. Gall.* vii. 73).²

F. H. MARSHALL.

² *Arch. Anz.* 1904, part 1.

⁵ *Standard*, Aug. 19th, 1904.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARIES.

Annual of the British School at Athens. No. ix. 1902-3.

1. A. J. Evans: The Palace of Knossos. (Three plates, 92 cuts.)

The campaign of 1903 showed that the site was by no means exhausted, and besides the completion

of the S.E. quarter there appeared an unexpected extension on the N.W., and an important *dependance*, named the Royal Villa, on the N.E. Discoveries of temple repositories with faience figures and relics threw new light on the art and religion of the later Palace, and new data were also obtained relating to the culture of the Early Minoan period, also fine polychrome pottery of the middle epoch.

On the S.E. the plan of a miniature palace was worked out; it contained a suite of living-rooms and a chamber, in which were torch- and lamp-stands, named the Pillar Room, which seems to have been a domestic sanctuary connected with the cult of a pair of Double Axe deities. In succeeding sections Mr. Evans contributes a note on the double and single door-openings in the Palace, and describes an Early Minoan basement with monolithic pillars, containing good polychrome pottery, and also the middle Minoan vases and sealings from beneath the Olive-Press Room; some of the pottery, imitating metal, is of unsurpassed elegance, and the seals are most naturalistic.

The early deep-walled cells in the N.W. quarter were cleared, and the stratification of this part shown to be remarkably clear. A long series of stone-cists found under the Long Gallery and the western magazines were also cleared; originally depositories for precious objects, they had subsequently been used as oil-vats. They contained pieces of gold-foil and remains of a chest inlaid with porcelain plaques.

The Sanctuary in the Central Palace appears to have formed an important part of it, and the Minoan rulers were probably priest-kings. Here the great stone repositories, with clearly stratified contents, yielded a unique collection of faience objects, steatite libation tables, and artificially coloured sea-shells forming the pavement of the shrine. Among the pottery were imported vases from Melos representing an advanced stage of the second settlement at Phylakopi, painted with birds. The clay sealings had linear characters differing from those of the later period, and probably replaced by the others owing to a change of dynasty, though found at a later date at Agia Triada. Many of the seal impressions are of marvellous beauty and naturalism, including a bull-ring scene, a man fighting a sea-monster (*psitrix*), and a pair of deities attended by lion and lioness.

The faience objects were a new revelation of Minoan art, both in technique and in character, and formed the fittings of a shrine. The technique is derived from Egypt but the subjects and the style are purely Cretan. The figures consist of fishes, shells, and flowers, cows and goats suckling their young, all of remarkable naturalism, as well as elegant vases. Most astonishing are the figures of snake-goddesses and their votaries, and models of votive robes; the type is that of a woman with high head-dress, tight bodice, and flounced skirt, with snakes coiled about her and held in her hands. The cult seems to have been that of a mother-goddess, related to the Egyptian Hathor and Nekhebet. A plain Greek cross of marble seems to have been the central anticonic object of the cult, and the other objects have been grouped about it in a conjectural rearrangement (fig. 63, p. 92).

On the north of the Eastern Pillar Room were found Early Minoan wares parallel to those of the Cyclades. The stepped theatre area was further explored and appears to belong to the later Palace,

the steps serving as an auditorium, ceremonial dances being performed in the orchestra.

The new N. W. building was either a sanctuary or a dependency of one. It contained fragments of vases with double axes, and of very fine amphorae of the later architectonic style with naturalistic foliage, etc.; also a hoard of bronze vessels, four basins and a jug with fine ornamentation.

The Royal Villa is an important construction with fine gypsum masonry, so far the best specimen of Minoan domestic architecture. On the staircase leading to it were found a fine 'false amphora' and a jar with papyrus in relief. At the west end of the megaron were a raised platform with balustrade and a niche with remains of the royal throne, suggesting a primitive basilica.

2. M. N. Tod: An unpublished Attic Decree.

A stele found in 1897 near Athens, of 304-03 B.C., giving the rewards of certain officials for their services; eleven names given, one from each tribe except that of Alantis; they must have formed a college, perhaps of *ἱεροποιοί*.

3. R. M. Dawkins: Notes from Karpathos. (13 cuts.)

Collects existing information about the island, ancient and modern, and gives details of ancient and mediaeval remains, also of modern customs, such as the locks now in use, and the law of inheritance.

4. A. J. B. Wace: Apollo seated on the Omphalos. (Plate, five cuts.)

Publishes a Hellenistic statue at Alexandria, and discusses the type on coins and reliefs, also the date of the Alexandria Apollo and its connection with Antioch; on the question of Alexandrian art upholds Wickhoff and Dragendorff against Schreiber.

5. W. M. Ramsay: Pisidia and the Lycaonian frontier. (Map.)

Adjustments of the frontier in the light of recent researches by the writer and others, and with reference to the lists of Phrygian bishoprics.

6. H. Comyn: Church of the ruined monastery at Daou-Mendeli, Attica. (Four plates, two cuts.)

Publishes drawings and photographs of a Byzantine church, with brief description.

7. Excavations at Palaikastro. II. R. C. Bosanquet, R. M. Dawkins, M. N. Tod, W. H. L. Duckworth, and J. L. Myres. (Seven plates, 46 cuts.)

Mr. Bosanquet gives a general account of the campaign, and discusses the chronological results

from Palaikastro and Zakro; the pottery falls into three periods: Kamares, early Mycenaean to fall of Zakro, and late Mycenaean. Analysis of pottery-forms and description of painted fragments from earlier stratum follow. He also describes the exploration of the *insulae* excavated in the town and of the five houses in one of the blocks.

Mr. Dawkins describes the houses of four other blocks, and the pottery. The earliest is found in the cave-burials of Hagios Nikolaos (early hand-made types); next come the Kamares cemeteries, parallel with the finds in the houses; then early deposits on the Roussolakkos site, the town floor-deposits of the best Mycenaean period, and archaic Greek geometrical vases. Technically, these may be classified as (1) hand-made unpainted, (2) Kamares, (3) Mycenaean painted, (4) plain domestic wares of Mycenaean period. The Kamares ware includes a remarkable fruit-dish on a high stem, painted in red and white, the Mycenaean, some with beautiful sea-weed and shell-fish patterns; the fourth class includes clay fire-boxes, bread-pans, candlesticks, and lamps.

Messrs. Dawkins and Tod describe the site of Kouramenos, with early circuit-wall marking the *τέμενος* of a chief, and buildings of quasi-megalithic type, one containing a hoard of bronze tools. Mr. Tod also describes that of Hagios Nikolaos, with remains of early houses and cave-burials.

Mr. Duckworth contributes anthropological notes on the human remains from this site and Roussolakkos, noting their similarity (both of a Mediterranean race); also on the ossuaries at Roussolakkos.

Mr. Myres describes the sanctuary-site excavated at Petsofá, with a large deposit of clay figures and a later building of late Minoan date. The clay figures are votive, of early Minoan date, with coloured slip; the male figures modelled by hand in separate pieces, wearing loin-cloths and boots, kilt, and girdle with dagger; the female wearing full skirts, bodices, and high-peaked hats; other figures include seated types, votive arms, legs, and heads, oxen, and miscellaneous votive objects. The human figures must represent votaries, the other objects offerings. Aegean dress discussed in relation to mediaeval and modern; bodice-and-skirt costume not confined to Central Europe; analogies with Aegean suggest very ancient community of culture; Mycenaean traditions of costume can be shewn to have lingered on into Hellenic times.

H. B. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxiv. No. 1.¹

Character Drawing in Thucydides, Charles Forster Smith. *Temporal Sentences of Limit in Greek*, Basil L. Gildersleeve. *Virgil's Use of arunt, arunt and ere*, Emory B. Lease. *Studies in Superstition* (on

¹ The contents of No. 3 were given in *C.R.* xvii. p. 475: but the number and volume were accidentally omitted.

Pindar Bacchylides and Theocritus), Ernst Riess. *The Nominative of the Perfect Participle of Deponent Verbs in Latin*, R. B. Steele. *History of the Use of εἰς for ἐν in Relative Clauses*, Stephen Langdon. *Cacophony in Juvenal Horace and Persius*, F. M. Austin. Reviews, etc. *Diels' Fragments of the Pre-Socratics* (W. A. Heidel). *Hogstad's edition of Low's Foul Ballad* (G. T. Flom). *Brandt's Ovid De Arte Amatoria* (K. F. Smith). Summaries of Periodicals, Brief Mention, etc.

Vol. xxv. No. 1.

On Some Alleged Indo-European Languages in Cuneiform Character, Maurice Bloomfield. *The Historical Attitude of Livy*, R. B. Steele. *Greek Ostraca in America*, Edgar J. Godspeed. *The Apodosis of the Unreal Condition in Oratio Obliqua in Latin*, Glanville Terrell (demonstrates the incorrectness of the view held by many grammarians and based, as it would appear, solely on a corrupt passage of Caesar, *B. G.* 5. 29, that the Romans had distinct forms to express the apodosis in past and present unreal conditions). *Dafna is Deva*, etc., L. H. Mills. *The Vocative in Aeschylus and Sophocles*, John Adams Scott. Reviews, etc. *Landgraf's Historische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache* (E. P. Morris). *Gradewitz's Lateinli*, Pichon's *de Sermone Anatorio*. *Ehwald's edition of Haupt's Metamorphoses of Ovid* (K. F. Smith). Summaries of Periodicals, Brief Mention, etc.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1904.

4 May. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*. Vol. III. *Die griechische Welt Herrschaft*. Part I. (A. Hock), very favourable. E. Martini, *Per l'epistola dei Papiri Ercolanesi* (S. Mekler). J. E. Harry, *The use of νέκλμας and the meaning of Eur. Hipp.* 1 foll. = Univ. of Cincinnati Bullet. No. 15 (K. Busche). J. Samuelsson, *Klassiska Assimilationen und Satzglieder im Latein* (H. Ziemer), favourable. *Bibliographie der vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, von H. Jellinek. 1. 3, 4. (Fr. Harder).

11 May. *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, herausg. von W. Spiegelberg. II. von K. Dyroff und B. Pörtner (A. Wiedemann). 'Excellent.' A. Gercke, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*. 2 Aufl. (W. Vollbrecht). 'Very useful in the collection to which it belongs.' *Sophokles*, erkl. von W. Schneidewin und A. Nauck. 4 Bändchen. *Antigone*, 10 Aufl. von E. Bruhn (H. Draheim), 'Quite up to date.' P. Thomsen, *Palästina nach dem Onomastikon des Eusebius* (E. Klostermann), very favourable. *Mitteilungen der Altertumskommission für Westfalen*. Part III. (C. Koenen). *Künstlerische Wanderschmuck*. Farbige Künstler-Steinzeichnungen. No. 25. M. Roman, *Der Neptunstempel von Priestum*.

18 May. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, herausg. von G. Wissowa. 9 halbb. *Demogenes—Donatianus* (Fr. Harder). M. Collignon et L. Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* (P. Weizsäcker). R. Holbing, *Die Präpositionen bei Herodot und anderen Historikern* (W. Vollbrecht), 'Very careful and thorough.' R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (J. Ziehen), very favourable. H. Delchaye, *Catalogus eodum hagiographicorum graecorum Monasterii S. Salvatoris* (J. Dräseke).

25 May. R. Reitzenstein. *Poimandres* (C. Wessely). A study of Greco-Egyptian and early-Christian literature. L. Radermacher, *Das Jenseits im Mythos der Hellenen* (H. Studing), favourable. *Aristotelis πολιτεία 'Athena'*. Fourth edition Fr. Blass (G. J. Schneider). Fr. Cauer, *Ciceros politisches Denken* (Th. Zielinski), favourable. A. Kraemer *Ort und Zeit der Abfassung der Astronomia des Manilius* (Breiter), favourable. Br. Kruczkiewicz, *Ovra* (P. Kerkhoff). Two conjectures on Statius and one on Juvenal. R. Renner, *Epiktet und seine Ideale* (A. Bonhöffer), favourable. K. Schulthess, *Herodes Atticus* (A. Hock), very favourable.

1 June. A. Hock, *Herodot und sein Geschichtswerk* (W. Vollbrecht). 'Cordially to be recommended.' H. Francotte, *De la condition des étrangers dans les*

cités grecques (Fr. Cauer), very favourable. P. Usteri, *Achtung und Verbannung im griechischen Recht* (E. Ziebarth), favourable on the whole.

8 June. E. Assmann, *Das Floss der Odyssee* (Chr. Harder), very favourable. *Xenophontis Cynegeticus*, rec. G. Pierleoni, (E. Pollack), favourable. K. F. Smith, *The Tale of Gyges* (Fr. Cauer). 'An acute reconstruction.' G. Gentili, *De Varro in libris rerum rusticarum auctoribus* (W. Gemoll), favourable. R. Thiele, *Auswahl aus Ciceros rhetorischen Schriften* (O. Weissenfels). 'A carefully-made selection.' Br. Kruczkiewicz, *Ovra* (O. Weissenfels). On Hor. *Epp.* ii. 1. 69-71. *Libaniti opera*, rec. R. Foerster, vol. I, fasc. 1, 2 (R. Asmus), very favourable.

15 June. G. Roloff, *Probleme aus der griechischen Kriegsgeschichte* (R. Oehler), favourable. P. Shorey, *The unity of Plato's thought* (Stender). 'A work to be reckoned with.' L. Bellanger, *Le poème d'Orion* (C. Weyman), favourable. R. Ewald, *Althelms Gedicht De virginitate* (M. Manitius). J. E. Sandys, *A history of classical scholarship* (O. Weissenfels). 'Very thorough, illuminating, and attractive.'

22 June. F. H. Weissbach, *Das Stadtbild von Babylon* (J. V. Präsek), favourable. S. Sabbadini, *Epoca del Gorgia di Platone* (Stender), favourable. M. Psichari, *Index raisonné de la mythologie d'Hercule*, avec une préface d' A. France (W. Gemoll), unfavourable. G. Koch, *Zur vergleichenden Behandlung von Aeneis i. 157-222 und Odyssee x. 135-186* (W. Volkmann). C. Cichorius, *Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobrudscha* (M. Ihm), favourable.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 32. 2. 1904.

J. J. Hartman, *Tacita* (cont.). On passages of the Histories. M. Valetton, *De Thorace apud Homerum* (cont.). Sometimes θάρη clearly = 'bronze breastplate.' Θωρήσσειν, etc. would easily come to mean 'arm,' etc. even if θάρη originally denoted simply χερών. Often we have to assume that the writer of a passage pictured his warrior without a bronze breastplate (e.g. from the armour or clothing given him). A survey of the various passages shows that only late parts of the Iliad assume its presence: the Odyssey altogether ignores it. H. T. Karsten, *Commentum Aeli Donati ad Terentium*. The chief contributor, after Donatus, was a man of quasi-philosophic taste. Detailed investigation of his work in the notes on Andria and Phormio ii. 3. C. G. Vollgraf, *Apuleiana* (Metamorph.). H. van Herwerden, *Hesychiana*. J. J. Hartman, *Ad Tithulum* 1. 7. 39 sqq. J. van Leeuwen, *Ad Solonis fr. XIII*. Notes by P. H. D. *Ad vitam Persii*, H. v. H. *Verborum monstra*, J. J. H. *Ad Plutarchum* (2), M. V. *Ad Xen. Anab.* 4. 6. 1.

Vol. 32. 3. 1904.

H. van Herwerden, *Ad duas fabulas Aristophanis, etc.* Conjectures, etc. to Lysistrata and Thesmophorizusae. P. H. Damsté, *Ad Livium*. Books 21, 23, 24, 25, 27. J. Würtheim 'Οδυσσεύς. The form 'Οδυσσεύς, common on vases, the older and points to derivation from Ὀδυσ. H. T. Karsten, *Commentum Aeli Donati ad Terentium* (cont. from part 2). Four other interpolators. P. J. M. van Gils, *Hengevinius?* E. van Hille, *De lapide nuper Athenis in arce invento*. Treasure list of the ταμεία of Athena belonging to the year 368-7 and mainly concerned with the Hecatompedon.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xiii. 5. 1904.

E. Petersen, *Peisistratische Kunst*. Deals mainly with the temple, the foundations of which Kallivadas

discovered between Parthenon and Erechtheion, the Heaatompedon. It belonged to Athena alone, was built about 550 and converted about 525 into a peripteral building. W. Schmidt, *Aus der antiken Mechanik*. E. Ziebarth, *Römische Bausteine*. Traces the destruction or migration of ancient monuments, etc., due to their use by the church, the *marmorarii*, and above all the limeburners. H. Schwarz, *Natur- und Geisteswissenschaft in der Geschichte der Philosophie*. A. Biese, G. F. J. Uhl. In *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen* E. Stemplingen describes a first German translation of Ovid's *Ars* by Paul von der Aelst, the fourth part of *Der römische Limes in Österreich* is noticed, and O. Ladendorf gives a supplementary list of German literature dealing with the story of Psyche.

Vol. xiii. 6. 1904.

J. Ilberg, *Aus der antiken Medizin*. 'Excavations at Epidaurus shew that the early priests of Aesclepius had little to do with medical science. The earliest traces of it point to the homes of the old Ionic philosophy—Magna Graecia and Asia Minor.' Review of the various fragments of the Hippocrates collection: e.g. the *περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων* (shewing a spirit of bold investigation), the *περὶ καρδίας* (first work on Anatomy), the *ἐπιδημιαί* (a vivid picture of the ailments of ancient times, not excluding influenza). 'The four humour theory was evidently not Hippocratean. Much light thrown on the daily life of various periods.' Concludes with an account of Galen's work. J. Franck, *Eine literarische Persönlichkeit des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Niederlanden*. F. Hahn, *Die Charaktere Mannels und Cäsars in der Bräut von Messene*. J. J. Bernoulli's *Griechische Ikonographie* is reviewed by A. Gercke. 'Intended to fill, and in the main does fill, a really perceptible gap.' 'B.'s method is surer than in his earlier *Römische Ik.*: the certain is more clearly distinguished from the uncertain.' J. C. Tarver's *Tiberius the Tyrant* is described at some length and with appreciation by W. Schott.

Vol. xiii. 7. 1904.

W. Schmid, *Der griechische Roman*. 'Heinze's theory (Petronius' work a parody of a serious romance akin to the later Greek ones) will not hold. Thiele has done good service by shewing that rhetoricians of 100 B.C. used a *δραματικὸν διήγημα* very similar to the Greek romances. The newly edited Ninos novel (Hermes 28, 161 sqq.) belongs to the 1st. cent. A.D. or earlier and shews a clearly marked rhetorical character. It seems to be the link between the short exercises of the rhetoricians and the long romances of later times.' F. Blass, *Die*

Doppelte Form des dritten Philippika des Demosthenes. The S-tradition, on rhythmical grounds, declared to represent the final form of the speech. Dem. may have left behind him a first draft: MSS. representing the final form were (after Callimachus) marked with obeli to shew where Dem. had added to, altered, or omitted his original words. A copyist who was trying to ignore the draft might nevertheless, by error, omit portions of the text which he found obelised (i.e. marked as not being in the draft). So it is that S is not wholly free from the influence of the draft. E. Gerland, *Der vierte Kreuzzug und seine Probleme*. O. Hense, *Friedrich Hölderlin*. Part 1 of *Berliner Klassikertexte* (containing Didymus' commentary to Demosthenes, *Phil.* ix.-xii. etc.) is favourably noticed.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 59. 3.

F. Bücheler, *Neptunia Prata*. A mosaic found at the ancient Althiburus in N. Africa depicts various kinds of vessel, giving their names and citations from Latin poets in which they occur. It probably represents a chapter of Suetonius' *Prata*. H. van Herwerden, *Adn. ad Libanii Oratorum ed. Foersterianam*. S. Schlossmann, *Stipulari*. *Stips* originally meant 'corn' and came to be used metaphorically in conn. with the method of raising large sums (sheaf) by collection of small individual sums (ears). *Stipulari* is primarily used then of the collector, and this suits the legal force of the word 'sollicit a promise of the fulfilment of certain acts.' A. Klotz, *Die Barthschen Statiushandschriften*. 'No reason for doubting their existence. B.'s evidence as to his *codex opl.* reveals a scribe with a pronounced individuality and a MS. belonging to the class which combines P and the old vulgate.' L. Ziehen, *Die Bedeutung von προθύειν*. Four passages where the meaning 'sacrifice for' is assumed are discussed. One is too corrupt to serve as evidence; in the others the temporal force of the preposition is possible: e.g. in Eur. *Ion* 805, where l. 653 suggests that *παῖδος* depends on *ξένια καὶ γενέθλια*. No certain case of the other meaning outside Gregorius. Th. Birt, *Zu Catulls Carmina maiora*. Most of the space devoted to 62 and 68. 'The two parts of the latter have no connection:' in ref. to v. 39 the general use of *non* with *uterque* and the position of the negative in Cat. are investigated. G. Loeschcke, *Das Synodikon des Athanasius*. Certain documents given in some MSS. along with the works of A. are fragments of his Synodikon. In *Miscellen* G. L. Hendricksen would read *deiscas* (*dehiscas*) in Cat. 98. 6.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1904.

ADVERSARIA UPON THE FRAGMENTS OF THE MINOR TRAGEDIANS.

[The numeration is Nauck's (1889).]

DICÆOGENES *fr.* 1 :

ὅταν δ' ἔρωτος ἐνδεθῶμεν ἄρκυνσιν
θάσσον θυραίοις τὴν † χάριν ποιούμεθα
ἢ τοῖς ἀνάγκης † ἐν γένει πεφυκόσιν.

COBET (with the approval of Nauck) suggests τὴν νόσον μὲνόμεν, but this is manifestly not emendation. For his μὲνόμεν we may substitute its equivalent κοινούμεθα, and for his νόσον its equivalent κύπριν (cf. *frag. adesp.* 154 λαθραῖαν κύπριν, αἰσχίστην νόσων). In such cases one may prefer the small initial (as in ἄρης).

The last line is obviously faulty, but it is wrong to alter ἀνάγκης (cf. οἱ ἀναγκαῖοι). I therefore read—

θάσσον θυραίοις τὴν κύπριν κοινούμεθα
ἢ τοῖς ἀνάγκης ἐγγύθεν πεφυκόσιν.

CHÆREMONE *fr.* 1 :

κόμαι δὲ κηροχρῶτες . . .

The adj. may possibly bear some meaning which has escaped enquirers, but I fancy the true reading is κερρόχρωτες (*i.e.* between πύρραι and ξανθαί). The same error occurs in Athen. 281 E, where Δ has κηροειδεῖς for κερροειδεῖς of C.

CHÆREMONE *fr.* 25 :

πρὶν γὰρ φρονεῖν εὖ καταφρονεῖν ἐπίσταται.

Read πρὶν γὰρ φρονεῖν εὖ, καὶ φρονεῖν ἐπίστατο

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i.e. 'Before having shrewd sense learn to have sense at all.'

Nauck also suspects that the words are a command; but his πρὶν μέγα φρονεῖν γάρ, εὖ φρονεῖν ἐπίστατο is too remote.

CHÆREMONE *fr.* 36 :

πλοῦτος δὲ πρὸς μὲν † τὰς ὅλας τιμὰς ἰὼν
οὐκ ἔσχεν ὄγκον ὥστε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἔστι † σεμνός· ἐν δὲ † δόσει (*ul.* δώσει)
βροτῶν
ἡδὺς συνοικεῖν καὶ τιν' εἰληχῶς χάριν.

The passage is probably thus corrupt in the third line because of the corruption in the first. ΤΑΚΟΛΑΚΤ arose from ΤΑΚΟΛΑΚΤ and the division with τὰς ὅλας made a feminine noun necessary. The sense required is

πλοῦτος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰ κόλαστα πᾶς ἰὼν
οὐκ ἔσχεν ὄγκον ὥστε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἄσμενος· ἐν δὲ σὺ φροσιν
βροτῶν
ἡδὺς συνοικεῖν κ.τ.λ.

i.e. 'wealth which wholly abandons itself to dissoluteness gets no glory, but . . . etc.'

CARCINUS *fr.* 5. vv. 5 *sqq.* :

Demeter wanders in quest of Persephone and they say that she

μαστήρ' ἐπελθεῖν πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ χθόνα,
6 καὶ τὴν μὲν Αἰτναίοισι Σικελίας πάγους

C C

πρὸς γέμονσαν ρείμασιν δυνεμβόλοις
πᾶσαν στενάξει, κ.τ.λ.

The only alteration required is $\epsilon\nu$ for $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (v. 6). The sense of $\chi\theta\acute{o}\rho\alpha$ is easily passed on to $\tau\eta\rho$, while $\epsilon\nu$ of 'neighbourhood' is too well known to need illustration.

CARCINUS *fr.* 8 :

χαίρω σ' ὁρῶν φθοιοῦντα, τοῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι
ἐν δρᾷ μόνον δίκαιον ὦν ποιεῖ φθόρος·
λεπεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸ † τὸ κτῆμα τοὺς κεκτημένους.

The alteration to αὐτὸ κτῆμα is hardly satisfactory. I propose, as more vigorous also, $\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ γὰρ <αὐτοῦς> αὐτὸ τοὺς κεκτημένους, in which the idiomatic neuter αὐτὸ called forth the adscript τὸ κτῆμα.

ASTYDAMAS *fr.* 3 :

κρατῆρε μὲν πρῶτιστον ἀργυρῶ δύο,
φιάλας δὲ πεντηκοντα, δέκυ δὲ κυμβία,
ρέοντα δώδεχ', ὦν τὰ μὲν δέκ' ἀργυρᾷ
† ἦν, δύο δὲ χρυσᾷ, γρυνψί, τὸ δ' ἕτερον
Πήγασος.†

In the last line ἦν is rightly omitted by U of Athenaeus and by Eustathius. Casaubon partially emended with γρυνψ for γρυνψί. Read

χρυσᾷ δὲ δύο, γρυνψ, θάτερον δὲ Πήγασος.

ASTYDAMAS *fr.* 8 :

γένους δ' ἑπαινός ἐστιν ἀσφαλέστατος
κατ' ἄνδρ' ἐπαινεῖν, ὅστις ἂν δίκαιος ἢ
τρόπος τ' ἄριστος, τοῦτον εὐγενῇ καλεῖν.
† ἔνεκα τῶν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἄνδρ' ἕνα†
καὶ τοῦτον οἱ ζητοῦντες εἰσι μυριοί.

A late hand in one MS has a poor attempt at correction with $\epsilon\nu$ ἄνδρα τούτων ἐστὶν εἰρεῖν δυσχερές. Porson discovered part of the true reading with $\epsilon\nu$ δ' ἑκατὸν ἐστὶν ἔργον ἄνδρ' εὐρεῖν ἕνα [or so I suppose he wrote, and not, in violation of his own canon, εὐρεῖν ἄνδρ' ἕνα as Nauck reports].

But it is absurd for 'ten thousand' to be searching among 'a hundred.' The expression is deliberately hyperbolic, and the cause of the error appears when we read

$\epsilon\nu$ δ' ἑκατὸν εὐρεῖν ἔτεστιν ἔργον ἄνδρ' ἕνα.

NEOPHRON *fr.* 2. 10 (*Medea*) :

οἶμοι δέδοκται παῖδες, ἐκτὸς ὁμμάτων
ἀπέλθου· ἡδὴ γὰρ με φοινία † μέγαν
δ' ἐδύκε λύσσα θυμόν.

No one approves of μέγαν θυμόν in this context. Read

ἡδὴ γὰρ με μέλανα φοινία κ.τ.λ.

Such contrast of colour epithets was in favour with the tragedians.

ION *fr.* 27 :

† ἔπεισας· ἀλλὰ πῶθι Πακτωλοῦ ρόας.

The context is unknown, but the line would gain in value for quotation if we were to read $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, i.e. 'You have given me drink. Drink in return the streams of of Pactolus.'

ION *fr.* 29 :

ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς † εὐφημίας
κατέπινε καὶ τὰ κᾶλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρακας.

Bentley's βουλμίας does not appear to me so probable as $\epsilon\upsilon\eta\mu\iota\alpha\varsigma$.

ION *fr.* 38 :

ἀλλ' † ἐν τε χέρσῳ τὰς λέοντος ἤνεσα
ἢ τὰς ἐχίνου μᾶλλον οἰζυρὰς τέχνας.

No sense has been made out of $\epsilon\nu$ τε χέρσῳ. The corruption is somewhat deep, but I believe it is not too remote to suggest

ἀλλ' ἄντικρὺς σοι

(cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 191 ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως μὲν ἄντικρυσ τάδ' αἰνέσω κ.τ.λ.). I suspect that ἄντικρυσ αἰνεῖν was an established (publicist's) phrase for being 'entirely of opinion.'

ZENODOTUS *fr.* 1 :

κηρύσσεται † αἰεὶ ἀρετή· κακὸς δ' ἀνὴρ
σιγηλὸν ἔσχε ζῶν τε καὶ θανὼν βίον.

To Valckenauer's μὲν ἀρετή or Nauck's γὰρ ἀρετή I prefer μ' ἐγ' ἀρετή as slightly nearer and stronger in sense.

HIPPOTHOON *fr.* 6 :

γάμος κράτιστός ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ σῶφρονι
τρόπον γυναικὸς χρηστὸν † ἔνδον λαμβάνειν.

Read $\epsilon\nu$ δίκου λαβεῖν.

[In conjugal relations ἔνδικος was a current word. Cf. Eur. *fr.* 1061 ἦτις γὰρ αὐτὴ μὴ πέφυκεν ἔνδικος, | τί δέϊ φυλάσσειν; where one MS gives ἔνδον and two ἔνδος. Also see Apollonides *fr.* 1. 5 sq.]

CRITIAS *fr.* 1 :

In this long passage the speaker first states the genesis of legal restraint. This being insufficient to check secret actions, some shrewd individual invents deities and the restraint of religion. There is no doubt about the sense, but there is a great defect in the reading of the passage vv. 9 sqq. It stands thus—

ἔπειτ', ἐπειδὴ τὰμφανῇ μὲν οἱ νόμοι
ἀπείργον αὐτοὺς ἔργα μὴ πράσσειν βίᾳ
λάθρᾳ δ' ἐπρασσον, τηλικαῦτά μοι δοκεῖ
† . . . πυκνὸς τις καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην ἀνὴρ
γνώναι † δὲ ὅς θνητοῖσιν ἐξευρεῖν, ὅπως
εἴη τι δαίμα.

One MS has *δεόση* in v. 13. I should read (11 sqq.) thus

τηνικαὐτὰ μοι δοκεῖ

<φῦνα<> πυκνός τις καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην
ἀνὴρ,
γνῶναι δ' ὅ σ' ἰαθιητοῖσιν ἐξευρεῖν, κ.τ.λ.

[For the self-contained tribrach in 2nd foot see note on Aesch. *Cho.* 1 and add Eur. *Bacch.* 662.]

In the same fragment (27 sq.) occurs the faulty

γαῖαν δ' ἔφασκε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνταῦθ' ἵνα
† μάλιστα ἐξέπληξεν ἀνθρώπους ἄγων. †

Grotius emended with *λέγων*, but it appears to me that Toup's *μάλιστα* 'ἀν ἐξέπληξεν' is bad Greek. Better is *μάλιστα* δὴ 'ἔπληξεν'.

The latter part of the fragment (vv. 37 sqq.) is badly mutilated, viz.

† τοιοῦτους δὲ περιέστησεν ἀνθρώποις φόβους
† δι' οὓς καλῶς τε τῷ λόγῳ κατώκισεν
τὸν † δαίμονα καὶ ἐν πρέποντι χωρίῳ,
τὴν ἀνομίαν τε τοῖς νόμοις κατέσβεσεν.

For *δι' οὓς* Wecklein proposes *δαιμόνους*. The error is technically more likely with *θεῖους*. I should emend the passage (which is a summary) thus—

τοιοῦσ' δ' ὑπέρ τ' ἔστησεν ἀνθρώποις
φόβους

θεῖους, καλῶς τε τῷ λόγῳ κατώκισεν
τὸν δαίμον' α<ἐπ' οὖ> κὰν πρέποντι χωρίῳ,
τὴν ἀνομίαν τε τοῖς νόμοις κατέσβεσεν.

i.e. 'he locates his (invented) deity etc.' In the last line one might suggest *τὴν* <πρὶν> δ' ἀνομίαν τοῖς νόμοις κατέσβεσεν.

ACHAEUS *fr.* 3 :

<A> πότῃρα θεωροῖς † εἶτ' ἀγωνισταῖς λέγεις;
 πόλλ' ἐσθίουσιν, ὥς ἐπασκοίντων τρόπος.
<A> ποδαποὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ξένοι; Βοιώ-
τιοι.

We cannot read *εἶτ'*, and the next line in reply shows that there is no disjunctive question. The sense points plainly to *σῖτ'*. The absence of context prevents any certainty as to *θεωροῖς*, but I cannot see that it is open to objection. Delegates from abroad who come on a solemn or festive occasion to take part in ceremonies are *θεωροί*, and, if games are part of the ceremonies, there is no reason why the *θεωροί* should not also be *ἀγωνισταί* or even be sent in that capacity. Of course *θυραίοις* would be an easy suggestion; but it is not needed. In answer to the question 'Do you mean food for visiting

athletes?' the natural answer will be, not *πόλλ' ἐσθίουσιν*, but *πόλλ' ἐσθίουσι γ'*.

ACHAEUS *fr.* 27 :

† πολὺς γὰρ ὄμιλος ποιτίου κύκλου σοβῶν
ἐνάλιος θεωρία χραίνοντες θυραίοισιν εὐδίαν
ἀλός.

The passage is obviously one of iambic senarii. Casaubon corrected with *οὐραίοισιν* and Erfurd with *δ'* for *γάρ*. For the rest add *ΘΥ* (= *θεοῦ*) after *ποιτίου* and read

πολὺς δ' ὄμιλος ποιτίου <θεοῦ> κύκλῳ
σοβῶν <ἀμιλλᾷ>, ἐνάλιος θεωρία,
χραίνοντες οὐραίοισιν εὐδίαν ἀλός.

AGATHON *fr.* 29 (also attributed to Sthenelus) :

ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἐσορᾶν † γίγνεται ἀνθρώποις ἐρᾶν.
Read ἐγένετ'.

THEODECTES *fr.* 14 :

γονέων † τὰ τέκνα σφάζουσιν αἱ συμβουλῖαι.

Perhaps *γονέων γόνους σφάζουσιν* is the most effective correction

THEODECTES *fr.* 16 :

πολυσπερεῖ μὲν, ὃ γέρον, καθ' Ἑλλάδα
φήμῃ πανᾶται καὶ διέγνωσται πάλοι
τὸ μὴ βεβαίους τὺς βροτῶν εἶναι τύχας.

The alteration to *πολυσπερὴς* seems to me very unlikely as compared with the easy emendation *φήμῃ*, the subject of the verbs being the third line.

SOSIPHANES *fr.* 2 :

νῦν σοι πρὸς ὅψιν θυμὸς ἡβάτω, γέρον.
† νυνὶ δεῖ γ' ὀργὴν, ἥνικ' ἡδικοῦ λαβεῖν.

In place of the more violent changes attempted in the latter line I suggest

νῦν δεῖ σ' ἐς ὀργὴν ἡλίκ' ἡδικοῦ λαβεῖν.

i.e. 'now might you take in wrath the great injuries you suffered.'

MOSCHION *fr.* 2 :

ὃ καὶ θεῶν κρατοῦσα καὶ θνητῶν μόνῃ
μοῖρα λιταῖς † ἄτρωτε δυστήνων βροτῶν.

Grotius rightly restored *μοῖρ*, ὃ λιταῖς . . . For *ἄτρωτε* Nauck suggests *ἄτεγκετε*, but the words are not much alike. I suspect the word was *ἄπωτε* ('refusing ears to'). Such compounds with *ἀπό* are *ἀπόθεος*, *ἄπιχθους*, *ἀπόσιτος*, *ἀποχρήματος* ('refusing money'). They approach the forms in *ἀ-*, e.g. *ἄωτος*, but have a more distinct sense of intentional rejection.

T. G. TUCKER.

ON EURIPIDES *ALCESTIS* 96-98.

THE suggestion which Hartung (1850) made on the basis of the antistrophic responson that an anapaestic dipody has dropped out of the text at this point, has been embodied in the editions of all subsequent editors but Nauck (who, however, regards it as a highly probable one), though there is some difference as to the exact position of the lacuna. Kirchhoff places it after πῶς, Earle and Hayley after ἔρημον, Hartung and the rest after Ἀδμητος. The lemma, however, in Δ πῶς ἂν ἔρημον τάφον: in default of proof to the contrary makes it highly probable that the lacuna is after Ἀδμητος, for, as I hope to show, this scholium dates from a time when the text was not yet corrupt.

Suggestions for the omitted words are: κηδευνόντων Hartung, στείλας ἄξια Hadley, τῶν θρηγνούντων Wecklein:—the last certainly the best, though it seems to rest on the needless assumption that ἔρημον needs some genitive to define its meaning. No attention is paid, however, to the important scholia which we have on this passage. In A we find on v. 96 (Schwartz) πῶς ἂν ἔρημον τάφον: οὐκ ἂν, φησίν, ἔρημον τὸν τάφον Ἀδμητος καὶ ἥσυχον ἐποίησεν ὥστε μηδένα γνῶναι. B gives us the same (except for the lemma), only after τάφον it has αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀδμητος ἐποίησεν μεθ' ἥσυχίας κ.τ.λ. A and B give also another scholium as follows ἄλλως: πῶς χωρὶς ὄχλου τὰν ἐκφορὰν <ἂν> ἐποίησατο Ἀδμητος κ.τ.λ. Now considering the fact that the first scholium follows the text very closely, that both express the idea of silence and quiet, and that the second scholium agrees with the first only in this special particular of the quietness of the

proceedings, that the opening words of the chorus τί ποθ' ἥσυχία κ.τ.λ. express their surprise at the ominous quiet which reigned in the palace, I think the balance of probability inclines towards the view that the omission here is not of some word or words limiting ἔρημον, but of some expression emphasizing the silence and quiet of the suggested funeral. Such a coincidence in the scholia can hardly be explained otherwise than that the scholiasts were here following some text where there was a distinct reference to the quietness as well as to the bareness of the funeral.

As to the exact words which might have been used, καὶ ἥσυχον of A is metrically impossible. The addition of a τε in the second scholium so as to make it read χωρὶς τ' ὄχλου, would indeed suit the demands of metre, but we cannot believe that the poet would have expressed himself thus. Furthermore this scholium is in any case only a very free paraphrase of the text. μεθ' ἥσυχίας of B changed to μετὰ θ' ἥσυχίας by adding the τε which the context demands, and to which the unmetrical καὶ ἥσυχον of A seems to point, suits sense and metre perfectly, and has the further advantage of being used by Euripides in two other places, *frg.* 370, 2 and *Hipp.* 205, in the latter passage in exactly the form proposed above, and in an anapaestic passage as well. I therefore suggest that the poet wrote here

πῶς ἂν ἔρημον τάφον Ἀδμητος
μετὰ θ' ἥσυχίας
κεδνῆς ἂν ἐπραξε γυναικός;

W. A. OLDFATHER.

GREEK AND EASTERN PARALLELS TO HERODOTUS, III. 119.

HERODOTUS (iii. 119) tells how the wife of Intaphernes was given the choice of a life, her husband, brother, and children having been condemned to death, and chose her brother. Being asked why, she said: 'O King, I may get another husband, if God will, and other children, if I should lose these; but my father and mother are dead,

and another brother I never could get more.' The same idea is reproduced in the much-discussed lines of the *Antigone*, 904-20. The idea seems unnatural to us, but it is not so to-day in Greece. I know of a case where a peasant woman said the same, when some question arose between her husband and her brother; and it is not an uncommon

thing to hear. It is a brother's duty, if there is no father, to provide for his sister's dowry, and he must not marry until she is safely settled in life; brothers often make great sacrifices to this end, and the sister's attachment is easily understood. In a traditional ballad which I procured some years ago in Cos a similar thought is expressed. When the ancient bridge of Antimachia, called the Kamára, was built, it would not stand until a human being should be buried under the foundations. Lots were cast and the lot fell on the master-builder, who thus deliberates:

τὰ βάλλω τὸ φειτάκι μου; φέντη δὲγ κάμνω
ἄλλο,
τὰ βάλλω τὰδερφάκι μου; ἀδέρφι πκῖδ δὲγ
κάμνω,
τὰ βάλλω τὴμ μανοῦλα μου; δὲγ κάμνω μάναν
ἄλλη,
τὰ βάλλω τὴδ δερφοῦλα μου; δερφὴν ἐγ κάμνω
ἄλλη.
τὰ βάλλω τὴγ γεναῖκα μου; γεναῖκα κάμνω πάλι.

'Shall I cast in my father, my brother, my sister, my mother? I can get no more. Shall I cast in my wife? A wife I can get again,' and he does accordingly.

But an exact parallel to the story of Herodotus appears in the Pali Jataka (vol. i. p. 307, translation p. 165). A king takes three prisoners, and a woman comes to beg them off. 'The King asked what relation the three prisoners were to her. And she said that one was her husband, one her brother, and one her son. "Well, to mark my favour," said the King, "I give you one of the three. Which will you take?" "Sire," was her answer, "if I live, I can get another husband and another son; but as my parents are dead, I can never get another brother. So give me my brother, sire."' The eastern King released to her all three, more magnanimous than Darius; but then they had not been playing traitor to him, only accused of robbing other people.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

MUSICI SCRIPTORES GRAECI. EMENDATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS.

I.

PSEUDO-EUCLID, *Introductio Harmonica*, CH. 9, AND GAUDENTIUS, *Introductio Harmonica*, CH. 18.

AT the end of the third book of Aristoxenus' ἁρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα there is the following account of the form (σχῆμα) or species (εἶδος) of a musical 'system,' Meib. 74, 10:—μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λεκτέον τί ἐστι καὶ ποία τις ἡ κατ' εἶδος διαφορά—διαφέρει δ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν εἶδος λέγειν ἢ σχῆμα, φέρομεν γὰρ ἀμφότερα τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτά ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. γίνεται δ' ὅταν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγέθους ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀσυνθέτων συγκειμένου μεγέθει καὶ ἀριθμῷ ἢ τάξις αὐτῶν ἀλλοίωσιν λάβῃ: i.e. there is a difference of form or species when the compass of a system remains the same and its elements (the intervals or διαστήματα) remain the same both in number and magnitude, but their order is changed. μεγέθει καὶ ἀριθμῷ is of course *dativus modi* after τῶν αὐτῶν. The account in Pseudo-Euclid, *Introductio*, ch. 9 is:—γίνεται δὲ καὶ σχήματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγέθους ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀσυνθέτων συγκείμενα καὶ ἀριθμοῦ, εἰ ἢ τάξις αὐτῶν ἀλλοίωσιν λάβοι, ἐνυπάρχοντός τινος ἀνομοίου. τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσων πάντων ἢ ὁμοίων

σχημάτων ἀλλοίωσιν οὐ ποιεῖ. According to the Teubner edition συγκείμενα appears in B M⁴ L, συγκειμένων in M¹ W and συγκειμένω in N. The text of Aristoxenus suggests the alteration of συγκείμενα καὶ ἀριθμοῦ into συγκειμένου μεγέθει καὶ ἀριθμῷ. συγκείμενα is intelligible and might stand, though the reading in Aristoxenus makes it improbable, but καὶ ἀριθμοῦ needs emendation.

Gaudentius, *Introductio Harmonica*, ch. 18, has a corresponding passage:—τῶν δὲ τετραχόρδων εἶδη ἐστὶν ἡτοι σχήματα τρία . . . γίνεται δὲ ταῦτα ὅταν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγέθους τῶν τετραχόρδων σωζομένου καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν συστημάτων ἢ τάξις μόνῃ καὶ ἢ σύνθεσις ἀλλοίωσιν λάβῃ. Here συστημάτων, which takes the place of ἀσυνθέτων in the other passages, is the wrong word, and it is probably a mistake for διαστημάτων which would be right. Strict accuracy requires also the insertion of καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους before καὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ: still Gaudentius may possibly have omitted it. The omission may suggest that he was working from a defective version like that in Pseudo-Euclid. If so, it was perhaps not the text of Pseudo-Euclid itself,

for there is strong evidence, as the writer hopes to shew elsewhere, for thinking that the Aristoxenean material in Gaudentius was not derived directly or indirectly from Pseudo-Euclid.

II.

PSEUDO-EUCLID, *Introductio Harmonica*, CH. 4, AND ITS RELATION TO BACCHIUS, *Introductio*.

Aristoxenus (*Meib.* 24 and 50) defines the *πυκνόν* as a combination of two intervals in the tetrachord such that their sum is less than the remainder of the compass of the tetrachord. It follows from this that there can be no *πυκνόν* in the diatonic *genus* of the tetrachord (*Aristox. Meib.* 25, 21 and 50, 17 sqq.).

In Ps.-Eucl. *Introd. Harm.* c. 4, the notes of the *πυκνόν* are divided into *βαρύπυκνοι*, *μεσόπυκνοι*, and *δξύπυκνοι*. The moveable notes of the tetrachord are either *μεσόπυκνοι*, *δξύπυκνοι*, or *διάτονοι*. Of these the *δξύπυκνοι* are the third notes of each tetrachord in the enharmonic and chromatic *genera*: *διάτονοι* is doubtless intended for the third notes in the diatonic because there is no *πυκνόν* in that *genus*, and the writer says expressly that the *δξύπυκνοι* belong to the enharmonic and chromatic *genera*, because there is no *πυκνόν* in the diatonic—*τὸ γὰρ διάτονον οὐ μετέχει πυκνοῦ*, though he does not happen to define *πυκνόν*. The enumeration of the *δξύπυκνοι* begins with those in the enharmonic *genus* thus:—*εἰσὶν οὖν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ οἷδε*. After that comes the enumeration of the chromatic beginning with *ἐν δὲ τῷ χρωματι οἷδε*. After this again the MSS have *ἐν δὲ τῷ διατόνῳ οἷδε*, followed by an enumeration of the third notes of the tetrachords in the diatonic *genus* *λίχαρος ὑπάτων διάτονος, κ.τ.λ.* The text here cannot be right for it would necessitate *δξύπυκνοι*, and therefore a *πυκνόν*, in the diatonic *genus*, in contradiction to the above statement that the diatonic had no *πυκνόν*. The Teubner editor (von Jan) makes the obvious emendation of *ἐν δὲ διατόνῳ* into *οἱ δὲ διάτονοι*.

An examination of the treatise which goes by the name of the *Introductio* of Bacchius,—a sort of musical catechism—makes it very probable that the corruption in the text of the Ps.-Euclid is earlier than the Catechism, which von Jan assigns to the time of Constantine: for there is a view of the *πυκνόν* in the latter treatise which

would be the direct consequence of the corrupted reading in Ps.-Euclid.

The Catechism § 20 defines the *πυκνόν* as *τὸ ἐκ δύο διαστημάτων ἐλαχίστων ἐν ἐκαστῷ γένει* i.e. the combination of the two smallest intervals in any *genus* of tetrachord. It follows, of course, from such a definition that the first three notes of the diatonic tetrachord would form a *πυκνόν*. The third of these, then, would in the language of Ps.-Euclid be *δξύπυκνος*, since according to that writer the highest note of a *πυκνόν* is *δξύπυκνος*. Thus there would have to be *δξύπυκνοι ἐν διατόνῳ* which would just correspond to the corruption in the text of Ps.-Euclid. And we actually find this development in Bacchius §§ 32, 33; for in this passage, which is parallel to the distinction of *βαρύπυκνοι* etc., in Ps.-Euclid, are distinguished *βαρύτονοι πυκνών* = Ps.-Euclid's *βαρύπυκνοι*, *δξύτατοι πυκνῶν ἐναρμονίων* = Ps.-Euclid's *δξύπυκνοι ἐν ἀρμονίᾳ*, *δξύτατοι πυκνῶν χρωματικῶν* = Ps.-Euclid's *δξύπυκνοι ἐν χρωματι*, and lastly *δξύτατοι πυκνῶν διατόνων* = the *δξύπυκνοι ἐν διατόνῳ* of the corrupted text of Ps.-Euclid.

Is not the explanation of this that the writer had before him the corrupted text of Ps.-Euclid, and not suspecting an error assumed that the third note of the diatonic tetrachord was in this treatise called *δξύπυκνος*, and so came to give the kind of definition of *πυκνόν* which was necessary to make a *πυκνόν ἐν διατόνῳ* possible?

It is difficult to understand how he could neglect the words in Ps.-Euclid, *τὸ γὰρ διάτονον οὐ μετέχει πυκνοῦ* which imply the Aristoxenean definition; but yet, as the erroneous theory of *πυκνόν* is against the teaching of Aristoxenus and seems to be found nowhere else, the most probable account of its genesis seems to be that which is here offered.

In the text of Bacchius (§ 25) there is interposed a passage, rightly regarded as an interpolation by von Jan, where it is said that there is no *πυκνόν* in the diatonic *genus*, and where the definition of *πυκνόν* of which this is a consequence is given:—*τὸ μέντοι διάτονον καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐ μελωδεῖται ἐν πυκνοῦ τάξει*—*διὰ τί*—*διὰ τὸ λέγεσθαι πυκνὸν τὸ ἔχον δύο διαστήματα τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐλάσσον*. The words *καθ' ἡμᾶς* perhaps indicate that the writer of the note did not mean, as von Jan seems to think, that the application in the Catechism of the *πυκνόν* to the diatonic *genus* was a mere mistake, but that it represented a different view from that usually accepted in his time, or from that with which he himself was identified. The note can hardly be Bacchius himself or whoever was the author of the

main text of the Catechism, for had it been, he would have introduced the first definition of *πυκνόν* differently.

The same double treatment of this subject in the Catechism is seen again in the account of the species of the tetrachord. In § 27 the question is asked:—*τετραχόρδων οὗν ἐστὶν εἶδη πόσα*; The answer is:—*τρία*. The three are then distinguished by the position of the notes of the *πυκνόν*, a method which properly can only refer to the enharmonic and chromatic *genera*, and is confined to them in the corresponding passage of Ps.-Euclid, where the species of diatonic tetrachord (though of only one 'shade' of it) are distinguished by the position of the semitones. In this section of the Catechism however there is no such restriction. The reason may well be that according to the view of the *πυκνόν* which the writer adopts, the distinction by the notes of the *πυκνόν* would obviously apply to the diatonic as much as to the other *genera*. Later on, § 75, the subject appears again in what is clearly another version by a writer who held the correct theory of the *πυκνόν* and probably belonged to the school of those who thought the diatonic *genus* the only one which need be considered. The question *τετραχόρδων δέ ἐστιν εἶδη πόσα*; is asked in this section as if had not been asked before. The answer, *τρία*, is given again; but this time the diatonic *genus* only is treated, and the division made in accordance with the position of the semitone, the *πυκνόν* not being mentioned. The species of the Fifth and of the Octave are treated of in this latter version only: perhaps the account of them in the other one has been lost. The mistaken theory of the *πυκνόν* accounts also for the definition of *διάζευξις* in Bacch. § 39:—*ὅταν δύο βαρυπύκνων φθόγγων ἢ τόνος ἀνὰ μέσον*: a curious form which seems to occur in no other writer. Here again there is a second version, § 82, which gives the ordinary Aristoxenean definition.

The same theory of *πυκνόν* is implied again in § 43 where all *φθόγγοι* are divided into *ὑπατοιειδής* = *βαρύτερος* τοῦ *πυκνοῦ*, *παρυπατοιειδής* = *μέσος* τοῦ *πυκνοῦ*, and *λιγανοειδής* = *ὀξύτατος* τοῦ *πυκνοῦ*, a classification which could not extend to all *φθόγγοι* unless the *πυκνόν* was admitted in the diatonic *genus*.

III.

PSEUDO-EUCLID, *Introductio Harmonica*,
Ch. 11.

In the definition of *μέση* given in Ps.-Euclid, ch. 11, the Teubner editor (von Jan)

reads as follows:—*ἔστι δὲ μέση φθόγγων δύναμις, ᾧ συμβέβηκε κατὰ μὲν διάζευξιν ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ὀξύ τόνον ἔχειν ἀσύνθετον (ἀπαθῇ ὄντα τοῦ συστήματος), ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ βαρὺν δίτονον ἢ <τριτημιτόνιον ἢ τόνον> ἀσύνθετον*.

Von Jan's *apparatus criticus* is not clear: but one might perhaps infer from it that some MSS read as above with the exception of the conjecturally inserted words *τριτημιτόνιον ἢ τόνον*. Some MSS omit from *ἀπαθῇ* to *δίτονον ἢ* inclusive, which is obviously due to homoeoteleuton. Meibohm reads in his text *ἀπαθοῦς ὄντος τοῦ συστήματος ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ βαρὺν δίτονον ἢ τὸν σύνθετον ἢ ἀσύνθετον*: of which he says in his notes 'sic perperam editus, recte Bar. et Coventr. *δίτονον ἦτοι σύνθετον*.' Von Jan's emendation is intended to make the text include the principal forms of the three *genera*, *δίτονον* corresponding to enharmonic, *τριτημιτόνιον* to tonic chromatic, and *τόνον* *ἀσύνθετον* to the sharp diatonic. Apparently he has not observed that the reading *δίτονον ἦτοι σύνθετον ἢ ἀσύνθετον* (the one preferred by Meibohm) conveys this very application. In the enharmonic the *μέση* has below it a ditone to the lichanus, which interval in the enharmonic is not composite,—*δίτονος ἀσύνθετος*. In the tonic chromatic the *μέση* has below it a ditone to the parhypate, compounded of $\frac{1}{2}$ tone to the lichanus and $\frac{1}{2}$ tone from lichanus to parhypate, which is *δίτονος σύνθετος*. In the sharp diatonic the *μέση* has below it a ditone to the parhypate composed of one tone to the lichanus and another tone from the lichanus to the parhypate, and therefore *δίτονος σύνθετος*. Von Jan's emendation therefore is entirely unnecessary. He compares Bacchius § 80 (which contains the seven positions of the tetrachords) with the remark that it gives no help. But obviously the part of Bacchius which ought to be compared is § 65, which gives several definitions of the *μέση*, one of which corresponds to the definition before us in Ps.-Euclid, and is as follows:—*μέση ἐστὶν ἢ μεταξὺ τόνου καὶ διτόνου ἀσυνθέτου κειμένη*. This of course so far as it goes confirms the text of Ps.-Euclid above preferred. But as it stands it can hardly be complete, for it would only suit the enharmonic, though from the context the definition should be quite general. What is required is *μεταξὺ τόνου <ἀσυνθέτου> καὶ διτόνου <συνθέτου ἢ> ἀσυνθέτου*: but no variant is quoted, and such an emendation is perhaps not very likely, though one may suppose if *συνθέτου ἢ* fell out, the first *ἀσυνθέτου* might be suppressed as unnecessary. It would be easier to explain the text of

Bacchius as relatively sound and again originating in a corruption of that of Ps.-Euclid, supposing the inference above suggested from von Jan's text and *apparatus criticus* to be justified, and that some MSS read *δίτονον ἢ ἀσύνθετον* instead of *δίτονον ἢ σύνθετον ἢ ἀσύνθετον*: but the inference as to the MS reading is by no means certain.

In the text which he prefers—*δίτονον ἢ τοι σύνθετον ἢ ἀσύνθετον*—Meibohm found a difficulty which seems a misunderstanding. He points out that the formula does not include two *χρόαι* of the chromatic *genus*, but only the tonic chromatic. He supposes it does include both *χρόαι* of the diatonic. The truth however probably is that, though formally it would include both *χρόαι* of the diatonic, it was not intended to do even this. Rather this is an instance of what we find sometimes in these musical writers, the recognition of only one form in each *genus* without any distinction of *χρόα*. This form coincides with the tonic chromatic in the case of the chromatic, and the sharp diatonic in the diatonic. We have an instance in this very treatise. In Ch. 3 the three *genera* are enumerated, and their intervals described. The intervals for the chromatic are those of the tonic only: but it is not called tonic and is treated as if it was the whole of the chromatic. So for the diatonic the intervals of the sharp diatonic only are given, without the epithet 'sharp,' and as if it were the only diatonic. In fact the *χρόαι* are ignored. It is true they are described in a later chapter, but in this there is no preparation for such a development and it represents a treatment in which they are not recognised.

Just so in Bacchius, § 21 *sqq.* the three *genera* are described with the single set of intervals for each, and no indication of *χρόαι*; and exactly the same thing is done in the account of the *genera* in the manual attributed to Nicomachus Gerasenus, c. 12.

In the same passage of Ps.-Euclid there is some difficulty about the words *ἀπαθῆ ὄντα τοῦ συστήματος*. Meibohm reads *ἀπαθοῦς ὄντος τοῦ συστήματος* and seems unaware of any variant. The explanation he offers seems untenable. The words in question ought clearly to contain a reason why the *τόνος* (διαζευκτικός) is *ἀσύνθετος* whereas the *δίτονος* is *σύνθετος* or *ἀσύνθετος*. The reason is that the diazeuxis does not vary with the variations of the *genera*. Consequently it seems probable that *ἀπαθῆ ὄντα* should be read with von Jan. But again it is not quite clear from his note whether any MSS have this or not, though the probable inference is that they have. The genitive *τοῦ*

συστήματος seems to cause difficulty to von Jan who says: *ego malim ἀπαθῆ ὄντα τῆς τῶν γενῶν διαφορᾶς*, (better *ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γενῶν διαφορᾶς*, since *διαφορά* is rather cause than effect,) but this could hardly be offered as an emendation. Since the 'conjunctive tone' remains unaffected, i.e. is always uncompounded in the generic variations of the system, while all the rest of the system, viz. the intervals within the tetrachords, is of course affected by the change of *genus*, the construction should perhaps be explained as the idiom in which a part is compared with a whole in respect of a certain quality, the whole being put in the genitive, cf. Plato, *Republic* 328 E, *χαλεπὸν τοῦ βίου*, and the meaning would be 'being unaffected part in the system.'

IV.

PSEUDO-EUCLID, *Introductio Harmonica*, CH. 10.

εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι συναφαὶ τρεῖς μέση, ὀξυτάτη, βαρυτάτη. καὶ ἔστι βαρυτάτη μὲν ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπάτων καὶ μέσων τετραχόρδων... μέση δὲ ἔστι συναφή ἐκ τοῦ μέσων καὶ νητῶν συνημμένων... ὀξυτάτη δὲ ἔστι συναφή ἢ ἐκ τοῦ διεζευγμένων καὶ τοῦ ὑπερβολαίων.

The first *ἐκ* which seems to be in all the MSS, is bracketed as ungenue by von Jan. For the second *ἐκ*, where the MSS have *ἐκ* or *ἡ* he reads *ἢ*. For the third, where one MS has *ἢ*, another *ἢ ἐκ*, and the rest *ἐκ*, he reads *ἢ*. Probably *ἢ ἐκ* should be read in each place, and *ἢ* therefore inserted in the above text before the second *ἐκ*. For compare Aristoxenus 62. 5:—*δέδεικται δ' ἢ μὲν συναφή ἐκ τῶν τοῦ διὰ τεσσάρων μόνον συγκεκλιμένη*: which shews that *συναφή* may stand for the complex of the tetrachords combined and not merely for their conjunction. Further, strict grammar requires either *ἐκ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ μέσων τετραχόρδων* etc., or *ἐκ τοῦ ὑπάτων καὶ τοῦ μέσων τετραχόρδου*. The first alternative has some confirmation in the variant *τετραχόρδων* in one MS, but the different construction of the plural genitives is awkward. The latter alternative is more probable and is confirmed by the text itself in the account of the ὀξυτάτη συναφή.

V.

BACCHIUS, *Introductio*, § 65.

One of the definitions of the *μέση* here given is—*ἀφ' ἧς ἀνίεται διὰ δ καὶ διὰ ε*. For *ἀνίεται*, the reading of one MS, two others have *ἐστὶν ἀνίεται*. Von Jan reads *ἀφ' ἧς*

ἐπιτείνεται διὰ δ καὶ διὰ ε. The true correction seems clearly to be ἀφ' ἧς ἐπιτείνεται διὰ δ καὶ ἀνίσταται διὰ ε, because the μέση is a fifth below the higher end of the standard octave and a fourth above the lower end of it. Compare two lines below in the same section ἀφ' ἧς ἀνίσταται διὰ πασῶν καὶ ἐπιτείνεται διὰ πασῶν, which describes the position of the μεσὴ in the double octave of the Greater Perfect System. This is so obvious that it is reasonable to suppose von Jan intended it, and that the omission of ἀνίσταται is a mere accident.

VI.

ARISTOXENUS, *Harmonica*, Bk. II. p. 38, MEIBOHM.

P. 38, l. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν μελωδουμένων ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπλᾶ τὰ δὲ ἀμετάβολα. The word ἀμετάβολα cannot be right. Macran reads μετάβολα, a conjecture which he attributes to Meibohm. Now the word which is used in Ps.-Eucl. Intr. Harm. is ἐμμετάβολος, while μετάβολα never seems to occur. It is doubtful whether μετάβολος (or μεταβόλος) as adjective is an existent form at all. Stephanus' Lexicon quotes only one instance of it—Plut. *Mor.* p. 428, 13—and with the remark 'nisi fallit scriptura.' (Liddell and Scott quote a place from the Septuagint where μεταβόλος = μεταβολεύς.) The more probable emendation therefore is τὰ δὲ ἐμμετάβολα. Turning to Meibohm's book one finds that ἐμμετάβολα is what he really conjectured. μετάβολα is the conjecture of Marquard who strangely thought it more easily accounted for the corruption of the text than Meibohm's ἐμμετά-

βολα which he quotes. ἐμμετάβολος is not found in Liddell and Scott's lexicon.

VII.

ARISTOXENUS, *Harmonica*, Bk. I. p. 22, MEIBOHM.

Macran's edition, which contains some excellent emendations, and some successful vindications of the text against erroneous emendation, is hardly right in this place.

P. 22, l. 1 the MSS have δεῖ δὲ νοῆσαι τῶν συμφώνων διαστημάτων ἐλάχιστον τὸ κατεχόμενον τὰ γε πλεῖστα ὑπὸ τεττάρων φθόγγων: i.e. the tetrachord. δεῖ δὲ νοῆσαι is wrongly rendered 'our attention must be directed to,' and in consequence the article τό is inserted in the text before ἐλάχιστον. The translation is 'our attention must be directed to the smallest of the concords, that of which the compass is usually occupied by four notes.'

νοεῖν here has a common meaning, found e.g. in Plato and in Aristotle and also elsewhere in Aristoxenus. It is 'to consider a thing as being so and so.' Compare e.g. Aristox. *Harmonica* 16. 1: τὸ δὲ σύστημα σύνθετόν τι νοητόν ἐκ πλείονων ἢ ἐνὸς διαστημάτων; where Macran translates correctly 'is to be regarded as etc., etc.'

This being the meaning of νοῆσαι in the passage before us τὸ κατεχόμενον is the subject and ἐλάχιστον predicate, and therefore is rightly without the article. Of course it might have the article, but it is better style that it should not, as the predicate is thus made clear.

J. COOK WILSON.

NOTES ON HORACE.

ALTHOUGH in C. 1. 2 I do not understand vv. 21-24, unless they are to be read as a question and with *acuisse* understood by zeugma (in the sense of *commisisse*) with *pignus* (*civis acuisse ferrum* being taken in the sense, demanded by the emphasis on *civis*, of *in civis acutum esse ferrum* or *in civis acutum factum esse ferrum*), yet I am convinced of several things about the poem. These are that we have the poem practically, at least, as Horace wrote it and without any spurious additions; that it is his

earliest attempt in the Sapphic stanza; that he consciously imitated in it Catullus's eleventh poem (in vv. 5-20). The last point, which I have treated very briefly in the *Revue de Philologie* (xxvii. 270), I consider specially important; but I would simply call attention to it again here, adding, for the comfort of such as still believe vv. 5-8 in Horace's poem to be spurious, that *terrui Urbem*, | *terrui Gentes* finds a very curious and noteworthy echo in the *movit Achillem*, | *movit Aiacem* of C. 2. 4. 4 sq.

Some queer things are commonly printed as part of Horace's text. But because Bentley was at fault in grammar is no reason why we should prefer in *C.* 1. 3. 37 *nil mortalibus arduum* (or *ardui est*) instead of *nil mortalibus arduum est* (or *arduum est*). The sense demanded by the context is not *nil ardui mortales habent*, but *nil adeo arduum est ut id mortales non scandant*. Nor because Bentley rejected de Prado's simple and rather obvious correction *quanta* for *quinta* in *C.* 1. 13. 16, should others do the same, even though they do not follow Bentley in accepting Porphyry's absurd explanation but write equally edifying matter about the *quinta essentia*.

In *C.* 1. 12 vv. 45 is a troublesome bit, and I am not sure that I understand what a tree that grows *occulto aëro* is. For a time I thought that Professor Bennett's *occulte* for *occulto* was right; but I now see that the traditional *crescit occulto velut arbor aëro* is defended by two other passages in Horace. These are *C.* 2. 2. 5 *vivet extento Proculius aëro* (which also proves Heinsius's *aëro* to be wrong) and *Epist.* 1. 1. 80 *multis occulto crescit res faenore* (cf. in the same poem, v. 64, *et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis* with *C.* 1. 12. 41 *sq. hunc et incomptis Curium capillis | utilem bello tulit et Camillum*). I may add here that I now see that *C.* 1. 15. 31 *sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu* is good proof that I was wrong in printing in this *Journal* (xvi. 400) *sublimis feriam sidera vertice*, instead of *sublimi feriam sidera vertice*, in *C.* 1. 1. 36.

Before leaving *C.* 1. 12 I wish to make what I believe is a necessary correction in

v. 55. Moritz Haupt could not endure *sive subiectos Orientis orae*, and proposed for it *seu superiectos Orientis orae*—a conjecture which received the unmerited honour of a place in Zangemeister's Index. A simple correction of the verse seems to me to be the substitution for *orae* of a word for which it could easily have been miswritten, to wit, *aurae*. Cf. *Lucan Phars.* 1. 16, with Francken's notes.

I will add here two notes on *S.* 1. 6. In v. 4 Palmer saw that *imperitarunt*, the least well attested reading of the three *imperitarint*, *imperitarent*, *imperitarunt*, was not impossible Latin. I would go further and affirm that the *tibi* in v. 3 makes *imperitarunt* alone possible; for the sense is *non quod avum habuisti maternum atque paternum olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarunt*. The editors seem to have understood—subconsciously—*tibi* as *tuus*—a very different thing in such a context. Again in vv. 42–44 we read *At hic, si plostra ducenta | concurrantque foro tria funera, magna sonabit | cornua quod vincatque tubas*. Here Heindorf's pointing restores the sense of the sentence as a whole; but neither he nor anyone else, so far as I know, has observed that *tubas* is needless after *cornua* and that nothing is said in the apodosis of the sentence about the noise of the wagons. I would read *cornua quod vincatque rotas*. It is hardly necessary to remark that this reading introduces a very neat chiasmus.

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NOTE ON AN UNREGARDED MS. OF LIVY.

B.M. HARLEIAN COLLECTION, LATIN 2493.

IN the course of examining various MSS. of Livy, I have at intervals during this year made some notes from the MS. in the British Museum known as 2493 in the Harleian Collection. I had intended primarily to test Zingerle's rather numerous citations of 'H' in Books 9 and 10 and supposed he meant Drakenborch's Harleianus Posterior or H2 (as Harleianus Prior of the tenth century (H) goes no further than Book 8), and wondered why he quoted a

MS. of the fifteenth century so frequently. Finding in MS. 2493 contrary to my expectation many good readings, I became interested enough in it to examine it further especially in Books 9 and 10. At the end of July I suddenly realised that I was looking, not at Harleianus Posterior (H2) which I have identified as No. 2663 and which is presumably what Zingerle meant by 'H,' but at a MS. which has hitherto been neglected and undescribed. I give here a

few notes on its provenance and contents, and its value as far as the first decade is concerned. I hope to make a fuller report later on.

The Museum catalogue describes it thus: 'Codex membranaceus magni pretii, litteris Gotticis, initio minoribus, exaratus, olim Collegii Agenensis. Desunt duo primi libri cum dimidio tertii et in fine pars xxxviii^m libri et sequentes desiderantur. (Cent.) xiii.'

The MS. was written in Italy and in date seems to extend from the early thirteenth into the fourteenth century; thus (roughly) folia 1-18 belong to the thirteenth, 19-22 to the fourteenth, 23-220 though by different hands to the thirteenth, 221, 223-312 to the fourteenth; all is now bound up in one volume, with a comparatively modern table of contents on fol. 313 that seems to have no reference to the matter of the volume. The work was either unknown to Casley when he collated Harleianus Prior and Posterior for Drakenborch or he was tired of collating and therefore did not mention it.¹ Fol. 1 has all the history of the MS. that I can discover—the inscription *Colle Ageni Socie Jesu Cata Insc.*

Folia 1-18 begin with the words *ipsis quoque tribunis* in 3. 55. 6 and proceeding to 4. 55. 3 *uiri generosique*² (fol. 16 rect. ii) continue with 5. 12. 5 *in Capenate agro* down to 5. 21. 17 *consumptus Postero die*.

Fol. 19-22 begin with the words *iam ut inter plebeios* (4. 55. 3) and go down to A. M. *Furio et G. V. Cornelio* (5. 12. 5) thus supplying the missing chapters of the section folia 1-18.³

Observe too that between *accipiat* and *hace* (5. 21. 3 and 4) is inserted a section from 5. 52. 13 *Vestalibus nempe* to 5. 53. 2 *nobis, Quirites, puto qui* (corrupted initially to *Bustum nempe* and finally to *nob' cur puto q*). But this section also occurs fully in its proper place. Precisely the same interpolation appears in H.

¹ In trying to discover when our MS. came into the possession of the Earl of Oxford, I found the following entry in Wanley's Diary under Nov. 24, 1725 (with reference of course to Drakenborch's Harleianus Prior and Posterior) 'Mr. Casley came to collate my Lord's MSS. of Titus Livius for Mr. D'Orville by my Lord's order. I am civil to him, but when just now he offered me a South Sea Bond as security to let him carry one of the said MSS. home to collate it there, I would by no means hearken to such a proposal!'

In an earlier entry 'Dr. Bentley sends Mr. Casley for a MS. of Lucan,' and then Casley's 'note' was sufficient security.

² Here there is a sign 𐀀𐀁 for the re-entry of the missing chapters.

³ For these details on Books 3, 4, and 5 I am indebted to Dr. Conway.

Folia 23-220 consist of 5. 22. 1 *libera corpora* to end of Book 30 and include 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pages blank between the first (fols. 1-92) and third (fols. 93-220) decades. These folia (23-220) are by different hands (fol. 220 verso having only $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1st column filled), and are followed by some portions of Books 26, 27 (on fol. 221) beginning with *uestro transissent* (26. 41. 18) and ending with *quia id maluerant* (27. 3. 7) which are in a hand of the fourteenth century and have marks for re-entry in their proper places.

Fol. 222 is left blank.

Folia 223-312 contain a portion of the fourth decade extending into Book 38, and end with Ch. 24. 11 *matronalis facinoris decus ad ultimum*. Fol. 313 recto has the index mentioned above.

The MS. is written in double columns, and is occasionally ornamented with red or blue initial letters, summaries of the subject matter, and subscriptiones. It bears some of the Symmachian (or Nicomachean) subscriptiones, e.g. at end of Book 8 but not at end of Book 9, and its readings show both its independence and its importance.

In estimating its value and position among the MSS. of the first decade, I will briefly summarise the results of my examination of Book 9, which is all in a hand of the thirteenth century.

(1) It has ten or eleven right readings of the first hand, where all earlier MSS. are wrong: the most striking case is perhaps *adduxit* with Priscian against *abduxit* of the rest in Ch. 33. 2. *Id est hastae* (19. 7) which all the other MSS. have taken into the text is here rightly omitted in the text, but found in the margin as a gloss. Besides these ten or eleven unique readings there are others due to the (contemporaneous, I think) reviser.⁴

(2) It has none of the purely PFU tradition: e.g. *hospitio* (34. 19) *avertit* (27. 10) with MTL⁵ against the corrupt *auspicio* and *evertit* of PFU; and yet it is not always at variance with PFUT²: e.g. in 32. 8 it has correctly *Romana* with them against the *Romanos* of M and *Romani* of T¹ and L.

(3) It has much of the M tradition and sometimes seems to have been revised with a MS. of this type (possibly M itself): e.g.

⁴ There are also some later corrections that have anticipated modern scholars, even Madvig.

⁵ T=Thuanus of Gronovius and Diau (who has collated it), and is Frigell's Colbertinus. A large majority of its corrections (T²) bring it into harmony with PFU.

with M it has *qua—qua* (8. 2) against the corruptions of the rest; and amongst other omissions in common both omit *Romanam—animos* (6. 12) and both add the words in the margin. In 30. 9 *somno*, which M has alone, is added by the reviser of this MS.; similarly M's reading *au* is given as a variant to *in* in 42. 8.

(4) It sometimes supports T where T is opposed to MPF, and supports MT when they are agreed: e.g. in 5. 7 it has *missos* rightly with MT¹ against *lapsos* of T²RD and *missos lapsos* of PFU. In 31. 6 it has with T *oblatam ultro* (which Aldus and Drakenborch accepted) against the *oblatam* of the rest.

(5) It has contemporaneous corrections and this revision has in the main been judiciously done.

The conclusion seems to be that this codex is worthy of careful consideration and at least more valuable than Leidenensis (L) which is also of the thirteenth century.

Other parts that I have examined, such as Books 6 and 10 give virtually the same results.

I propose to call it Agenensis, and its symbol A; A₂ might provisionally be the symbol for the fourteenth century parts; whereas A² would denote as usual the corrections in A.

I add a note which Professor Conway sends me on a part which he looked into.

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In a fairly careful examination of some twelve chapters (5. 22–33) in the Codex Agenensis I noticed no place in which it agreed with PFU where it did not also agree with M or H; and this agreement was almost invariably right, i.e. MPFUA were right against H(RDL), and HPFUA right against M(RDL). Similarly MHA were usually right against PFU. Where M and H differed from each other and also from PFU, A agreed more often, on the whole, with M than with H, though often it offered a third variant. Sometimes however it agrees with H where all the others have gone astray, e.g. 5. 28. 5 *sospites* HA against the corrupt *hospites* of MPFU. I fully accept Prof. Walters' estimate of the thirteenth century part of Agenensis in first decade, as being distinctly more valuable than L.

R.S.C.

MANCHESTER, Sept. 1904.

THE LOCUST-PLAGUE IN AFRICA OF 125 B.C.: A MODERN PARALLEL.

It is not often that the phenomena of natural history attract our attention in dealing with classical antiquity. I once pointed out in the *Classical Review* an interesting parallel between Aristotle's account of a plague of field-voles in Thessaly and the troubles of the modern Greek government on a similar occasion; perhaps I may be allowed to draw attention to the great locust plague of 125 B.C., and to compare it with one which occurred in South Africa in the year 1797. Locusts are of course a perpetual nuisance in Africa; there was trouble with them in Egypt this spring, when a friend sent me some specimens from Cairo of the insect in its most destructive stage; but I have never read of such terrible destruction as was wrought by them in the two years just mentioned.

It is Orosius (5. 11) who tells us the details of the plague in 125 B.C., but it is also mentioned in the Epitome of Livy's

Sixtieth Book as having occasioned a pestilence: 'pestilentia in Africa ab ingenti locustarum multitudine et deinde necatarum strage fuisse traditur.' Cf. Obsequens 30: Augustinus *Ciu. Dei* 3. 31. Orosius, though not a native of Africa, was so intimately connected for the greater part of his life with the Roman province, that he may just possibly have preserved traditions of this extraordinary occurrence, exaggerated no doubt but yet independent of Livy and other historians. He writes as follows:

'Cum per totam Africam immensae locustarum multitudines coaluissent et non modo iam cunctam spem frugum abrasissent herbasque omnes cum parte radicum, folia arborum cum teneritudine ramorum consumpsissent, uerum etiam amaras cortices atque arida ligna praeroderent, repentino abreptae uento atque in globos coactae portataeque diu per aerem Africano pelago immersae sunt. Harum cum immensos acertos longe undis arguentibus fluctus per extenta late litora propulissent, taetrum nimis atque ultra opinionem pestiferum odorem tabida et putrefacta congeries exhalauit, unde omnium pariter

animantium tanta pestilentia consecuta est, ut auium pecudum ac bestiarum corruptione aeris dissolutarum putrefacta passim cadauera uitium corruptionis augerent. At uero quanta fuerit hominum lues, ego ipse, dum refero, perhorresco.'

He adds some impossible estimates of the number of human beings who died: 80,000 in Numidia, more than 200,000 on the coast between Carthage and Utica, (Obsequens gives 800,000!) which suggest that there were other causes of pestilence at work beside the locusts, though it must be remembered that the destruction of the crops would act as a predisposing cause for the malignant influence of the stench on the human frame. The good priest goes on to remark that by the grace of God in Christian times no such calamity has happened, though the inroads of locusts have been frequent enough.

Before I go on to the modern parallel, I may remark that owing to the meagreness of our authorities for the events of these years we have no means of discovering how the destruction of the African crops affected the supply of corn at Rome. K. W. Nitzsch, in his monograph on the Gracchi (1847, p. 393) went so far as to suggest that the difficulties occasioned by it gave C. Gracchus a good pretext for his *lex frumentaria*. It is in any case a fact which should not be left out of consideration in judging of Gracchus' policy; we can hardly avoid the conclusion that there were difficulties of supply in the following year, which was the one in which Gracchus was canvassing for the tribunate, (124 B.C.), and no man whose paramount interest it was to carry the plebs with him during the next year or two could afford to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the aediles.

I now turn to the modern parallel, which I found in the autobiography of Sir John Barrow (1847, p. 151), who was in the suite of Lord Macartney, in the short interval between 1796, when the Cape first came into our hands, and the peace of Amiens in 1802, when it was restored to the Dutch. Barrow

was a careful and accurate observer, and travelled for several months in the country as far as the Orange river. He writes as follows:

'Of the multitudes of the incomplete insect or larva of the locust, which at this time infected this part of Africa, no adequate idea can possibly be conceived without having been an eye-witness. For the distance of ten miles on each side of the Sea-cow river, and 80 or 90 miles in length, an area of sixteen or eighteen hundred square miles, the whole surface of the ground as far as we could see might literally be said to be, or to have been, covered by them. They had completely destroyed every green herb and every blade of grass: and had not the insulated reeds of the river afforded subsistence for our cattle, our journey must have ended for want of food. . . . The present year was the third of their continuance in this part of the colony. Their last departure, with its result, is described as rather singular, and it was confirmed by the inhabitants of the lower part of the colony. All the full-fledged insects were driven by a tempestuous north-west wind into the sea, and afterwards thrown back upon the beach, where they formed a bank three or four feet high, between the mouths of the Bosjesman's River and the Beeka, a distance of nearly fifty miles; and our present company assured me that when this mass became putrid, the stench was sensibly felt in several parts of Sneeuwberg.'

The Sneeuwberg range is about 150 miles as the crow flies from the mouth of the Bushman river; the stench must have been quite enough, we might imagine, at the coast, to be the contributory cause of a pestilence, but Barrow does not mention one, and the population was doubtless sparse as compared with that of the Roman province. However this may be, the most curious features of Orosius' account, the heaping up of the dead locusts on the shore, and the stench thereby occasioned, are entirely confirmed by Barrow's narrative: I must leave it to scientific men to say whether this would be a sufficient cause of pestilence. The story is a good example of the way in which exaggeration and marvel may gather in course of time round a perfectly authentic historical fact.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

TUNICA RETIARII.

JUVENAL in his Second satire, which is directed like the Timarchea of Aeschines against *impudicitia* or effeminacy in grown men, has a story of one Gracchus who *nupsit*

cornicini. Twenty-six verses, 117—142, are occupied with this anecdote and with declamation appropriate to the case; then follow these:

uicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina
Gracchi.

lustrauitque fuga mediam gladiator ha-
renam

et Capitolinis generosior et Marcellis 145
et Catuli Paulique minoribus et Fabiis
et

omnibus ad podium spectantibus, his
licet ipsum

admoneas cuius tunc munere retia misit.

The words appear to mean that fighting as a retiarius was a worse abomination in Gracchus than was the scandal recorded above. Why was it? Some, like Nettleship Journ. Phil. xvi p. 64, impeach the satirist's topsy-turvy notions of propriety, and descant on the 'perversity of judgment' to which a nobleman turned gladiator seems more prodigious than a man turned woman: 'after mentioning a case of unnatural vice, he goes on *uicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi*'. Others, like Mr Friedlaender ad loc., explain that Gracchus' crowning offence was his effrontery: 'Gracchus hat die Ungeheuerlichkeit seiner widernatürlichen Vermählung noch dadurch überboten, dass er öffentlich als Gladiator aufgetreten ist, und zwar als retiarius, die in der blossen tunica ohne Rüstung erschienen (daher tunicati 143) und deren Gesicht durch kein Visir verdeckt war'. But the impeachment and the explanation alike miss the main point. This is a satire against effeminacy: where is the effeminacy of fighting as a retiarius? Mr Weidner expels the six verses as interpolated. '143—148 sind ein fremdartiger Zusatz, der dem Inhalt der ganzen Satire widerstrebt. Diese handelt nur von der *effeminata libido* der stoischen Heuchler und der geckenhaften Aristokratie. Das Auftreten des Gracchus aber in der Arena bekundet keine unnatürliche Verweichlichung des Körpers und des Charakters, sondern im Gegenteil eine gewisse Stärke, Kraft und Mut, nur dass diese an sich guten Eigenschaften einem unwürdigen Zwecke dienen. Das Auftreten des Mannes ist seiner Ehre und seines Standes unwürdig, aber er selbst wird darum nicht zum Weibe.'

In the Eighth satire Gracchus again appears as a retiarius, and again inspires a mysterious loathing. Juvenal inveighs against noblemen who act in mimes, and then proceeds:

hæc ultra quid erit nisi ludus? et
illie

dedecus urbis habes, nec murmillonis
in armis

200

nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut
falce supina,
damnat enim tales habitus: mouet
ecce tridentem.

nec galea faciem abscondit, sed damnat
et odit:

postquam uibrata pendentia retia
dextra

nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula
uoltum

205

erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus harena.
credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea
cum se

porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.
ergo ignominiam grauiorem pertulit
omni

uulnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare
secutor.

210

I do not now enquire whether u. 207 should be punctuated *credamus tunicae, de faucibus* with most editors or *credamus, tunicae de faucibus* with L. Kiaer: I only ask, what is it that the spectators are bidden to *believe*, and to believe on the grounds assigned? That the gladiator under their eyes is Gracchus? But they *know* that it is Gracchus: his face is bare and upturned and recognisable, as we were told in 205 sq. That Gracchus has really and truly turned retiarius? But if they were not convinced of this by seeing him cast his *retia* in 204 sq., nothing will convince them; certainly not his *tunica* nor his *spira* nor his *galerus*. And what, in any case, is the drift of 209 sq.? Why is the *secutor*, bred and trained to encounter retiarii, so direly humiliated at encountering Gracchus? Because his fellow-gladiator was once a noble? Are common soldiers degraded by association with gentleman-rankers? Did the schoolmasters of Corinth hang their heads for shame when Dionysius of Syracuse adopted their profession? Was Charles V regarded as contaminating the cloister because he had put off the imperial crown and descended from the throne of Spain and the Netherlands? 'Eine geschmacklose Uebertreibung' says Mr Friedlaender. *Geschmacklos* indeed, but it is the very reverse of an *Uebertreibung*; it is a flat contradiction of truth and likelihood. Mankind in the first century was yet mankind; and a *secutor* pitted against a *ci-devant* aristocrat would be rather flattered than otherwise, if that were the only circumstance which marked the case. *ergo* must point to some other circumstance.

Here then are two passages in Juvenal not yet elucidated: in both the difficulty

centres round a *retiarius*, and in both the *retiarius* is explicitly described as *tunicatus*.

A. Chabouillet in a paper on *retarii* in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1851, pp. 397-420, quotes from Festus and Isidore their definitions of the term and on p. 401 proceeds 'Les textes qui précèdent décrivent le mode de combattre et les armes du rétiaire, mais ils ne parlent pas de son costume. Juvénal s'est fort heureusement chargé de ce soin.' And it seems to be a common opinion that this is what Juvenal has done. Smith, *Dict. of Antiqu.* 'the *retiarius* was dressed in a short tunic,' Seyffert, *Lexicon der klass. Alterth.*, Eng. trans. 'the *retiarius* had nothing on but a short tunic and a girdle,' Mayor at *Iuu.* viii. 207 'the *retiarius* wore the tunic alone,' Friedländer at ii. 143 '*retiarius*, die in der blossen tunica ohne Rüstung erschienen.' Juvenal is so famous and indeed so hackneyed an author that these two passages are the first to start up before the mind when *retarii* are mentioned. But outside Juvenal, so far as I am aware, there is only a single place in Latin literature where the *retiarius* and the *tunica* are found in company, Suet. *Calig.* 30. And if you turn from the literature to the monuments you find that the *retiarius*, as usually depicted, has no *tunica*, only a *subligaculum*. The *retiarius tunica-tus* does indeed appear,—there are two or three in *Bullet. Napol. nouv. ser. tom. i tav. vii.*—but he is a rarity. The truth is stated by Mr. Friedländer *Sitteng.* ii. 527: 'sie trugen eine tunica oder auch ein blosses subligaculum, welches letzere auf den monumenta gewöhnlich ist.'

Suetonius writes '*retarii tunicati quinque numero gregatim dimicantes sine certamine ullo totidem secutoribus succubuerant; cum occidi iuberentur, unus resumpta fuscina omnes victores interemit: hanc ut crudelissimam caedem et defleuit edicto et eos qui spectare sustinuissent execratus est.*' The point of this anecdote, adduced as an example of Caligula's '*saeuitia ingenii*,' is obscure: I should not even venture to infer from it that *retarii tunicati* were a despised class of gladiators. For all enlightenment of our darkness we are thrown back on Juvenal; and fortunately the passages of Juvenal assigning a *tunica* to a *retiarius* are now not two but three.

For the Oxford fragment of the Sixth satire, denouncing the presence of the *cinaedus* in the household, contains these verses:

purior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lan-
ista,

in cuius numero longe migrare iubetur
psellus ab euphono: quid quod nec retia
turpi

iunguntur tunicae, nec cella ponit eadem 10
munimenta umeri pulsata hastamque
tridentem

qui nudus pugnare solet? pars ultima
ludi

accipit has animas aliusque in carcere
neruos.

I have already made one attempt to translate the words '*nec retia turpi iunguntur tunicae*' (*C.R.* xiii p. 266) and one attempt to amend them (*C.R.* xv p. 263-4)¹; but both attempts I made under the old false impression that *retarii* commonly wore tunics, and both are consequently wrong. What Juvenal says is this: the *retiaris subligatus*, '*qui nudus pugnare solet*,' refuses to associate with the *retiaris tunicatus*. And why? Because the latter is *turpis*, that is, as the whole context proves, *impudicus* and in particular *ore impurus*.

The three passages of Juvenal are all cleared up by the one assumption that the *tunica*, in a *retiaris*, was popularly supposed to indicate *impudicitia*. In sat. ii Gracchus, degraded by the mock-marriage of u. 117, was worse degraded by the *tunica* of u. 143, because this signified nothing short of prostitution: conversely in *Cic. Phil.* ii. 44 M. Antonius, who was '*primo vulgare scortum*,' rose a step in respectability when '*Curio interuenit, qui eum a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocauit.*' In sat. viii. 207 the words '*credamus tunicae*' mean '*credamus tunicae id quod tunicae credi solet, scilicet impudicum esse qui ea uestitus pugnet.*' The popular notion that all *retarii tunicati* were effeminate was probably no better founded than the imputations cast by Voltaire and fifty others on the whole Society of Jesus, or the ill name which has at times attached itself to certain regiments in the army; but in the case of Gracchus there was corroborative evidence: he attired himself '*elegantius quam necesse est probo*' and decorated his person with an *aurea spira*.
e r g o ignominiam grauiorem pertulit omni
uulnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare
secutor.

¹ My conjecture *turpi <et>*, like Mr. Buecheler's otherwise attractive proposal *regna et* | *Cocytum* at ii. 149, is up-et by the observation of L. Kiær (de sermone *Iuu.*, Hauniae 1875, p. 14) that Juvenal does not admit elision at this point in the verse.

I formerly quoted (C.R. xv p. 264) a corrupt passage of Seneca which I can now correct. nat. quaest. vii 31 3 'cotidie comminiscimur, per quae uirilitati fiat iniuria, ut tradueatur, quia non potest exui: alius genitalia excidit, alius in obscenam partem ludi fugit et locatus ad mortem infame *armaturae genus* etiam, in quo morbum suum exerceat, legit': *armatur egenus* MSS. Seneca means that the man becomes a *retarius tunicatus*. And since it thus clearly appears that certain gladiators were generally credited with manners which sank them even lower than the technical *infamia* of their profession, I think we can now emend Petron. 9 as follows: quibus ego

auditis intentauit in oculos Aesclyti manus et 'quid dicis,' inquam, 'muliebris patientiae seortum, cuius nec spiritus purus est?' inhorrescere se finxit Aesclytos, mox sublatis fortius manibus longe maiore nisu clamauit: 'non taces,' inquit, 'gladiator obscene, quem de *ruma* harena dimisit?' *ruina* MSS. '*rumam* ueteres *mammam* dixerunt' says Nonius p. 167, quoting from Varro '*rumam*, id est prisco uocabulo *mammam*, a quo *subrumi* etiamnunc dicuntur agni.' *subrumus* was not the only compound of *ruma* which remained in use; and Aesclytos, retorting the charge of 'spiritus impurus,' selects the old word for a plain reason.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

SOME NOTES UPON ROMAN BRITAIN.

I.—THE DATE OF THE ROMAN COLONY AT LINCOLN.

THE name of the city is sufficient proof that it was a colony; and we have a 'civis Lindensis' recorded *C.I.L.* vii. 189. The date of the colony has hitherto been left uncertain; yet there is evidence enough to fix it within narrow limits. In the inscription from Moguntiacum, which is not earlier than 43 A.D. (*C.I.R.* 1033 'Fortunam Superam Honori Aquilae Leg. XXII Pr. P. F. M. Minicius M. fil. Quir. Lindo Mar[tialis trib. leg. eius?]), Grotefend, Hübner, and Kubitschek suppose that the reference is to Lindus in Rhodes. They do not argue the question; but all the probabilities are against them. Lindus was 'contributa' with the city of Rhodes, which itself had no Roman rights; and if a Roman citizen did happen to be also a burgess of Lindus, he would rather have named Rhodes as his domicile; also he would probably have been of Greek extraction, having got the 'civitas' by personal grant, and his name belies this. It would be unusual and strange that an officer in a legion permanently posted in the West should be drawn from the East: there seems to be no parallel. On every ground we must refer the inscription to the colony of Roman citizens at Lindum. The mention of the tribe Quirina then becomes significant; for in that tribe the Flavian emperors enrolled all their foundations, and there is no later emperor who could have done so. Hence the colony

was founded between 69 and 96 A.D. But further: the reference to 'senum coloniae' which Tacitus puts into the mouth of Calgacus (*Ag.* 32, 4) in 83, or (as most authorities think) 84 A.D. is probably not rhetorical but literally accurate. What colony after Camulodunum justified the plural? Not Glevum, which was founded by Nerva (*C.I.L.* vi. 3346); and not Deva, which, if it ever became a colony, could not have done so (pace Hübneri dixerim) in the first century, while it was the headquarters of the army in Britain. Agricola's water-works there in 79 (cf. Mr. Haverfield in *Antiquary* 36, p. 7) were for the camp only. If Tacitus is accurate, only Lindum is left, and 83 is the latest date. As for the earliest: we know from Tacitus that in 71–73 Cerialis 'permanently conquered' (so Furneaux translates) part of the territory of the Brigantes, and it is generally believed, with good reason, that in consequence the Legio IX Hispana was advanced from Lindum to new quarters at Eburacum. The government had opened new lead-mines thirty miles north-west of York by the year 81 (*C.I.L.* vii. 1207). And the traces of the legion at York are too numerous to belong entirely to the brief interval between 108—the year of the only dated inscription (*C.I.L.* vii. 241)—and its destruction. Again, the Legio II Adiutrix, which came from Germany with Cerialis, was at Lindum during part of its brief sojourn, as two inscriptions show. This must have been during Cerialis' campaigns, when Lindum

was the natural base for operations against the eastern Brigantes; and the legion withdrew to Deva, about 74. Gündel (*de Leg. ii. Adiutrice*) prefers, though doubtfully, to place it at Lindum from 80 to its departure from Britain in 87. The legionary inscriptions are not conclusive either way, but all other indications are against his view. One legion would not be so posted in the rear of another; and it is generally agreed that Deva, where the II Adiutrix has left many records of its presence, was Agricola's chief base, and the main army was needed there. The colonisation of Lindum is a new and conclusive proof of the advance of one legion to Eburacum, and the transfer of the other to Deva; it was a measure of compensation, usual in such cases, for the withdrawal of the garrison. The town, now far within the frontier, could safely be left to veterans, of whom 2000 were discharged every year from the army of Britain, and many would settle in the province. We may conclude that Lindum was colonised between 74 and 83 A.D., probably by Agricola under Vespasian or Titus.

II.—THE LEGIO II ADIUTRIX IN SCOTLAND.

Some time ago (*Athenæum*, Jan. 13, 1900) Mr. Haverfield suggested that two small earth-forts at Camelon, near Falkirk, half a mile north of the wall of Pius, were Agricola's, because of the character of the pottery fragments there discovered. The suggestion is now abundantly confirmed by an inscription from the same place, published in the *Athenæum* 1904, i. p. 505: it is the dedication of an altar, commemorating some military success, and reads:—'Milites I[egionis] II Adiut[ri] Virt[uti] L[ibentes] M[erito].' The evidence of inscriptions has made it certain that this legion left Britain about 87 A.D., and never returned. We may conjecture that the stone previously found at Camelon (*Proceedings of Society of Anti-*

quaries of Scotland, 35, p. 376) which reads '[Leg.] XX V.V. F[ecit]' belongs to the same time: the two legions had their headquarters together at Deva. The coins found, which are mostly of Vespasian and Domitian (*Ib.* p. 415) confirm the earlier date. No other first century inscription has yet been found in Scotland.

III.—A WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM BRITAIN ABOUT 76 A.D.

An inscription recently found at Baalbek (*Sitzungsab. Berl.* 1903, p. 817) records the drafting of detachments from the eight legions of Britain and Upper Germany under the command of C. Velius Rufus. As Mommsen's commentary shows, this was for an expedition to Mauretania whereof the same inscription is our only record: the date was 'under Vespasian or soon after his death.' The time may perhaps be fixed a little more precisely. Since no troops were drawn from Lower Germany, we may infer that none could be spared there; and we have some evidence of a war there in the later years of Vespasian, when Rutilius Gallicus was Governor. There was peace in Upper Germany, so far as we know, between 74 and 83. In Britain the strain of warfare was probably relaxed towards the end of Frontinus' governorship; the Silures would hardly require three campaigns, and the baths of Aquæ Sulis were possibly built in 76—the earliest inscription is of that year (cf. Mr. Haverfield in *Athenæum* 1904, i. p. 184). As we know from Tacitus, the lull continued till Agricola succeeded to the command. It is improbable that the forces were weakened after his arrival. Hence 76 or 77 seems to be the best date for the Mauretanian expedition. The troops from Britain were probably, as Mommsen thinks, 2,000 legionaries and 2,000 auxiliaries in all.

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(To be continued.)

'INDO-EUROPEAN' OR 'INDO-GERMANIC'?

THE use of 'Indo-Germanic,' following the German 'indogermanisch,' in place of 'Indo-European,' is frequent enough to raise the question whether or not this innovation

is one to be welcomed and encouraged. It would be idle to discuss the intrinsic merits of these two designations. Neither is ideal, but either answers the purpose. Nor is the

ultimate priority in the use of one or the other of any great weight, though I shall revert to this matter below. It is simply a question of established and actual usage in English.

As is well known, German usage was for a long time divided. Pott, for example, in 1833 mentioned both 'indo-germanisch' and 'indo-europäisch,' but regularly used the former, while Bopp in 1857 expressly declared his preference for 'indo-europäisch,' which, he remarks, was already widely used in English and French. But for the last forty years 'indogermanisch' has had almost exclusive sway, and is so thoroughly established that now no one writing in German would think of using anything else. To attribute this to national vanity would be trivial, but no more so than the assumption sometimes made (see the quotation from Steinthal below) that the preference for a different term is due to a petty anti-German or anti-Germanic feeling. Some German scholars have argued laboriously that 'indo-germanisch' is the better term, which is anything but obvious, but most are content, and properly so, simply to take the usage as an accomplished fact, or at the most to point out that 'indo-germanisch' is more euphonious than 'indo-europäisch' with its awkward hiatus, which of course does not exist in the English pronunciation.

In English, however, as in French, Indo-European has been the prevailing term from the dawn of the science to the present time. In England, to be sure, the tradition was partially broken by the vogue of Max Müller's 'Aryan,' and this perhaps accounts for the readier admission there of the recently imported 'Indo-Germanic.' But even to-day in England the most important independent works (not translations and compilations), like Lindsay's *Latin Language*, the writings of Conway, Postgate, and others, use only Indo-European. In America it always has been and is now the term used by nearly all whose business it is to deal with the subject named. Witness, for example, the linguistic articles in Johnson's *Universal Cyclopaedia*, written by President Wheeler and his numerous collaborators, in all of which, except those of one contributor (Professor Jackson), 'Indo-European' is used. And this, as shown by the exception, is due to individual preference rather than to any unifying process at the hands of President Wheeler, except of course in his translations of German contributions, in which 'Indo-European' is substituted for the original 'indogermanisch.' I have

taken this as a convenient example, but it would be easy to show from journal articles that practically all our scholars in this field habitually employ Indo-European. As far as I am aware, all university chairs and all lecture-courses embracing the subject bear this title.

Except for some sporadic occurrences of 'Indo-Germanic' (and 'Indo-German') in earlier times, this term has come in within the last fifteen years through translations, mostly English, of German works. Probably the translation of Brugmann's *Grundriss* is, more than any other, responsible for it. I think I am right in recollecting hearing from Professor Brugmann that the use of 'Indo-Germanic' was at his specific request. If so, it is a pleasure to observe that he exerted no such pressure on the translator of his 'Princeton Address,' one of his own former pupils, which bears the title, 'The Nature and Origin of the Noun-Genders in the Indo-European Languages.' Jevons, in his translation of Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, under the title *Prehistoric Aryan Antiquities*, uses Indo-European and Indo-Germanic so impartially that there is scarcely a page without examples of each. Only for the substantive 'Indogermanen' he must perforce restrict himself to 'Indo-Europeans.'

Giles' *Manual of Comparative Philology* also has 'Indo-Germanic,' and other examples might be mentioned. In America I know of no scholar who has adopted this term, except Professor Jackson, who uses it in his *Avesta Grammar* and elsewhere, and his pupils. Yet one meets it in print not infrequently and hears it perhaps oftener, especially among those more remote from its subject. Even Professor Gildersleeve in a recent number of the *American Journal of Philology*, (xxiii. 235) has let it escape him in a passage where he has in mind certain German works, though on another page of the same number (xxiii. 122), referring to something in Oertel's 'Lectures on Language,' he employs 'Indo-European' as usual.

Now the science of Indo-European Philology was founded in Germany, though the field was first pointed out by an Englishman, and perhaps even more than any other has been pre-eminently fostered by German scholarship. There is scarcely an important scholar in this field on either side of the Atlantic who is not personally, as well as indirectly, more or less indebted to German instruction. But is there any good reason why an established English term, one which

is at least as good as that now preferred by German scholars, and which, as it happens, was preferred by the founder of the science, should be given up, simply because in Germany after various vicissitudes another term has become established? Surely there is no necessity of uniformity in this regard, nor would it be attained even if we adopted 'Indo-Germanic.' For there are no indications of a change in French usage, though in Italian 'indogermanico' appears to prevail at present, and the equivalent of Indo-European is still preferred by most Scandinavian scholars when writing in their own languages, and by some at least of the Slavic scholars.

In conclusion, it may be well to recall what is known of the history of the two terms which Pott mentions in 1833, as if both were already well known. It has often been stated, e.g., in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that 'indogermanisch' was used by Friedrich Schlegel in his famous *Sprache und Weisheit der Inder*, 1808. But this was shown to be an error by Gustav Meyer, *Idg. Forsch.*, ii. p. 125 ff., who also proved that Steinthal, *Geschichte d. Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*,² p. xi. ff., was wrong in assuming that it was first used by Gesenius in 1831, in imitation of 'indisch-deutsch,' first used by Schmitthener in 1826. Meyer points out that 'Indo-Germanen' and 'Indo-Germanisch' occur frequently in Klaproth's *Asia Polyglotta*, Paris, 1823. The same result is reached, apparently without any knowledge of G. Meyer's article written ten years before, by Leo Meyer, in the *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1901, p. 448 ff. There is nothing to indicate whether Klaproth coined the term, but his is certainly the earliest quotable example of its use.

In none of the discussions named is 'indo-europäisch' or its English or French equivalent traced further back than Pott, and Steinthal and Leo Meyer assume that it is the later term. Steinthal indeed suggests 'dass

letzterer [indo-europäenne] kieferbrechende Name zur Beruhigung patriotischer Beklemmungen von einem Franzosen geschaffen sei.' Last year, in glancing over some English works on language written in the early part of the nineteenth century, I was led by references to a review in which I found 'Indo-European' with all the ear-marks of a fresh coinage. My attention was called later to the fact that the quotation was already given in the *New English Dictionary*, which I had neglected to consult. But the passage is important enough to bear repeating here. It occurs in a review of Adelung's *Mithridates*, who himself uses no general term for the family of languages just coming to recognition, written by Dr. T. C. Young (so the *N.E.D.* The review is unsigned) in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. x, 1814 (so the *N.E.D.* I had noted October, 1813, but cannot verify now),¹ and reads as follows: 'Another ancient and extensive class of languages, united by a greater number of resemblances than can well be altogether accidental, may be denominated the Indo-European, comprehending the Indian, the West Asiatic, and almost all the European languages.' The name occurs some half dozen times in the course of the review, and is found in subsequent volumes of the *Quarterly Review*. I will add one other quotation from the *N.E.D.*, namely Prichard, *History of Mankind*, 1826: 'By some the term Indo-European, by others that of Indo-German, has been applied to the whole class of idioms which are found to be thus allied. The former of these terms is preferable to the latter, and indeed to any other, as being the more general.'

CARL DARLING BUCK.

CHICAGO, April, 1904.

¹ The review is in the October number, p. 255. —Ed. C.R.

NOTES.

ON SOPHOCLES *Antigone* 259 AND 429.—(1) 259: Sir Richard Jebb mentions three irregularities in the form. He adds: 'It is only the first of these three points that this passage has in common with others to which it has been compared.' But (2), i.e. ἐν ἀλλήλοισι for ἐν ἡμῖν appears to be directly paralleled by Eur. *Helen* 1549.

ἡμῖν δ' ἦν μὲν ἡδ' ὑποψία
λόγος δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισι, τῶν ἐπεσβαστῶν
ὥς πλῆθος εἶη.

(2) 429: διψαν φέρει κόριν. Sir Richard Jebb writes: 'A difficulty presents itself. The essence of the symbolical rite was the sprinkling of dust. She

had done that (245). Was it not, then, done once for all? . . . I have never seen this question put or answered . . . Perhaps the rite was considered complete only if the *χοαί* were poured while the dust still covered the corpse.²

This conjecture is confirmed by Eur. *Phoen.* 1164 :

ὡς οὐτις ἀμφὶ τῷδ' ἔγρηπ' ἂν θήσει κόμην.

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

THE EPISTOLARY TENSES IN GREEK.—Mr. H. Darnley Naylor in his remarks in the May number on the use of epistolary tenses in Greek gives instances of the epistolary aorist, *ἐπεμψα* (Thuc. i. 129, 3), and of the epistolary perfect, *ἀπέσταλκα* (Isoc. *Ad Dem.* i. 10). He should have added to these the epistolary imperfect, of which a good instance is found, though not in a letter, in Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4, 37 : τῶν δὲ ταῦτα πράξαντων ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε δ λόγος ἐγράφετο Τεισιφάνους πρεσβύτατος ὧν τῶν

ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχε. This is exactly parallel to Horace's use of the imperfect in Ep. i. 10, 49, *Hæc tibi dictatum post funum pulve Væcnæ.*

JOHN THOMPSON.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF GN IN LATIN.—These two passages have not, so far as I know, been cited in evidence :

(1) Plant. *Rud.* 767 Ignem magnum hic faciam. Quin inhumanum exuras tibi?

Clearly the strange reply is due to the resemblance of *ignem magnum* in pronunciation to *inhumanum*.

(2) Cic. *Rep.* iv. 6 Censoris iudicium nihil fere dannato offert nisi ruborem. Itaque, ut omnis ea indicatio versatur tantummodo in nomine, animadversio illa 'ignominia' dicta est.

So Cicero pronounced *ignominia* more or less as 'innominia.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

REVIEWS.

PAPYROLOGICAL LITERATURE.

1. *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis : cum titulorum Aegypti papyrorum codicum denique testimoniis comparatum proposuit* GULIELMUS CRÖNERT. Leipzig : B. G. Teubner, 1903. 12 m.
2. *Laterculi Vocum Latinarum : voces Latinas et a fronte et a tergo ordinandas curavit* OTTO GRADENWITZ. Leipzig : S. Hirzel, 1904. 16 m.

DR. CRÖNERT's book is in two respects characteristic of German philological work. In the first place, it is the fruit of a mission to Naples subsidised by the Berlin Academy, and so illustrates the services which such an institution, properly endowed, can render to scholarship. In the second, it is a striking example of that love of detail, both in the accumulation of facts and the provision of references, which renders the Germans such incomparable collectors of materials. It is a storehouse of facts, chiefly drawn from the papyri of Herculaneum, but brought into relation with the similar data derivable from Egyptian papyri and other sources, dealing with orthographical and grammatical (but not syntactical) questions. It is not a book to be read, but to be consulted. It provides much material for the revised edition of Liddell and Scott promised by the Oxford University Press. It will be a book of reference for students of philology

in the narrower sense of the term, and for editors of papyri. It may give hints to editors of any Greek texts who wish to consider the conditions through which the archetypes of their manuscripts may have passed. From all these points of view gratitude is due to the author for his laborious industry.

The volume is divided into eight books. The first two deal with questions of orthography, in relation to vowels and consonants respectively. Several pages are devoted to the subject of the division of words at the ends of lines ; but though quantities of examples are adduced, the ultimate results do not go beyond the rules already known and laid down. Here, as elsewhere, one is in danger of not seeing the wood for the trees. More valuable are the instances of interchange of vowel sounds, in which the Herculaneum papyri are less lax than the Egyptian ; *ε* and *η*, *ο* and *ω*, *υ* and *αι* are never interchanged, *ε* and *αι* rarely, *ει* and *η* more often, *αι* and *ι* (as was to be expected) more often still. The examples of the latter change occupy several pages, as also do those relating to the use or omission of *ι* subscript, or rather adscript. With regard to consonants, the subject of assimilation occupies most space, but many other variations in orthography are also dealt with in great detail.

The next two books similarly treat of abnormalities in the use of vowels and consonants respectively which are due to grammatical rather than euphonic causes, such as the variations between ἔχϋρωμα and ὀχϋρωμα, αἰεί and αἰεί, πλέωρ and πλείωρ, ποεῖν and ποιεῖν, τᾶτό and ταῖτό, σσ and ττ, and false use or omission of the aspirate. Book v. deals with the inflexion of nouns, including tables of adjectives which vary between two and three terminations, or which form their comparatives in more than one way; book vi. with verbs, especially with the forms of augment and reduplication, the optative, and the aorists. Book vii. is an alphabetical index of verbal forms in the Herculaneum papyri, which should be of considerable use to lexicographers; and Book viii. is a miscellaneous collection of words which for one reason or another seem to deserve notice. An array of indices concludes the volume.

It is obviously impossible to review such a book at length. It deals, not with principles, but with facts; and assuming that the facts are, in the main, correctly reported (which there is no reason to doubt), there is nothing to be done but to use it as a book of reference, and so bring these facts into connection with facts of the same kind derived from other sources. Editors of papyri and students of grammar and orthography will do well to use it side by side with Meisterhans; but it lacks the most valuable characteristic of the latter invaluable work through dealing mainly with a group of documents belonging substantially to a single period. An examination on the same lines of the orthography of Egyptian papyri through the ten centuries occupied

by them would be a most useful, though laborious, work, and would reinforce the resources of palaeography for determining the dates of doubtful manuscripts. But we have no intention of criticising Dr. Crönert's work for not being something quite different from what it claims to be: on the contrary, we would congratulate him on the achievement, once for all, of a definite piece of work which will not need to be done again.

Something to the same effect may be said of the volume which Prof. Gradenwitz has produced with the assistance of his pupils, though it is of a more mechanical character. Editors of mutilated papyri know only too well what need they have of lexicons arranged both by the beginnings and the ends of words. The ordinary dictionaries supply the first class of need, but alphabetical indices of terminations ('conträr-indices' as the Germans call them) are no less requisite. Hitherto the only Greek lexicon of this kind in existence has been Hoogeveen's *Dictionarium Analogicum*, published at Cambridge in 1810; but this work is known to few and accessible to yet fewer. Prof. Gradenwitz, who called attention to the want of such indices in his *Einleitung in die Papyrskunde*, has now turned aside to Latin, and has produced a Latin vocabulary, arranged in both ways. Latin papyri are not so plentiful yet as to make such vocabularies very useful in this particular field of study; but obviously they have other uses, notably for the linguist and grammarian. Here it is sufficient to call attention to the work, and to make note of its existence against the time when it may be required.

F. G. KENYON.

NORDEN'S *AENEID* VI.

P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI. Erklärt von EDUARD NORDEN. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903. Pp. 484. 12 m.

CLOSE upon the heels of Heinze's *Epische Technik* comes this elaborate edition of the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, an edition which deserves general recognition as much for the fresh and stimulating ideas which it develops as for the scholarship and industry which every page reveals.

The Introduction deals with the Sources. Dr. Norden has made a wide study of apocalyptic literature and concludes that the mediaeval writings before Dante were little influenced by V., so that agreements between them and the Latin poet point to a common use of earlier literature. The intermingling of the Hell of popular belief with that of philosophy is, he believes, no innovation on V.'s part, for Plato and Pindar agree with him in some of the very points involved—*e.g.* the

combination of a theory of eternal punishment in Tartarus with that of a general purification of souls. The transmigration theory is carefully examined and a Greek paraphrase given of Anchises' exordium (*principio caelum ac terras* etc.). The use of Greek paraphrase is a favourite with Dr. Norden, and is often resorted to with very happy results. But in the case with which we are now concerned it forces him to testify against his own interpretation of ll. 740 *sqq.* He believes that V. assumes a preliminary cleansing by the elements, according to the degree of guilt, a cleansing of which Pindar and Plato give no hint, though it fits into their scheme and is supported by the eschatology of Plutarch's *De facie in orbe lunae*. The souls thus purified then pass to Elysium, where a small portion (the best) remain and in a *magnus annus* recover their original purity: the majority sojourn in a valley adjoining Elysium, drink Lethe, and in 1000 years enter a new body. The idea of Elysium as a place of purification is, the editor points out, known to Pindar, whilst in Plato the souls sojourn for the same purpose in a corresponding portion of Heaven. Following this interpretation the paraphrase gives for *pauci* of l. 744, ὀλίγοι μὲν *rites*, for *has omnes* of l. 748 τὰς δὲ πολλὰς. But there is not in V. the slightest hint that the *pauci* and the *has omnes* are to be contrasted, or that the subject in the first half of l. 744 (*mittimur Elysium*) is different from that of the other half (*laeta arua tenemus*)—to my mind a fatal objection to the rendering suggested.

Dr. Norden follows Schmiekell and Agahd in assuming Posidonius as the main source. But he believes that an Orphic-pythagorean poem, belonging to the sixth century and dealing with the topic of soul-migration, was used by Pindar and Empedocles, and left its traces in the Platonic myths. Fragments of a similar poem are found in the three gold tablets of Thurii and Petelia. 'V. took one of Posidonius' apocalyptic writings and dressed it in the conventional style of the poetic revelations.' In this theory the editor is confirmed by resemblances between V. and Greek verse of the Christian era. He compares the use in the Georgics of prose technical works on the one hand and Nicander and Lucretius on the other.

The Introduction closes with the investigation of eleven passages of the sixth book in the light of certain eschatological theories, especially those of (or attributed to) Posidonius. Thus, the notorious *quisque suos patimur manes* is illustrated and explained

from Plutarch's *De genio Socratis*. Each soul is punished by its δαίμων for having allowed itself to be corrupted by the body: the severity of its penalty corresponds to the degree of its degeneration. 'Ein jeder büsst, wie es sein Dämon heischt.' The division of the rôle of guide between the Sibyl and Anchises is regarded as the retention of a tradition of which traces are found in two of Plutarch's apocalypses and Cicero's *Somnium*. Even the assignation of such duty to a father is declared, on the strength of two Hermetic works, to be no innovation of V.'s. Aeneas' exit by the dream-gate is compared with the end of the *Somnium* (*ego somno solutus sum*) in order to prove that Posidonius' Apocalypse took the form of a dream vision. Throughout this part of the Introduction no opportunity of tracing an idea back to Posidonius is lost. Whether such theories, based as they inevitably are on a tissue of theories, can satisfy a reader depends largely on his individual temperament. An interesting point is raised in the section that deals with the phenomenon of the doublet formed by the Sibyl's prophecies and that part of Anchises' which V. describes by the words

exim bella uiro memorat . . .
et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque
laborem (890-92).

N. believes (and as regards iii at least he may claim Heinze's support) that books iii and v were completed after vi. A comparison of iii. 458 *sqq.* (469 = vi. 892) and v. 722 *sqq.* leads him to think that V. had resolved to get rid of the doublet, to assign the prophecies to the Sibyl and the duty of shewing the heroes to Anchises.

The text is printed with a verse translation opposite. The latter presents a curious appearance, as ballad metre of trochaic or anapaestic rhythm is intermingled with the ordinary heroic metre in which most of it is set. The idea is to reproduce the Vergilian use of caesura and variation of dactyls and spondees, 'so well adapted to the expression of the languishing of love and the passion of hate, the plaintive moan of lamentation and the exulting cry of triumph, the prayer of the heart and the frenzy of the seer, the sigh of the wind and the crash of thunder, the delights of Paradise and the horrors of Hell.' The author modestly begs us to apply to the version words of Goethe's—'Nicht als Muster, sondern zur Anregung für andere Übersetzer.' For the text itself Hoffmann's collation of M and the photographic facsimile of F have been used: the latter revealed that

Ribbeck was wrong in ascribing the reading *lumina* to that MS. Dr. Norden punctuates on certain 'rhetorical' principles, traces of which he thinks are preserved to us by some texts that are written according to the *kōlla* and *kōmmata* and by the laws of hiatus. He claims to find considerable support for his method in the punctuation of F and M. It involves a lavish use of commas—e.g. after *lacrimas* in l. 1, *navis* l. 4, *situs* l. 8, *praesidet* l. 10.

The Commentary covers some 230 pp. Many notes are greatly concentrated and represent in a few lines what might fill page on page in an ordinary dissertation. To take only the first hundred lines, one finds treatment of 'Enallage of adjectives,' 'Influence of metre on vocabulary,' 'V. as a representative of the graceful style,' 'Antithesis,' 'Parataxis,' 'Synzesis,' 'Vulgarisms,' 'Personifying epithets,' and other kindred subjects—a treatment too that does not confine itself to V., but throws much light on the style of ancient literature in general. One may especially draw attention to Dr. Norden's note on the erotic colours with which V. paints the Sibyl's inspiration (pp. 143 *sqq.*), with its ingenious attempt to find a local habitation for the well known fragment *plena deo*; his ten page dissertation on the Golden Bough, which he takes to mean the mistletoe, symbol at once of life and death and introduced here by V. from some literary source—perhaps one in which the use of the plant as a symbol in Persephone-mysteries was drawn upon for the *κατάβασις* of some hero; and the remarks on the rhetorical character of the *encomium Romae* and *epicedion Marcelli* (pp. 327 *sqq.*, 344 *sqq.*). Very characteristic of the notes as a whole is the way in which three lines of inquiry are consistently pursued: the tracing of the influence of Ennius, of the use of *κατάβασις* of Orpheus and Heracles, and of the artistic employment of alliteration and other rhythmical devices. The first and last of these matters form the subject of two separate appendices. Dr. Norden is not content with the evidence Macrobius and others have left us of V.'s debt to Ennius. He claims the power to point out many 'flosculos Ennianae dictionis,' overlooked or neglected by the grammarians, but betrayed as extraneous by various signs,—the most striking of which, perhaps, is the violence which V. in adopting them often does to his metrical principles. Sometimes Dr. Norden finds a first doubt is confirmed by other grounds of suspicion. Thus, on 394 *dis quamquam geniti atque inuicti uiribus essent*, he notes '*Essent* at the

end of the line is counter to V.'s practice; *inuicti uiribus* has an Ennian tinge: *inu.* is a favourite word of his and he often alliterates with *uires*. The whole ending may be Ennian, especially as the subjunctive after *quamquam* occurs only here in V.' I think many readers will regard this note as rather too ingenious, and there is no doubt Dr. Norden carries the matter too far—as indeed, he admits on p. 363 that he is sensible sometimes of dealing with mere possibilities. Thus Ennian origin is suggested for *ab loue summo* 123 because the ending is exceptional for V.'s hexameter, for *pectore firmo* 261 because Ennius often has *pectore* in the same foot and uses *pectus firmum* in one of his tragedies. On 579 he notes 'The verse-ending *Olympum(i)* is attested for Ennius, and in *Aen.* x. 1 accompanies the Ennian word *omnipotens*,' on 743 '*Quisque suos* at the beginning of the line = Acc. *ann.* fr. 3. 5, and so (as we may assume from resemblances between V. and the fragments of Accius' annals) possibly Ennian.' So with the metrical notes: amidst much that is certainly true and valuable we find such notes as the one on ll. 6-7, where the spondees in *quaerit pars semina flammae | abstrusa in uenis* are (certainly with great ingenuity) illustrated by Sophocles' *ἐν πέτροισι πέτρον ἐκτρίβων μόλις* etc., or that on l. 27, where the six-syllabled *inextricabilis* is supposed to represent the length of the error. The most important notes bearing on the *κατάβασις* will be found on ll. 120 and 260, and pp. 231, 232, 251, 268. The double rôle of the Sibyl as seer and guide is explained as due to the fact that the legends gave her the one, and the tradition of the *κατάβασις* made the other a necessity.

Appendices on matters of Style and Metre, extending over nearly 100 pp., complete the book (which is well indexed). Besides those already referred to, one may note those on 'Periodik,' 'Position of words,' 'Irregular verse-endings,' and 'Exceptional Elisions.' In this last, Dr. Norden lays down a rule, based on the study of the Latin hexameter down to V.'s time, that elision with a strongly accented vowel standing in Arses 2, 3, or 4 was avoided.

I trust this summary of the book will give a fair idea of its merits, and pass now to the consideration of a few matters of detail, chiefly affecting the Commentary.

20 *in foribus letum Androgeo, tum pendere poenas | Cecropidae iussi*. 'With *letum* supply from *posuit fecit*, on which the following inf. depends.' But surely *pendere* depends on *iussi*: anyhow that word shews

what is the case of *letum*. 23 *clata mari* . . . *Gnosia tellus*. 'clata plastic for alta : cp. Mel. ii. 7. 12 *super eas (Cyclades) sita est Creta*.' Does Dr. Norden think the Mela passage means 'Crete is higher than the Cyclades'? 38 *de intacto*. 'Not elision, but synizesis.' Surely a rather arbitrary decision (repeated on p. 447). 46 *non uoltus, non color unus*. Eur. *I. T.* 291 παρῇ δ' ὁπαρ οὐ ταῦτα μορφῆς σχήματα is cited as standing 'formell besonders nahe.' Does not the herdsman in Eur. mean 'We could see none of the figures that the mad Orestes so vividly described'? If so, there is absolutely nothing in common between the two passages. On p. 196 (note) we read 'Es ist m. W. noch nicht scharf ausgesprochen worden' that Homer's *Necyia* is no *κατάβασις*. Surely the fact is generally admitted: I myself had already been surprised to read, on p. 152, the words 'Odysseus ohne Führer in die Tiefe steigt.' 241 *Super* (M¹P¹R) is preferred to *supera* M²P²F. In vii. 562 the good MSS. offer *super* only, and Dr. Norden would evidently read it, but I do not see what meaning it could there have, and do not think it advisable to adopt it here. I know no case of *super* used with *ad* as though it were *usque*. The same of course applies to 750. 256 *sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moueri* | *siluarum, uisaeque canes ululare*. How can we, with Dr. Norden, make *mugire* depend on *uisae* when the clause *iuga coepta (sunt) moueri* intervenes? Donatus of course had a good reason for such hardihood—he wanted, at all costs, an example of the use of *uidere* in reference to sound. 289. On p. 210 we are told that the whole atmosphere of the passage is Greek, but so metrically doubtful a version of this line as is offered (Τοργόνες Ἀρπυιαί τε σκυῖς τε τριπύματον ἔδος) hardly helps to prove it. 300 *stant lumina flamma*. How is the antiquity of the variant *flammae* proved by Claudian's words *Non labra rosae, non colla pruinæ, | non crines aequant uiolæ, non lumina flammae*? Would he be likely to remember a reading which made nonsense—and surely *flammae* does make nonsense? For this same reason I fail to see how the variant can be due to 'ignorance of the old construction of *stare*, used by V. on the analogy of Ennius' *stant puluere campi*.' 361 *prædamque ignara putasset*. No note on *ignara*, and the rendering 'wähten einen Fang zu tun' is not enough. On p. 231 we read: 'Servius on l. 392 notes *lectum est in Orpheo* . . . Lucan's Orpheus cannot be meant here and on *G.* 2. 389, for on *G.* iv. 492 in citing from this work Serv. says 'Lucanus in

Orpheo.' This is surely a bold assumption, and it is followed up by another: 'Servius' words then must refer to the Orphic *κατάβασις*.' 396 *custodem in uincla petiuit* | *ipsius a solio regis traxitque*. The editor, whilst rejecting on other grounds, the joining of a *solio* with *traxit*, regards the feat as 'sprachlich möglich' and refers to 817–18 (*Tarquinius reges animamque superbam* | *ultoris Bruti fascesque*) where he joins *Bruti* to *fasces*. I wonder such an order can seem possible to so careful a student of V.'s style and one so reluctant to admit exceptions from his ordinary methods that he prefers to call an unusual elision synizesis. The only parallel he can produce in the Appendix on positions (p. 395, n. 2) is *G.* 3. 238 *fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto* | *longius ex altoque sinum trahit*—which in no way helps. 413 sqq. (*Aeneas too heavy for Charon's bark*). Seneca's similar account in reference to Hercules (*H. F.* 755 sqq.) is regarded as proof that V. got the idea from a Hercules-*κατάβασις*. The obvious explanation that Sen. took it from V. is, Dr. Norden thinks, untenable because the idea suits Hercules—whose weight, legend said, almost sank the Argo—far better than Aeneas. But does it? What is the point of mentioning that a man whose weight could sink a man-of-war proved disastrous to a skiff? The fact is Seneca has shared the fate of most borrowers—has spoiled the loan in the borrowing. Even had no Vergilian parallel existed, a lost Greek play would be a more natural source to imagine for Seneca. 547 *tantum effatus et in uerbo uestigia torsit*. 'Like x. 877: est need not be supplied, as the Homeric parallel shews: ὡς φημένη καὶ κερδοσύνη ἡγήσατ' Ἀθήνη.' But Latin is not Greek, and a more certain line than ix. 403 (*suspiciens altam lunam et sic uoce precatur*) is needed to make me believe that Vergil so completely forgot the fact. 585 sqq. *uidi et crudeles dantem Salmonea poenas* | *dum flammæ Iouis . . . imitatur*. Dr. Norden adopts the explanation which takes the *dum* clause with *dantem*, so that the *poenæ* are not his sufferings in Tartarus but those of his downfall. This is possible enough, but the natural meaning of *poenæ* is certainly 'torments in Tartarus,' and there is no question that in some sentences, where the main clause gives the unexpected result of an action described in a *dum* clause, that particle does acquire more or less a causal force. Cp. e.g., Tac. *H.* 3. 56 *dum dispergit uires, acerrimum . . . militem . . . capiendum tradidit*, 78 *dum peractum bellum putant finem eius*

insigniuere. 598 *secunda poenis uiscera*. To Henry's citation from Manilius in proof of the view that *poenis* is dat. add Sen. *Phae.* 1234 *poenae accrescit iecur* (of Tityus) and *M.* 956 *sterilis in poenis*. 780. The fact that we never find the sing. *superus* in the sense 'a god' does not *prove* that we must here render 'marks him as one destined to rise to the upper world.' For the same objection applies to this: I at least know of no ex. of the sing. of the word being used in the sense 'belonging to the upper regions'—common as it is, especially in Seneca's plays, in the plural. 893 *sqq.* Readers of this *Journal* will be interested to see that W. Everett's interpretation published therein (1900, pp. 153 *sqq.*) is accepted.

In the Appendix on 'Periodik' I am surprised to find Dr. Norden stating (p. 380) that Ovid avoids more carefully than V. the coincidence of verse and sentence endings. I should have thought that the exact reverse was the case, and that nowhere,

not even in the use of elision, was the difference between the two styles of hexameter more marked. The question of the use of alliteration by the post-Augustans has not been entirely neglected, as Dr. Norden seems to think (p. 407, n. 4), either here or on the continent: Heitland's *Lucan-introduction*, Hirschwaelder's *Curae Criticae* in *Val. Fl. Argonauticon* and my own *Study* of the latter author all handle the subject. On p. 418 the possibility of assuming a caesura before *que* in such a line as *infelix Dido longumque bibeat amorem* is granted, and on p. 421 such a caesura is definitely assumed for, e.g. *praesidet horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae*. But can *que* be thus divided from the word to which it is enclitically attached? Surely if it could, V. would have avoided hexameter endings like *facilisque sequetur*, *fidibusque canoris* as regularly as he did such as *seminivro comitatu* or *sanctum mihi nomen*.

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RAMSAY'S *TACITUS*.

The Annals of Tacitus. Books I.—VI. An English Translation, with Introduction, Notes and Maps. By G. G. RAMSAY. Pp. lxxxii+439. London: John Murray. 1904. Price 15s.

Who among English writers is to be the model for a translation of Tacitus? The majesty of his language is worthy of Gibbon: for his brevity we may compare him perhaps with Alfred Jingle alone. Professor Ramsay is neither a Gibbon nor a Jingle, but his style is a very happy compromise between the two. He can manage a short sentence, and he is not afraid of a long; he is free from that vice which has left English prose in need of no punctuation beyond the comma and the full stop. His choice of words is in general excellent, though there are some remarkable exceptions, to which I shall return. The book has been well received by the press; and a reviewer who comes late upon the field may be allowed to speak less of merits than of faults. *ὁ καὶ μωμείμενος αἰνεῖ*.

An interesting introduction deals chiefly with the history of the fame of Tacitus, and with translations of the whole or part of his

works. We read with surprise that before 1837 Germany had produced a hundred and forty-two translations (scarcely less than France), and England only thirty-five.¹ Statistics of verbosity are given, which show that in the first and fourth chapters of the *Annals* Tacitus uses 268 words, Davanzati's *tour de force* has 339, de la Motte 478, Messrs. Church and Brodribb 459; while Murphy reaches the respectable total of 624. We may add that the present translator uses 462. There are some good remarks on the 'density' of different languages (p. xxxii), and some sensible discussions of the difficulties presented by the short and sharp sentences with which Tacitus, better than any man, can point a moral or clinch an episode. When, however, we come to the body of the work, we find that it is just at

¹ The references to Sir Henry Savile's work on pp. xxxviii and lxxvii are in a confusion worse compounded by the misnomer 'Sir George' on pp. lxx and lxxi. The three volumes of Tacitus 'made English by several hands' and published in 1698 were not 'under the patronage of "the Learned Sir Henry Savile,"' Casaubon's host at Eton, who died in 1622. In the work of 1698 Savile's translation of the *Historiae* and *Agricola*, published in 1591, is used only for the first book of the *Historiae*.

these 'flash-points of a uniformly brilliant style' (p. lxxii) that Professor Ramsay fails. His 'flashes' are too often flashes in the pan. Thus, *perniciem aliis ac postremum sibi invenire* (i. 74. 2) is rendered 'bringing ruin upon others first, and in the end upon themselves also.' To my mind the addition of those two words 'first' and 'also' is the worst fault in the book. Again, *visa sive ex metu credita* (ii. 24. 6) is represented by seventeen words. Why not 'things seen or from fear believed'? In *stolida, vana, si mollius acciperes miseranda* (ii. 30. 2) the thoroughly Tacitean (or Gibbonian) alternative is paraphrased away. Why not 'stupid, silly, or in a kindlier view pitiable'? The fourteen words given to *relinquebat famam aut praeveniebat* (ii. 39. 5) may be reduced to six: 'he fled or forestalled the news.' That leaves no more to the imagination than the Latin, and it saves room.

In passages of longer narrative, on the other hand, Professor Ramsay is at his best. For a specimen take the account of the Pannonian mutiny in i. 16-30, or, better, open the book at random. Very rare are awkwardnesses such as those of ii. 17. 7-8¹ and i. 3. 1. The latter is notable:—'Meanwhile Augustus, as buttresses to his rule, advanced Claudius Marcellus, his sister's son, to the priesthood and Curule Aedileship, while yet a lad; and bestowed the honour of two Consulships on Marcus Agrippa.'

The general excellence of the translator's choice of words may excuse a few Latinisms,² and 'when the crash came' for *domo convulsa* (vi. 40. 3), 'sedition-monger' (i. 16. 4), and 'riff-raff' (iii. 13. 3): but it takes much to atone for the 'meanderings' of Drusus (iii. 7. 1), 'raid the Chatti' (ii. 7. 1), 'rush the fighting' (vi. 35. 1), and 'time-expired' (iv. 4. 4). Tacitus wrote neither Barrack-room Ballads nor police-news. But I will

not 'pile on the agony' (iv. 69. 4). Against these may be set 'the irony which pervades all human affairs,' a good rendering of *ludibria rerum mortalium* (iii. 18. 6); 'a parcel of women' for *mulierculae* (iii. 50. 5); 'forgotten rather than forgiven' for *oblivione magis quam clementia* (vi. 14. 4); and 'he would often steal round his capital by side ways, and then sheer off from it again' for *deviis plerumque itineribus ambiens patriam et declinans* (vi. 15. 6).

Occasionally words or clauses are missed.³ Here and there a departure from the order of the words in the Latin has had a bad effect.⁴ The use of ordinary words where Tacitus avoids the commonplace (as of 'alive or dead' for *spirantem an exanimem* in i. 5. 5, 'mood' for *diem* in vi. 20. 1), the compression of a clause into a word (as of *nullo etiam tum urbium cultu* into 'nomad' in ii. 52. 3), and the repetition of the same word in neighbouring clauses (as of 'wounds' in i. 68. 7), do less than justice to Tacitus' ingenuity or, *si mollius acciperes*, his art.

The footnotes, which are copious, consist largely of historical comments, which are correct as far as I have examined them. But from time to time Professor Ramsay gives us his views on his author's shortcomings at unnecessary length. It is possibly true that Tacitus was lacking in the judicial sense, and it is certain that he often lets drop a sinister suspicion which shortly afterwards he treats as a fact. But not every charge which he brings against his characters is a slander, and when he says a good word for anybody it is not necessarily wrung from him in his own despite. However, the reader can easily criticise the critic for himself. I will give only one example. On p. 124 it is said that 'we are calmly asked by Tacitus to regard Germanicus as the military equal, if not the superior, of Alexander!' In ii. 73. 2-4 we read:—*et erant qui formam, aetatem, genus mortis ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiiit, magni Alexandri fatis adaequarent. nam utrumque corpore decore, genere insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis externas inter gentes occidisse: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse, neque minus proclatorem, etiam si temeritas affuerit praepeditusque sit percussas tot victoriis Germanias servitio premere. quod si solus*

¹ Where, by the way, 'Cherusci' should be 'Chauci.' Other slips worthy of note are 'Greer' for 'Greef,' p. viii; 'Turanius' for 'Turranius,' p. 14 n.; *quingentos* for *quingenos*, p. 16 n.; *Vindobona*, p. 32 n.; 'Marquhardt,' p. 46; 'shewed' for 'shewn,' i. 51. 2; 'practise' for 'practice,' ii. 33. 1; 'Vipsanius' for 'Vipstanus,' ii. 51. 1; 'Servius' for 'Servaeus,' ii. 56. 5; 'Antiochia' for '-ia,' p. 169; 'brother' for 'son,' iii. 18. 1; 'Detrius' for 'Detrius,' iii. 20. 3; 'Corbulo' for 'Sulla,' iii. 31. 6; *Aelia* for *Seia*, and *Seia* for *Aelia*, p. 259; 'the eunuch Spado,' iv. 8. 1 and 10. 2 (an odd mistake to make, and an odder to repeat); 'Gaetae' for 'Getae,' iv. 44. 1; 'Cnaeus,' iv. 75. 1. N. 3 on p. 134 is attached to the wrong 'that.' Why 'tribunitian' (*praesim*)? The printing of the German on p. 316 and of the Greek in several places is very slovenly.

² i. 57. 5, i. 79. 4, ii. 6. 1, iii. 21. 1, iii. 22. 5, iii. 38. 3.

³ *sed* in i. 1. 4, *etiam* in i. 3. 7, *velut* and *dictator* in i. 8. 7, *ipso* in i. 9. 1, *tot* in i. 43. 1, *onerariae* in ii. 39. 3, *ut memoravi* in ii. 53. 3, *nimia fortuna* socors in iv. 39. 1.

⁴ ii. 7. 4, ii. 39. 1-2, ii. 75. 1.

arbitrè rerum, si iure et nomine regio fuisset, tanto promptius adsecuturum gloriam militiæ, quantum clementia, temperantia, ceteris bonis artibus præstitisset. On this Professor Ramsay remarks:—‘The absurd partiality of this estimate does little credit to the historical judgment of Tacitus. According to his wont, he escapes responsibility by putting his own opinion into the mouths of others, though he gradually passes into a form of speech which adopts the estimate as his own.’ Where is this transition? There is none: the passage is oblique to the end. Tacitus nowhere adopts this estimate of Germanicus as his own, and therefore Professor Ramsay’s whole criticism is beside the mark.¹

The following notes are partly criticisms of Professor Ramsay (whom I beg leave to denote by ‘R.’), partly discussions of questions which occurred to me as I read his book.

i. 1. 1.—*dictaturæ ad tempus sumebantur*: not ‘in emergencies’ (R.), which would probably be *in tempus*, but ‘only for a time.’ The argument of §§ 1–3 is that between the kings and the emperors nobody had a long lease of power.

i. 2. 1.—*apud Siciliam*: ‘off’ Sicily,’ not ‘in,’ which is justified by Tacitus’ use of *apud* but not by the facts. *exuto Lepido*: ‘the deposition of Lepidus’ spoils the metaphor from clothes. *exuere* is here used not as in iv. 21. 5 *bonis exutus* but as in xiv. 52 *exueret magistrum*. Lepidus is here the clothes: ‘cast off,’ not, as Furneaux says, ‘stripped of power.’ *plebs* can be translated better than by ‘plebs.’ In i. 72. 3 both *plebem* and *populi* are translated ‘people,’ whereby the special application of *maiestas* to actions prejudicial to the interests of ‘the commons’ is missed.

i. 31. 5.—*in suum cognomentum adscisci imperatores*: not ‘emperors’ but ‘generals,’ as R.’s own note shows. i. 69. 5.—*tamquam parum ambitiose* does not mean ‘in the most artless manner conceivable.’ i. 76. 5.—*quamquam vili sanguine nimis gaudens*: R., with the rest, takes *q.v.s.* as an extenuation. It seems to me that Tacitus meant it rather as an aggravation of the fault: to rejoice in bloodshed is bad, and to rejoice in cheap bloodshed is worse.

ii. 2. 6.—*sed prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignotæ Parthis virtutes, nova vitia; et quia*

ipsorum moribus aliena, perinde odium pravis et honestis. Surely i. P. v. n. v. is in apposition to p. a. o. c., or predicate, it matters not which. These are the *honestas* of the next sentence: the *prava* are the faults mentioned in § 5.

ii. 6. 2.—*mille naues . . . aliæ breves, angusta puppi proraque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent; quædam planæ carinis, ut sine noxa silerent; plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent.* Boats ‘of shallow draught’ are not good at ‘standing the seas’: more probably *breves* . . . *utero* all refers to the horizontal dimensions, and *breves* means not ‘shallow’ but ‘short,’ *adpositis utrimque gubernaculis* means ‘with steering-gear at either end.’ This must have been easy with the steering-gear of the ancients, which could presumably be hoisted on deck when not in use. The nature of the device, and the meaning of *utrimque*, may be clearly seen in the similar passages II. iii. 47. 4 and G. 44. 2. R. however translates ‘with steering-oars on both sides.’ That was a common though not the only practice; and the words thus taken leave no point in *converso remigio*, which naturally means that the rowers reverse their oars and turn about on their seats, not that those on one side of the boat easy while the others pull. Two steering-oars at the end of the boat could scarcely be useful for pulling, as R. thinks.

ii. 16. 2.—R.’s views on this difficult passage are obscure. His theory of a false antithesis seems to presuppose that *ripæ fluminis cedunt* and *prominentia montium resistunt* refer to the same breaks in the roughly parallel lines of the river and the hills. But why should not the two phrases refer to different forms of deviation from the straight lines?

ii. 24. 1.—*hostilibus circum litoribus aut ita vasto et profundo ut credatur novissimum ac sine terris mare.* The difficulty of this passage is well known. J. F. Gronovius proposed *mari*; but after a subordinate clause of thirteen syllables Tacitus would not finish off the ablative clause with a word of two. Nipperdey took both *vasto* and *profundo* as substantives, but Dräger very justly doubts the possibility of this. I venture to propose a new remedy: the excision of *et*. The *depth* of the sea does not matter here, even if the North Sea were deep as seas go. If only the water is anything over six feet deep, the vast expanse of it is enough by itself to produce the feeling which Tacitus describes. Ovid has

¹ There is a muddle in the note on p. 142: ‘a hundredth per cent. (i.e. 1 per cent.)’. By a similar confusion the same expression is translated ‘100,000,000 sesterces’ in vi. 17. 4 and ‘1,000,000 sesterces’ in vi. 45. 2.

adjectives with *profundum*, and Manilius v. 720, Valerius Flaccus viii. 314, and Silius iv. 245-6 have this very combination *vastum profundum*.

ii. 28. 3.—R.'s translation of *adeo iram condiderat* is perverse. ii. 33. 3.—'The Fabricii' should be 'Fabricius': there is only one Fabricius in Roman history. ii. 34. 4.—For 'her' (*i.e.* Urgulania's) read 'Augusta's.' ii. 38. 5.—The second 'he' is wrong: translate 'that gifts should go on for ever.' ii. 41. 5.—It is a pity to personify *amores*: translate 'how short, how ill-starred, were the Roman people's loves.' ii. 47. 1.—*celestes*: Tacitus' use of the word points to 'populous' rather than 'famous.'

ii. 54. 2.—*tum extrema Asiae Perinthumque ac Byzantium, Thraecias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et os Ponticum intrat*. The usual meaning of *os* or *ostium Ponti*, as of τὸ στόμα or στόμωμα τοῦ Πόντου, is the Bosphorus, not its junction with the Black Sea. Of course the metaphor which *os* involves is not uniformly applied, and the concurrent use of *λαίμῳ* and *αἰχρῇ* and *fauces* of this same strait may have caused variation in the use of *στόμα* and *os*; certainly when the strait was being described in detail *fauces* might be used of one end of it and *os* of the other, as by Pomponius Mela, i. 19. 5; but the evidence¹ seems to show that, other things equal, *os Ponti* or the like must mean the Bosphorus as a whole. It is therefore possible that in the present passage *os Ponticum* means the same as *Propontidis angustias*, defining it, or, rather, looking at the same thing from a second point of view.

iii. 1. 3.—*proxima maris*: 'the adjoining parts of the beach' implies a very questionable genitive. iii. 3. 3.—R. seems to adopt Döderlein's *Augustae*. The retention of *Augusta* (by Dräger, Halm, Furneaux) involves Tacitus in a vicious circle: 'Antonia was kept indoors by the example of Tiberius and Augusta, in order that her example might excuse them for staying indoors': which is absurd. Furneaux' attempt to save Tacitus' reputation by referring the *ut*-clause to *Antonia's* motive is not plausible.

iii. 17. 5.—*Plancina*, the only possible subject to *exsatiaret*, must therefore be subject to *verteret* too. iii. 55. 3.—*per nomen et clientelas industrius habebatur*: 'the higher stood his name, the larger was the number of his clients,' R. This veils the difficulty of *per nomen industrius*, which Furneaux

tries in vain to explain away. Perhaps *per nomen* means 'among his namesakes,' *i.e.* 'in his gens.'

iv. 19. 1.—*hos* must surely mean Silius and Sosia, not Silius and Sabinus. In § 4, *victoria per avaritiam foedata et uxor socia arguebantur*, the received conjecture *Sosia* is surely wrong. How was 'the fact that Sosia was his wife' a damaging thing? Tacitus does not explain. We want something to show how Sosia was implicated, and this *socia* gives: 'that his wife was his accomplice.'

iv. 73. 7.—*lucum quem Baduhennae vocant*: 'a wood called Baduhenna's,' not 'Baduhenna' (R.), which implies an ungrammatical dative. v. 1. 1.—'In this year, the Consuls of which were both surnamed Geminus, Julia Augusta died,' R. The relative clause is a triviality unworthy of Tacitus. The explanation is that R. has here, as everywhere, cut out of the text and put in a headline the names of the consuls for the year. This shows the danger of applying the devices of modern printing to an ancient author, who, knowing not these refinements, wove his most trivial details into the text of his book, whence they cannot always be extracted without harm.

v. 8. 3.—*scalpro levem ictum venis intulit vitamque aegritudine animi finivit*: 'he made a slight incision in his veins, and so died, of sheer despondency,' R. What should we think of a modern writer who asserted that a man 'cut his throat, and so died of a broken heart'? We should take him for a disciple of Lewis Carroll. Messrs. Church and Brodribb try to mend matters by saying 'died at last . . .', for which there is no warrant in the Latin.² I venture to suggest that by *aegritudine animi* Tacitus means 'in a faint.' So many men cut open their veins in those days that even Tacitus is hard put to it to find novel language for each; and it seems to me possible that he is here trying an experiment based on *animo male esse*, *animo linguī*, etc. Compare *labenti animae* in his account of a similar suicide in xvi. 11. Note that of his two other uses of *aegritudo* one (ii. 69. 4) certainly, the other (ii. 29. 2) probably, refers to bodily weakness.

vi. 36. 5.—*absentium aequos*: 'indifferent' is nearer the mark than 'loyal' (R.). vi. 39. 2.—*quasi aspiciens undantem per domos sanguinem aut manus carnificum*: the order

¹ Collected by Tzschucke on the passage of Pomponius, and by Stuck on Arrian's *periplus Ponti*, p. 110.

² Tacitus knows nothing of the story in Suetonius, according to which this man tied up his veins again; and even in that story it was of a disease that he died at last.

of the words forbids us to govern *manus* by *per.* vi. 49. 2.—*adsentationibus atque luvu* is hard to recognise in 'her amorous advances.'

Cesserunt prima postremis: my fault-finding has taken too much room. Let me therefore say in conclusion that Professor

Ramsay's translation seems to me a good and useful piece of work. Its faults are not many for its size, and they may be removed in a second edition—a cheaper and handier edition, it is to be hoped, than the first.

E. HARRISON.

ANTOINE ON MODAL ATTRACTION.

L'Attraction Modale en Latin. By F. ANTOINE. Reprinted from *Mélanges Boissier*. Paris: Fontemoing. 1903.

M. ANTOINE here proposes to throw new light upon one of the obscure rules of Latin grammar, the rule regarding attraction of mood. He first states that he would not apply the term to subjunctives that are due to dependence upon infinitives, after which he draws a much-needed distinction between the construction of *oratio obliqua* and that of attraction. He then explains under what circumstances one may reasonably expect the occurrence of the construction. He rightly remarks that the grammars are not correct in concerning themselves only with subjunctives that follow dependent clauses; independent subjunctives may also attract. After dependent clauses, he finds that the tendency to attract varies with certain conditions that hold between the governing and the governed clause ('la proposition régisseur,' 'la proposition secondaire'). The conditions are favourable for attraction when both are in the same time-sphere, especially if that be the future; when the second is bound up with the former ('est intercalée dans la proposition subjunctive régisseur': *Volo ut QUAE FECERIM scias*) or follows it closely; and when the second clause is of an indefinite and generalizing nature. These general principles are then discussed in detail and illustrated by examples, taken mainly from Plautus and Cicero.

The task that M. Antoine set himself was one that needed to be done. The results of his study show clear thinking and a correct feeling for the construction, which in turn implies a thorough knowledge of the usage. It enlightens so far as it goes, but it leaves something to be desired.

In the first place, facts are needed. A complete array of the material for some

given period, intelligently presented, and segregated from all extraneous material of *oratio obliqua*, and the like, would do more to clear away the vague impressions one gets from the grammars than any discussion, be it even as elucidating as that of M. Antoine. Not only has he not given any such list, but he cites few examples, and these often not the surest. For example, he calls attention to the cases of attraction by independent subjunctives, which the grammars usually omit. Plautus alone could furnish a score of good illustrations (Cf. *Most.* 1100; *Pseud.* 570; *M.G.* 1037; *Aul.* 491; *Pseud.* 936). Few of those offered by M. Antoine are convincing: *simus* of *Aul.* 747 as he himself says is conditional; the same is true of *placeat* in *M.G.* 614; while *capiam* of *Bacch.* 67 is involved in too many difficulties, one of which is that an indicative intervenes.

Nor has M. Antoine always rightly read the meaning of his facts. He sees that attraction is frequent when the governing and dependent clauses both refer to the future, and he attributes the fact to similarity of time-sphere. This is partly correct, but the anticipatory subjunctive must also be reckoned with in such cases (see Hale, *The Anticipatory Subjunctive*, p. 63, footnote). He recognizes the fact that generalizing clauses are attracted more frequently than the determinative, and attributes this to the greater precision of the latter. It is a more important consideration that the generalizing clause is necessarily an integral part of the main conception, whereas the determinative clause is so only at times. For example, if the relative clause of a sentence like *volo ut mittat eos qui parati sint* is generalizing, the desire necessarily includes it. The desire is: *mittat eos qui parati sint*. If, however, the relative clause is determinative, the desire-concept, as it assumes shape in thought or spoken phrase,

may often not include it. The definite concept may simply be, *mittat eos*, accompanied by a less clearly conceived idea which might express itself, let us say, by a gesture towards certain persons who are ready (*parati sunt*).

The reader looks in vain through this paper for a solution of many troublesome problems of long standing. For instance, he is not told what classes of subjunctives attract, what connectives are involved, what is considered a close dependence, whether the dependence must be upon the verb or upon any part of the governing clause. Such questions can be answered, if not by definite negation or affirmation, at least with statistics illustrating general tendencies.

Finally, in giving the orthodox explanations that this construction is merely one phase of indirect discourse, and, again, that it is a part of the general phenomenon

that reveals itself in assimilation of consonants, M. Antoine betrays an incomplete theory of its origin. These considerations do have their place in the explanation of the construction, but they do not of themselves alone afford an adequate explanation. The habit of mechanical attraction is a product in which several constructions are factors, and that of indirect discourse is by no means the most important one (see the reviewer's *Attraction of Mood in Early Latin*, Chicago, 1904). In fact, M. Antoine's arguments are often weakened by his employment of illustrations that involve indirect discourse, rather than attraction of mood in the proper sense of the term. Some of these are *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 1, 1; *Div.* 1, 57; *Caes. B. G.* 1, 34, 4, on p. 32; and several of the illustrations on pages 33-5.

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BRUGMANN'S *SHORT COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR*.

BRUGMANN'S *Short Comparative Grammar*. Parts 2 and 3. 7s. and 4s.: the whole (three parts) 18s. (bound 21s.). 8vo. Pp. xxviii, 777. Karl J. Trübner: Strassburg, 1904.

A CORDIAL welcome will be given to the completion of this delightful book. In moderate compass and with wonderful lucidity it sets before us the best fruit of a lifetime spent in discovery. Those who have attempted, in any department, to keep pace with the progress of Philology will feel, perhaps, the keenest gratitude to the veteran author. But the classical scholar who has made no special study of this subject and finds himself often in need of safe guidance in linguistic matters will be hardly less thankful. The book makes it possible to arrive quickly at the facts in kindred languages which bear on any important question of Greek, Latin, or German Grammar; for if they are not all given in the text, they are easily accessible from the references to the *Grundriss* and other books,—references few and carefully chosen.

But though the book is thus a guide to Philological literature in general and the *Grundriss* in particular, it is also something much better. This *Short Grammar* is the latest and most perfect presentation of

Brugmann's teaching as a whole. There can be no doubt that the time had come for such an ingathering of the harvest. The period of destruction, of fierce and combative enquiry, which began in 1879 with Brugmann's discovery of the Sonant Nasals, and Johannes Schmidt's of I.-Eu. *e* and *o*, may be said to have ended with the publication of the second edition of the Phonology (Vol. I) of the *Grundriss* in 1897. It has been succeeded, not by stagnation but by 'eine gewisse Ruhe' (p. iv), a certain degree of general agreement on the main lines of the subject. For example, we may venture to feel assured that no serious change will ever need to be made in the general scheme of Ablaut laid down in the first part of this *Short Grammar* (pp. 138-150), though it is eminently suggestive and certain to lead to fresh discoveries in detail. A tone of calm, reflective, exposition pervades the book, and makes it, in truth, as notable a contribution to literature as it is to science.

The most important changes in the parts we are now concerned with are the complete re-writing of the Morphology and the new sketch of Comparative Syntax. In the former the rather dreary chapter of Noun-formation is abridged and enlivened by treating the meaning and usage of the forms side by side with their development, and by

classifying them according to meaning. This has also the advantage of saving some repetition in the Syntax, and of enabling the student as he goes along to clothe the skeletons of Noun-stems, Tense-stems, Case-suffixes and the like, all in short that are included under the new and very convenient term 'formans' (plur. 'formantia'), with the flesh and blood of some human significance. The advantage of the combination will be felt by every one who has worked through the Second Volume of the *Grundriss* with its necessary but almost Mathematical abstractions, the affection for which apart from their meaning, 'cometh of evil' (*ist vom Übel*) as Brugmann himself quaintly observes (p. viii). English readers will probably be glad to find, in this connexion, that the long and unconvincing explanation of compounds like ἀρχέακος (Eng. 'tell-tale,' 'catch-penny'), as containing in origin no Verbal but merely Nominal elements, has now been withdrawn and the group left to speak for its separate self (p. 299).

Perhaps the most important and interesting of the particular points of new teaching, is what may, I think, be called the final solution of the puzzle of Gender. That complicated disease of language, as we now see, sprang from three separate germs, which are, in the order of their discovery,

1. The original use of the *-ā* and *-ī* (alias *-iē*) formantia;

2. The original meaning of the 'Neuter' ending *-om* (Gr. *-ov*, Lat. *-um*);

3. The development of the meaning of female sex in a large number of the *-ā* and *-ī* formata, and in the corresponding pronoun-stems (ὁ, ἡ).

The credit of the first must be divided between Brugmann (*Grundriss* ii. s. vv.) and Johannes Schmidt (*Die Pluralbildung der Indogermanischen Neutra*); the mutual confirmation which their independent theories supplied was, I believe, first pointed out in a note in this *Review* (1890). Brugmann showed that the Collective, Abstractive sense [ἀπορή 'ploughings, tilth' beside ἀπορός 'ploughed'; *esca* 'things eaten, food' beside **escus* 'eating,' or 'eatable' (seen in the compound *u(ε)-escus*); παντή 'prudence' beside παντός; *noxia* (subst.) beside *noxius*, etc.] of these two suffixes was older than any reference to sex; and Schmidt that the Neuter Plural constructed with a Singular Verb in Greek and other languages was derived from the Collective use of these same two suffixes which were afterwards converted into ordinary Plurals. The

cogency of the second point was first made clear, I believe, by the Principal of the University of San Francisco, better known as Professor Ide Wheeler (*Journal of Germ. Philol.* 2. 528), who pointed to the real significance of the 'Accusative' *-m* (in Pronouns *-d*) namely that the thing it denoted was represented as merely passive; and hence inferred that though we find this *-m* applied to words denoting creatures or persons elsewhere conceived as Agents (and then marked by the 'Nominative' *-s*), its earliest use was to mark off a totally distinct set of things which were conceived as never capable of Action, stocks, stones, and all the other 'Neuters.' He further pointed out the powerful influence of the Pronouns (especially that which in Greek is ὁ, ἡ, τό) in forcing every Noun into one or other category. There remained the puzzling question, How did the mere Collective *-ā* clothe itself, so to speak, in petticoats? To this it was really no answer to say, as Brugmann used to do (and still does as an alternative), 'Because ὕμῃ "wife" (Gr. γυνή, Boeot. βαρά) happened to end with an *-ā*.' That only pushes the question a very slight stage further back, and leaves us wondering that this very form, this mother of all Feminines, should have masked its feminine shape by adding a quite sexless *-ik-* (γυν-ικ-) in one of the few languages in which it survived at all. But the new explanation which Brugmann now puts forward as an alternative (p. 361) is to my mind certain,—nor does it exclude the earlier, if that has found supporters; for in the development of meanings, the more influences to the same end the better. Why did, say, *ulqā* or *ulqī* (Lat. or Volsc. *lupa*, Sanskr. *vṛkī*) which to start with certainly meant 'the wolfery,' 'the pack' come to mean 'the she-wolf'? Because of the contrast between **ulqos* 'the wolf (par excellence)' and his mate and cubs which together were called **ulqī*. In the case of an animal like a stag with several does or a primitive chieftain, the Collective in contrast to the (Masculine) Singular would denote his wives more often than his children, and finally, if he had one wife, it would denote her. There are close parallels to this supposed change of meaning in words like the Germ. *Huhn* 'hen' (orig. 'the poultry' in contrast to *Hahn* 'the cock'). Of the historical or sociological deductions that might be made from this Brugmann is silent, and no doubt it would be unsafe to make them too wide. Still it does seem clear that the change in

meaning must have gone along with a steady process of improvement in the status of women such as the Indo-European races, or the strongest of them, have alone carried through.

One other rather striking innovation is perhaps a matter of tone and style, but it seems to add depth to much of the teaching. In the first edition of the *Grundriss* the psychological aspect of linguistic growth was largely taken for granted, but Prof. Wundt's notable treatise (*Völkerpsychologie: Die Sprache*, 1900) has greatly influenced his colleague's thought, and in certain classes of changes, instead of the well-worn and rather barren denotations of the grammarian, we have the psychological process, of which they in fact consist, plainly stated;—for example in the description given (p. 678) of the causes which led to the growth and the elasticity of certain principles of the order of words in the Indo-European sentence. Instead of the practically meaningless phrase 'for emphasis,' it is refreshing to read of the greater or less prominence of this or that part in the total mental picture which the sentence represents; and it is certainly a gain to the teacher to think of the sentence—and as a Latinist I would add, of the paragraph—in this way. No doubt one is apt to run into rather long though true descriptions of familiar facts (e.g. of Assimilation on p. 697), but I have noticed no other passage in which the psychological phrasing is not more of a gain than a burden; except a beautiful definition of the sentence (quoted, p. 624, as the last of four, from some rising philosopher named Dittrich), which, like Brugmann, I cannot withhold from the reader; 'A sentence [is a rhythmically complete unity of sound by which the hearer is invited to attempt a more or less complete apperceptive (relative) analysis of the state of meaning in the mind of the speaker, in such a way that the speaker may recognise the analysis as correct.]' The definition applies well to itself, and no doubt to many other sentences constructed by its ingenious inventor. It must be a charming world where every

¹ "Ein Satz ist eine modulatorisch abgeschlossene Lautung, wodurch der Hörende veranlasst wird, eine vom Sprechenden als richtig erkennbare relativ abgeschlossene apperceptive (beziehende) Gliederung eines Bedeutungsbestandtes zu versuchen."

speaker, political or other, yearns to see a 'correct analysis' made of his 'state of meaning.' When I am next struggling with a bad book, I will take comfort and call it 'a paper unity whereby the reader is invited to analyse the author's state of meaning, if he can.'

In details there is a wealth of new and suggestive explanations which will greatly lighten the work of the Classical teacher,—for instance, of the use of Lat. *primum* (orig. a nominative, p. 449), of *tum* and *quom*; of Greek, Latin, and Gothic *an* (all originally meaning something like Germ. *doch wohl*, 'Yes, but it is,' or in questions, 'Yes, but is it?' p. 615); of *iva* (p. 667), of *ei*, of *nisi*, of *si*, of *-que* in *neque*, *absque*² (pp. 668, 670); and of the Prepositions (e.g. *κατά*, p. 479); indeed the whole of this brief and luminous chapter (pp. 462–480) is a masterpiece of lexicography. I notice in passing that the use of Lat. *sine*, which has never so strong a negative colour as the Eng. *without*, seems to separate it definitely from Gr. *ἀνευ*, Germ. *sonder(n)*, etc., and to make it better to count the word merely the Imperative of *sino* (like the Eng. phrases 'put aside,' 'leaving out') constructed with the Abl. through the influence of the older *sē(d)*. Nor is *apud* mentioned so far as I can find; its derivation (*apo + ad*) is surely obvious and gives an exact explanation of its use which the beginner often fails to grasp: 'away at (Cicero's house),' 'over yonder beside (the river bank),' 'far off among (the barbarians).'

I have found very few misprints: p. 637 l. 15 read ἀκρό-πολις; p. 639 l. 6 read πάμ-παν; p. 662^{footn.} l. 2 read *iniectio*; p. 711 col. 2 l. 13 read *Hilfsvokale*.

None of Brugmann's great predecessors has added such broad and rich territory to this domain of human knowledge; and yet no one of them lived to crown his own conquest with so happy a picture of its results. *Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores.*

R. S. CONWAY.

MANCHESTER, August, 1904.

² Brugmann does not, I think, explain the meaning 'and.' But this use is equally derivable from the original meaning 'anyhow, certainly'; thence to 'indeed,' 'furthermore,' 'next,' 'and.' Cf. Osc. *enim* 'and' = Lat. *enim*.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—EASTER AND TRINITY TERMS, 1904.

ON May 13th Mr. WELLS read a paper on 'The Chronology of the Reign of Cleomenes I.' His aim was to show that the traditional dates for the Argive defeat (*circa* 520) and for the Atheno-Plataean alliance (519) were right, although, since Grote's time, they had been generally rejected for later ones. It was argued that the two events were connected together, that Cleomenes began his policy of aggression at once, and after his defeat of Argos, an ally of Pisistratid Athens, proceeded by intrigue to pave the way for the attack of 510. Probability pointed to the early date, and the strength of Argos in 479 and the following years (cf. *Hdt.* ix. 12; 35) was inconsistent with her alleged weakness in 480 (*Hdt.* vii. 148). The evil repute in which Cleomenes died was explicable if ten years of success had been followed by complete failure; it was quite inexplicable if the most brilliant victory ever gained by the Spartans had been won less than ten years before the death of Cleomenes. The paper will probably be published in full.

ON May 26th Mr. W. SCOTT read a paper on 'The Hittite Script.' All attempts that have hitherto been made to assign definite sound-values to particular Hittite characters amount to no more than unverified conjectures. The first step towards the solution of the problem must be, to classify and tabulate the characters. It is necessary to identify the various forms in which each character occurs, and to draw up a list of the characters employed in the extant inscriptions.

Some of the signs (*e.g.* certain beast-heads) occur in two clearly distinguishable forms: (1) a *pictographic* form,—a recognisable picture of the object; (2) a *conventionalised* or *cursive* form, in which the original pictograph has been modified by the influence of pen-writing. Certain inscriptions (Messerschmidt's ix to xv, ii, xxxv, xvi A, and probably xvii to xx) use for the most part the *pictographic* forms of these characters. These inscriptions, then, may be distinguished as *archaic*; though it does not necessarily follow that they are earlier in date than the others.

The number of distinct characters in the inscriptions does not exceed 100. No doubt there were other signs in use, which do not happen to occur in the extant material; but our list of *common* signs may be taken as complete.

The number of occurrences of the several characters ranges from 305 to 1. A sign of common occurrence is presumably either a phonetic sign with simple sound-value, or an ideograph representing some frequently recurring word (*e.g.* *god*, *king*, *country*). A rare sign is presumably either an ideograph, or a phonetic sign with more complex sound-value, or both.

There are forty characters which occur twenty times or more; and of these, about thirteen may be marked off, for various reasons, as either certainly or probably ideographs in their prevailing usage. Any character which occurs less than twenty times may be considered too rare to have a *simple* phonetic value (unless as a rare equivalent for some common character). Thus it appears that the number of signs with simple sound-values does not exceed twenty-seven. And among these there is probably at least one pair of equivalents; for there are strong reasons for thinking that the *ass-head* (almost entirely confined to the 'archaic' inscriptions) has the same phonetic value as the *conventionalised goat-head* (Prof. Sayce's No. 24) in the other inscriptions. There are, then, not more than twenty-six distinct *simple* sound-values. But the simplest syllabary would require at least double this number of distinct signs. It follows, therefore, that the common phonetic signs are not *syllabic*, but *alphabetic*. The Hittite script, then, (like the Egyptian hieroglyphic script) consisted of an alphabet, supplemented by a larger number of other characters which were employed either as ideographs, or as syllabic signs, or in both ways.

It might be conjectured that the Aramaeans, when they took possession of the Hittite cities of North Syria, from B.C. 1200 (?) onwards, would naturally take over, and adapt to their own language, the script which they found in use in those cities. Assuming that they took over the Hittite *alphabet*, rejecting the ideographs and syllabic signs, the origin of the Semitic alphabet might be thus accounted for.

A comparison of the Semitic letters in their earliest form with the common (phonetic) Hittite characters in their later or conventionalised form yields results which seem to agree well with this hypothesis. In the case of all but two or three of the Semitic letters, a Hittite original can be found from which the Semitic character might be derived with no more alteration than might be expected to take place in the course of a few centuries. But the sound-values of the Hittite characters have not yet been ascertained; and until this has been done, it is impossible to say whether in each case the Semitic letter is really identical with the Hittite character which it resembles in form.

ON June 10th Dr. BUSSELL read a paper on 'The Metaphysics of Plutarch in relation to Second Century Thought,' in which he dealt with the following works of Plutarch: (1) On the Genius of Socrates, (2) On Isis and Osiris, (3) On the Face in the Moon.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE.

Hon. Sec.

VERSION.

CRADLE SONG.

Sweet and low, sweet and low,
 wind of the Western Sea,
 low, low breathe and blow,
 wind of the Western Sea!
 over the rolling waters go,
 come from the dying moon and blow,
 blow him again to me,
 while my little one, while my pretty one,
 sleeps.

Sleep and rest, sleep and rest;
 father will come to thee soon;
 rest, rest on mother's breast,
 father will come to thee soon;
 father will come to his babe in the nest
 —silver sails all out of the west—
 under the silver moon;
 while my little one, while my pretty one,
 sleeps.

TENNYSON.

ἀγανόφρον Ἴθι Ζέφυρ' ἀδέπνοε·
 ποντίῃς αἶρα,
 φρικὸς ἔπ' εὐλαλον οἶδμα κυλίνδουσ'
 ἔπνευε· σύ μοι σὼν φθινυθούσας
 κάταγ' ἄνδρα δόμονδ'
 οἶμους προλιποῦσα Σελάνας.
 εἴδ' εἶδε, βρέφος, κέλομαι μάτηρ,
 ἐπιμαστιδίον·
 σοὶ δ' ἤξει ταχύς, ὃ γλυκερὸν τέκος,
 ὡς εἰς καλὴν πτανός, ὃ φύσας
 ἀργοῖς λαίφεσι ῥιπαῖς τ' ἀργαῖς
 ἀστεροέσσαις
 αἰθυσσόμενος ποτὶ δῶμα.

HUGO H. JOHNSON.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE MYSTERIES IN THE *FROGS* OF ARISTOPHANES.

It appears to be universally assumed that the *μύσται* in the *Frogs* are represented as carrying Iacchus from Athens to Eleusis in the procession of the Greater Eleusinia, and that the proclamation, hymns, and dances are intended to recall, as far as εὐσέβεια permitted, those which belonged to that occasion. The difficulties raised by the assumption are, however, very great, though they do not appear to have been sufficiently realized by editors. The various scholia lend no help worth considering.

We may first summarize the proceedings of the Greater Mysteries so far as they concern the interpretation of the passage.

The *πρόρρησις* of the Archon Basileus, Hierophant, and Daduchus in the Stoa Poikile on the 16th of Boedromion (about the end of September) was followed by the ceremony of purification known as ἄλαδε

μύσται, and this by sacrifices. On the 19th–20th the initiated went in procession to the Ἱακχεῖον in the city, took thence the statue of the child Iacchus, and carried it with shouts, songs, and ceremonies through the Sacred Gate and along the Sacred Road to Eleusis. The procession started in the forenoon. It arrived at Eleusis towards midnight. The following days till the 23rd were occupied at Eleusis with the mystic observances, including *παννυχίδες*. Of these it was rank impiety to tell, and any attempt to mimic them was visited with the heaviest punishment.

Now we may admit that though Dionysus, under that name, is without part in the Greater Eleusinia, yet Iacchus and Bacchus were commonly identified in the popular mind and therefore there is a certain justification for the comedian thus introducing the Eleusinian Iacchus procession into a play for the festival of Dionysus. There would also, we may

admit, be no impiety in putting on the stage that prelude to the mysteries which all the world was allowed to see.

Nevertheless we have to meet the following questions:—

(1) What is meant in v. 324 by Ἰακχ', ὦ πολυτίμοις ἐν ἔδραις ἐνθάδε ναίων? Presumably the Ἰακχεῖον at Athens. There was apparently no Iaccheum at Eleusis. What then is meant by the next words ἐλθέ τ' ὅνδ' ἀνὰ λειμῶνα χορεύσων? Where is 'this' meadow? It must necessarily be near the said temple in Athens. Yet it is hardly conceivable that there is a meadow thus near the temple, i.e. on the way from the Iaccheum as one started towards Eleusis. It might perhaps be argued that the allusion is to the temple in which Iacchus was lodged at Eleusis, and that the meadow is there. Then the notion that there is a representation of the procession at starting must be abandoned. So far as I can gather there has been a complete confusion of thought on the part of readers, whose minds have glided from a temple at Athens to a meadow at Eleusis without being aware of the fact. The language of Aristophanes does not permit of this easy transit.

(2) According to current accounts the procession left the Iaccheum somewhat early in the day. Yet in Aristophanes the torches are all blazing (vv. 340 *sqq.*). This state of things, though possible, is hardly probable. I am aware that torches sometimes appear lighted on the vases even when the procession may be one of the daytime, but, until better informed, I must suppose that either the vase-scene is really one of the nighttime or else the lighting of the torch is an artistic convention.

If we were already in the meadow at Eleusis at night the situation would, of course, be more natural.

(3) Where and at what time is the proclamation of vv. 354 *sqq.* supposed to be made? What is the succession of events? It is hard to reconcile the sequence here with what we are told of the order at the Greater Eleusinia.

These are but the weaker objections. They are perhaps answerable. It may be urged that the torches of the procession may in point of fact have been lighted in the forenoon, their purpose being symbolic. It might also be guessed that a second or final πρόρρησις may have been made at the Ἰακχεῖον just before the start. Furthermore it might be argued that Aristophanes is compressing into brief space various pro-

ceedings of the procession and its preliminaries, and also proceedings on arrival at Eleusis, without regard to exact order or to literal correctness of time and place. Personally I am not satisfied with these imaginary replies.

If, on the other hand, we abandon the common notion and imagine ourselves at Eleusis, near the temple in which Iacchus was there installed, we shall be obliged to modify our views concerning the reticence demanded of those—only μύσται—who were there present.

But there is a still more difficult question.

(4) What is the special appropriateness of introducing the September mysteries into a play belonging to the Lenaea of January—February? The current theory seems to be that Athens was exulting over the exploit of Alcibiades, who had safely conducted the procession to Eleusis by land, after the Deceleian occupation had prevented it for years. But, apart from the fact that the play makes no reference whatever to this occurrence, the year of that convoyed procession was 407, while the date of the play is 405. There is no proof that the land procession could be resumed in 406, and people do not exult over a thing which they managed to do the year before last, but which they have been unable to do last year. Moreover the exultation seems in any case somewhat belated.

There are other considerations which may throw light on the problem. These lead me to the conclusion that the reference is not to the Greater but to the Lesser Mysteries. These, which were called ἐν Ἀγρᾷ (or Ἀγραις) and took place in spring, were a smaller copy and a kind of introductory rehearsal of the Greater Eleusinia. They were celebrated in the outskirts of Athens just across the Ilissus beyond the Limnae from the Lenaeum. They were to take place in a month from the production of the *Frogs*; nor is it impossible that the *Frogs* would be actually repeated at the dramatic performances which appear to have taken place on the Χύτροι of the Anthesteria.

The ceremonies at Agra (or Agrae) concerned originally the same deities as at Eleusis, but with a difference in their relative importance which corresponds to the order of precedence in the *Frogs*. There was a similar arrangement of the temples of the two goddesses, and the rites and ceremonies were in the main analogous, although those at Agrae were of a preparatory and, in a sense, a more popular nature.

That Aristophanes had these celebrations

in mind, and not those of Eleusis, is rendered almost certain by the following considerations:

(a) The introduction of the mysteries into a play intended for the festival of Dionysus is made the more accountable and natural. With Eleusis Dionysus is scarcely concerned. In the mysteries at Agrae he is united with Persephone, to whom, as the Spring Goddess, the festival in reality belonged. For his prominence in these see Dr. Harrison *Prolegomena* pp. 560 sq.

(b) The temple in which Iacchus dwells (*ἱερὸν*), beside a marshy meadow (*τόρδε λειμῶνα*, also called in v. 352 *ἄλειον δάπεδον*), is most easily conceivable as the temple of Dionysus-Iacchus in the Lenaeon vicinity of the Limnae.

(c) The Agrae mysteries were particularly in honour of Persephone, not of Demeter, and it will be noted that in the hymn 377 sqq. it is Persephone who is placed first. At the Greater Eleusinia this could hardly occur with propriety.

(d) There is an allusion in 218 sqq. to the coming spring feast of the Anthesteria. The spring mysteries are regularly associated with the Anthesteria. Those of the autumn are too remote from the Lenaeon.

(e) The emphasis laid upon *λειμῶνα* (325), *ἀνθηρόν δάπεδον* (352), *εἰανθεῖς κόλπον λειμῶνα* (373), *ἀνθοφόρον ἄλσος* (441), *λειμῶνας ἀνθεμόδεις* (445) surely points to the spring festival of the month Anthesterion and not to the late autumn. Whether *Ἀνθεστήρια* is or is not derived from *ἄνθος* (and Dr. Verrall is amply justified in disputing the connection), popular etymology inevitably associated the words. The repeated reference to *ἄνθη* is a seasonable anticipation of the *Ἀνθεστήρια*. The season for flowers is, of course, much earlier in Greece than in higher latitudes, and late September is not the time for the luxuriance of flowery meads.

(f) Dionysus and Xanthias have come down by way of the house of Heracles to the *λίμνη* and have crossed into a low-lying meadow of flowers. This, translated into terms of Athenian topography, means a descent from the temple of Heracles Alexikakos in the north-western part of Athens, past the *Λίμνη*, beyond the Lenaeum (see vv. 211–219) and south-eastward into the meadows by the Ilissus.

(g) The great body of Athenian spectators would be more familiar with the Lesser Mysteries of their own suburbs than with those of Eleusis, which were distant and required time as well as a greater degree of

initiation. Thus a representation of the dancing of the Mystae on their way across the Ilissus into the Agrae precincts would be more readily appreciated and less open to religious objection.

T. G. TUCKER.

Prof. Tucker kindly allows me to add a postscript to his very interesting and, to me, convincing paper. The strong points in his argument seem to me to be (a) the fact that the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae are of Kore and Dionysos rather than of Demeter, (b) the close connection with the Anthesteria.

In confirmation I should like to note two points. (a) I have long held that the Frogs were conceived of as chanting actually in the Limnae, i.e. the marshy hollow between the Pnyx Areopagos and the Acropolis, where Dr. Dörpfeld has laid bare the ancient sanctuary of Dionysos in the Marshes. I have held this because I felt that the funeral and the Hades scenes in the *Frogs* were suggested in part by the underworld associations of the Anthesteria, the which festival was celebrated in and about this sanctuary. That I never clinched my argument by remembering the Lesser Mysteries only shows my own ineptitude.

(b) Prof. Tucker's view surely gives fresh significance to the figure of Herakles. He is not merely a stock figure in comedy. Tradition held that he was initiated not at Eleusis but at the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae (*Steph. Byz.* s.v. *Ἀγρὰ*). Hence Dionysos and Xanthias naturally call at his house and ask for the addresses of inns, etc. Moreover the house of Herakles was specially handy for anyone going to the Lesser Mysteries. Herakles was worshipped in the deme of Diomeia where he had his gymnasium of Kynosarges: hence in line 650

ἀλλ' ἐφρόντισα
ὀπόθ' Ἡράκλεια τὰν Διομείους γίγνεται

and Diomeia is close to Agrae.

Herakles was also worshipped in Melite west of the old sanctuary of Dionysos. Plutarch (*De Exil.* vi) tells us of a *metastasis* of the population from Melite to Diomeia commemorated by the festival *Metageitnia*: doubtless the emigrants took their Herakles with them.

JANE E. HARRISON.

ON THE ANCIENT SCULPTURES
EXHIBITED AT THE BURLINGTON
FINE ARTS CLUB.—A REPLY.¹

(Translated.)

IN the article cited above, Mr. Charles Waldstein has felt impelled to protest against my researches and their method. He affirms that my work brings into discredit those studies 'the advancement of which I (i.e. Mr. Waldstein) have ever had most at heart.' Two things, he holds, prove this: (1) that I have gone wholly astray in my estimation of a terra-cotta head of Zeus (No. 46 of the said exhibition at the B.F.A.C.); the head, which I maintained to be a fine work of magnificent Pheidian style, being rather a mere wretched forgery of the nineteenth or twentieth century, in which the most heterogeneous styles are mingled without understanding. My conception of the style of Pheidias is indeed very different from that of the author of the *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*. All my experience, however, as well as careful and repeated experiments, convinces me that the Zeus head in question is not only indubitably genuine, but is also a work of exquisite Pheidian style. For closer discussion I must refer to the publication of this head which I am now preparing, and which will appear very shortly.

(2) I have also, according to Mr. Waldstein, been grossly deceived in my estimation of the head of Aphrodite in Lord Leconfield's collection. In this head I had surmised a work by the artist of the Hermes of Olympia. Mr. Waldstein does not deem the Leconfield head actually a forgery, but he considers it a very indifferent work, full of bad faults and, in parts, even 'coarse' in execution. He takes it to be of a later period than the Hermes, and somewhat akin in style to the 'Vénus accroupie' in the Louvre—that crouching torso of Venus with the fat rolls of flesh. It is of no use to preach the beauty of nature to the blind: one can only be sorry for them. So it is with Mr. Waldstein. I regret that he cannot feel the unique beauty of that head and does not see its inseparably close connexion with the Hermes of Olympia, but I cannot help it.

There is unfortunately no recent cast of the head, but through the kindness of a friend the Munich collection has lately acquired an old one.² When placed side by

side with the cast of Hermes, the direct relation between the two heads has struck and convinced every one whose opinion I have so far been able to obtain.

The fact that in the corners of the mouth the drill-holes are more distinctly visible than in the Hermes is due, as I have already explained, to the Aphrodite not having come to us fresh and untouched like the Hermes, but having passed through the hands of Italian restorers and undergone a certain amount of cleaning. This same fact accounts for the soft surface of the hair also, with its waxen tone. The actual treatment both of hair and of flesh is exactly like that of the Hermes.

Mr. Waldstein's complacent assertion that the Leconfield Aphrodite is far inferior in composition and treatment of the hair to the greater number of the replicas of the Venus of Knidos, shows with satisfactory clearness, that he is not in a position to appreciate the gulf which divides Greek originals of the fourth century and lifeless dry Roman copies precisely in the treatment of the hair.

The worst fault of the Leconfield Aphrodite is, however, according to Mr. Charles Waldstein, that the neck and head are falsely related, while the neck is much too thick. The reproductions in Collignon and in Klein's *Praxiteles*, which are here praised, are, says Mr. Waldstein, correct; the Plate in the English edition of my work (*Masterpieces*), in which the neck appears by no means too thick, is on the other hand faulty, whether through 'a defective photograph' or 'interference with the copper plate'—in other words, falsifying of the facts by touching up the plate! (*das soll wol heissen auf Fälschung der Thatsachen ausgehende Umarbeitung der Platte!*). First I may mention that the illustrations in Collignon and Klein praised by Mr. Waldstein are only bad mechanical reproductions from the plate of my *Meisterwerke* (original edition). It is very characteristic of Mr. Charles Waldstein's method of work, that he writes a long article upon the Leconfield head, and does not even take the trouble to look up the original publication! The head, before it came to the Exhibition at the Burlington Club, had as a fact only twice been photographed: first for my *Meisterwerke*, then privately for the late Lord Leconfield. This second photograph is the one which, with the owner's permission, appeared in the *Masterpieces*. The two photographs differ not only in lighting, but also in being

¹ See *C.R.* for March, 1904, pp. 133 *sqq.*

² Casts can be obtained at Messrs. Brucciani, who have been in possession of the mould for many years.—[Note by the Translator.]

taken from a somewhat different point of view. That of the *Masterpieces* is taken fairly from the front, so that the right ear, which is in shadow, is fully visible; the reproduction in the *Meisterwerke* is taken more from the left side, so that the right ear entirely disappears. Accordingly, in this reproduction, the neck appears too thick; the autotype does not show the more delicate transitions of the modelling, and thus those lines of the throat which lie furthest back from the eye and which define the exterior contour are seen in false perspective, and give the impression of enclosing a broader surface than is actually the case (*der Lichtdruck giebt die feineren Töne der Halsmodellierung nicht, und das Auge nimmt die hintere zurückliegende Halslinie die an dem freien Raume grenzt fälschlich für die seitliche Halslinie*). Therefore the truth is exactly the opposite of what Mr. Waldstein supposes: the neck in the *Meisterwerke* and the reproductions borrowed from this work in Collignon and in Klein seem too thick, owing only to a misleading appearance, while the reproduction in the *Masterpieces* gives the correct impression. The matter indeed can be easily settled by measuring. Mr. Waldstein ascribes that supposed fault to the head only on the score of the reproductions! he took no measurements of the original. I have, by means of the above-named cast in Munich, now made close comparative measurements and have ascertained with the compass that the neck of the Hermes and of the magnificent Leconfield head, thus sadly unappreciated by Mr. Waldstein, is not in the least too thick, but of precisely the normal proportions found in all other heads of the period, as for example the Aphrodite of Knidos, the head from the south slope of the Akropolis and others—that is to say, the breadth of the neck is the same as the maximum breadth of the face at the cheekbones. The error in proportion alleged by Mr. Waldstein—‘a blemish in the work’—thus resolves itself into nothing.

Further I may also observe that the soft fleshy treatment of the neck of the Aphrodite, which Mr. Waldstein maintains is a sign of a late period, is equally or even more marked—for the rolls of flesh are still thicker—in the abovementioned superb female head from the south slope of the Akropolis, which is an undoubted original of Praxitelean-Skopasian date. Again the soft neck of the Knidian Demeter in the British Museum should be compared.

But the futility of Mr. Waldstein's

contentions is already only too evident. For the rest, I have already expressed the opinion which I am forced to entertain of his scientific work, in the notice of his *Argive Heraeum* which appeared last July in the *Berliner Wochenschrift*.

ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER.

Munich.

WINTER'S TYPES OF TERRACOTTA STATUETTES.

Die Antiken Terrakotten: Band III, 1. und 2. Theil. *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, bearbeitet von FRANZ WINTER. Berlin und Stuttgart, W. Spemann, 1903. Pp. cxxx+272; 480. With numerous text-illustrations. Folio, 2 vols. [Published by the Berlin Archaeological Institute, under the editorship of R. Kekule von Stradonitz.]

DR. FRANZ WINTER has earned the lasting gratitude of the archaeological world by the completion of his laborious and monumental work on Greek terracottas and their types; and an equal meed of thanks is due to the Berlin Archaeological Institute for the zeal and liberality which they have displayed in embarking on and subsidising this great undertaking which has at last been so worthily accomplished. The two previous volumes of their Corpus of ancient terracottas (on those of Pompeii and Sicily) were published in 1880 and 1884 respectively, so that no less than twenty years have elapsed before another has appeared. But this is no reproach either to the Institute or to the compiler. Not only were the two first volumes undertaken on entirely different lines—dealing as they do only with particular and limited groups of terracottas, whereas the two now issued give a comprehensive survey of terracottas of all periods and from all sites—but the amount of labour which the latter have involved would mean for many men almost the work of a lifetime. Yet Dr. Winter has achieved it practically single-handed. In his preface he tells us that it was actually begun in 1889, so that it has occupied all but fifteen years, an overstepping of the Horatian limit which its magnitude fully justifies. His original idea, he goes on to say, was merely to collect material for other volumes of the Corpus which might follow on the lines of the two already issued; but it soon became apparent that this material might be put to

more immediate and practical use, and hence the idea of a type-catalogue of all terracotta figures was conceived. This necessitated many visits to museums and other collections, occupying the author for three or four years, and another four years were required for digesting the literature of the subject and arranging the material. In 1898 it was found possible to begin printing, but even this portion of the undertaking, obviously involving the utmost care and diligence, to say nothing of the time required for the preparation and reproduction of about 6000 drawings, resulted in the expiration of another five years before it at last saw the light.

The preface gives interesting details of the journeys made by Dr. Winter, such as that to the British Museum and other English collections in 1891 (of which the present writer retains agreeable memories); he occupied himself at the same time in collecting material for the promised volume on terracotta mural reliefs, which it is devoutly to be hoped will shortly follow. In the same year he was at Vienna, and in 1892 visited Rome, Naples, Greece, and Asia Minor, including a spell of work at Athens, where he was able to draw up a report on the terracottas found on the Acropolis (*Arch. Anzeiger* for 1893, p. 140). In 1893 he was occupied at Paris, and his official position in the Berlin Museum from 1889 to 1899 gave him ample opportunities for studying the collections there. Other workers also collected material for him in their various journeys, and a long list of names is given of those to whom he has been indebted in various ways; but all the real drudgery has been performed by the author alone. While the work was in progress, and even during the printing, by means of appendices, every effort was made to keep the matter up to date by recording information given subsequently in periodicals or other published works.

The scope of the work is necessarily limited by two considerations. In the first place Dr. Winter confines himself exclusively to statuettes or figurines, which, as he rightly points out, form a distinct class by themselves, apart from reliefs and architectural objects, vases or other utensils, votive objects, and large statuettes or sculptural groups. These for the most part cannot be studied from the point of view of typology; but masks and figures of animals are included when, as sometimes happens, they approach closely to certain statuette-types. Secondly, the artistic side of the

subject is—with equal justification—almost entirely ignored. The work is in fact only intended for professed archaeologists, and does not claim to enter into competition with those which by their admirable reproductions of select specimens, appeal also to the amateur.

Questions of technique and of genuineness, and that problem which has so long—and perhaps so unnecessarily—troubled the archaeological world, namely, the uses to which terracottas were put, are also rigidly set aside, and little attempt even is made to identify figures by names. In this latter point the author's discretion is again to be commended; for though at first sight it may seem to tend to confusion and imperfect classification, yet all those who are familiar with Greek terracottas will admit that though certain types may clearly be distinguished, it does not follow that each type represents a distinct deity or class of human figure. The Demeter of the worshipper at Kameiros may become the Artemis of a Boeotian votary or the Aphrodite of one in Kos or Cyprus; the same seated type, crowned and veiled, with hands on knees, or holding fruit or flower, avails equally well for one or the other. In later times of course the circumstances are different; the old hieratic types have been discarded or transformed into *genre* figures, and the types of deities are more crystallised by developments of religious beliefs or artistic ideas; yet still the same principle obtains. A winged boy is not necessarily Eros, nor a winged girl Victory. Hence it is that some of Dr. Winter's collocations, though at first not obvious, will end by proving the more satisfactory; and so we find Artemis grouped with Amazons and Maenads, Erotes with ordinary boys, Zeus with Herakles, and Seileni with actors or caricatures.

Dr. Winter does not then profess to have done more than make a *Corpus* of Terracottas for the use of other workers, but on this ground alone he has earned the lasting gratitude of all archaeologists, and it is earnestly to be hoped that his admirable example will be followed in other branches of the subject, so that we may have something like complete information as to the coins, the painted vases, or the sculptures comprehended in all modern collections. M. Salomon Reinach has set a noble example in this respect; but it is not one man's work.

The ordering of his material arose, says our author, out of his original plan of

working, namely, a survey of types which for convenience are classified on a rough chronological system under three main headings, with a sub-classification according to subject. Each subject again has the examples arranged as far as possible in chronological order of development, and on each page the grouping is—also as far as possible—according to place of origin or discovery. The arrangement is as follows, Volume I. comprising the older types, Volume II. the later :

Class I. Primitive types down to the introduction of moulds, together with their immediate derivatives.

These include (1) figures painted in the style of the Mycenaean and Geometrical vases [Cf. *B.M. Terracottas*, B 1-12, 54-58], the latter being obtained chiefly from Tanagra; (2) types of Oriental origin, mostly devoid of any artistic character, with their subsequent developments (chiefly found in Cyprus and Rhodes); (3) later developments of the primitive types (especially of Group 1).

Class II. Archaic types and their subsequent developments.

These are classed according to subject as follows: (1) standing and seated female figure (eastern group); (2) do. (western group); (3) women with infants; (4) Hydphori and similar types; (5) Nike; (6) women on animals; (7) dolls; (8) male figures, standing and seated; (9) reclining figures; (10) caricatures (Seileni, apes, etc.); (11) Sirens, Sphinxes, etc.; (12) terminal figures; (13) busts and *protomi*.

Class III. The Later types (*i.e.* of Developed style).

These fall under some twenty headings, which may be summarised as follows: female figures, standing and seated: dancing figures, musicians, and girls playing games; Artemis, Athena, and other deities: Nike and winged figures: women on animals; Aphrodite; Eros or boys standing, seated, crouching, riding on or playing with animals; flying Erotes; other youthful deities; older deities (Zeus, etc.); athletes, warriors, barbarians, etc.; Seileni, slaves, children, monsters (a somewhat odd combination!); actors; male caricatures, grotesques, and negroes; female caricatures and old women.

Such is the scheme of the work; and it will be seen that the classification is a fairly exhaustive one. Not the least conspicuous feature of the list is the absence of definite mythological themes; heroes, with the exception of Herakles, are entirely wanting;

certain of the principal deities, such as Hera, Poseidon, Hephaistos, do not occur at all, and even Athena and Dionysos are exceedingly rare. But this will not surprise any one who has studied the subject. In the archaic period, as has been already noted, the types if divine are not strongly individualised; while in the later they have in many cases undergone a transformation into *genre* subjects. It is owing to this characteristic of Greek terracottas that a certain amount of overlapping in the arrangement becomes unavoidable; but this continuity of types is not without its compensating advantages, inasmuch as it is easier to observe the development from the older to the younger.

The compiler's difficulty in arranging the groups and in deciding what to insert or omit is largely increased by the slight variations constantly occurring in figures from the same mould, by the similarity of figures from different moulds, and by the fragmentary state of so many terracottas which causes uncertainty as to the type to which they belong. And there is also the ever-recurring difficulty of drawing a line between the genuine and the false. In regard to doubtful examples the author claims to have erred rather on the side of suspicion than of credulity; but there are not a few cases in which the benefit of the doubt has been given, to the extent of including the object with the qualification of an 'echt (?).' We have only detected one instance in which Dr. Winter's judgment has undoubtedly been at fault, in a mould for a bust (vol. i. p. 258, No. 4), which found its way some years ago into the British Museum collection. The Asia Minor groups which at one time raised so much controversy are rightly conspicuous by their absence, and the more debatable series of archaic figures of deities which recently came into the market has also been judiciously ignored.

The majority of the illustrations have been made from the author's own photographs, drawings, and sketches, assisted by those of his fellow-workers. Each figure is reduced to about one-third of its original size, with the exception of very large or very small specimens. These reproductions do not claim to possess any artistic merit, but are quite adequate for their purpose, sufficiently presenting the characteristics of each type, and indicating its variations from similar examples. The general plan of the work is to group about six to ten figures on each page (of folio size) with short notices

below giving brief necessary details of size, place of discovery, and present position, etc., all details of technique, colouring, or artistic character being omitted. Under each number replicas of the type are included, distinguished by letters, with a 'Vgl.' or 'Ähnlich' to denote other additional examples not absolutely identical. As a specimen we give one from vol. i. p. 53, No. 3:

3. British Museum. Synopsis II. S. 10. n. xxv. 52. Salzmänn, Néropole de Camirus, Taf. 22, 1.—h. 0,146 m.—Aus Rhodos (Kamiro).
- b. Berlin, Antiquarium 7982. Archaeologisches Jahrbuch 1886 S. 155. Rechte Hand an der Brust.—h. 0,125 m.—Aus Rhodos (Kamiro).
- Ähnliche Figur (mit anderem Gewand, ohne Kopf) im Museum in Candia, Monumenti antichi (Lincci) vi. 1896 S. 192, Fig. 33b.

Not the least admirable feature of the book is the detailed list of places of discovery in the beginning of the first volume (pp. i-xxxx), in which section of the work are also given numerous bibliographical details and accounts of finds and excavations. This should prove invaluable for reference, and is the first time that anything of the kind has been attempted on any scale. In the case of terracottas, where so much depends on knowledge of their origin, and exact information on that point—especially in the case of those purporting to come from Greece—is often so hard to obtain, Dr. Winter's summary of the characteristics of different geographical groups will be exceptionally useful. He classes them under the headings Central Greece, Peloponnese, Northern Greece, The Black Sea, The Greek Islands, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Phoenicia and Syria, Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, Southern, Central, and Northern Italy.

A work of this kind hardly calls for criticism except perhaps in small details; and we are loath to attempt such a task. But in appending here a list of small corrections, we do so less with the idea of finding fault than with that of benefiting the author, who would doubtless be the first to admit that perfect accuracy in so extensive a work is with human limitations an impossibility. Probably no one regrets more, for instance, that he has been unable to use the British Museum Catalogue and its numbering, which would have saved him some difficulties in regard to identification and provenances; but unfortunately the latter work was only destined to appear concurrently with his own. The present

writer has however been at pains to collate the two carefully, and can only express his astonishment at the marvellous accuracy of the former; such mistakes as occur are both few and trifling, and Dr. Winter will perhaps be grateful for a list of those we have been able to discover.

Vol. I. p. 12, No. 1 is not in the B.M. P. 43, No. 3b is from the Towneley Collection. P. 52, No. 5: the register number should be 64-10-7-1292. P. 73, No. 7 is from the Cyrenaica. P. 91, No. 6b and No. 8 appear to be the same figure (A 242 in Cat.). P. 97, No. 5: for 87 read 67. P. 131, No. 1: from the Temple Collection (D 235). P. 169, No. 1: for 'sechs' read 'sieben.' P. 178, No. 4b (B 222): the figure is not male. P. 179, No. 5b is not in the B.M. P. 214, No. 2b, and p. 215, Nos. 2, 2b should be reversed. Vol. II. p. 23 No. 2b is from Corinth (C 8). P. 41, No. 10 is a boy, not a girl (D 151). P. 63, No. 7: *dele* 'Vgl. S. 44, n. 5.' P. 101, Nos. 2f, h, i are repeated on p. 183, Nos. 5b, c, d. P. 125, No. 2 is apparently C 21 from Athens. P. 138, No. 8d, p. 158, No. 4, and p. 198, No. 5 are from the Cyrenaica (C 702, 707, 729). P. 169, No. 3: for 43 read 73. P. 222, No. 1b is from Sicily (D 29). P. 269, No. 5c (C 748): holds kid or lamb, not bird. P. 271, No. 5: not in B.M. (i). P. 302, No. 2b seems to be an Eros. P. 359, No. 8 is from Capua; p. 378, No. 8, from Kertch. P. 394, No. 9 is from the Temple Collection (D 327): the number there given belongs to p. 168, No. 6 (D 129). P. 400: B and C are identical. P. 405, No. 4c (C 722) should go under No. 3.

H. B. WALTERS.

AUSFELD'S PRAYERS OF THE GREEKS.

De Graecorum Precationibus Quaestiones.
Scripsit CAROLUS AUSFELD, Dr. Phil.
Ipsiae in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri.
1903. (Commentatio ex supplemento
vicesimo octavo annalium philologorum
seorsum expressa.) Pp. 505-547. 2 m.

THIS is a thorough piece of research, which is sure to be useful to those who are interested in ancient religions. It is only by the aid of preliminary studies on minute points that any accurate study of religion is possible; and unfortunately in Greek religion writers are too apt to make generalizations without a complete examination of

the facts. The author in his preface recites the various classes of prayers, their occasions, their methods, and the gods to whom they are addressed. He quotes fully from Homer and the later poets, and gives the rarer instances where prose writers have touched on the same matter. Much of this section is commonplace, but it cannot be said to be unnecessary. Amongst the gods he finds in Homer Zeus, Athena, and Apollo most frequently adjoined; but in the tragedies, the lesser gods, and the dead, are more common. The prayer itself is divided into invocation, petition, and a third part of varying import, sometimes vow and sometimes appeal. After this analysis, the author takes the invocation, which is to hear, to see, or to approach. The deity is addressed by name, or by description. The first appeal is held to take its force from the magical power supposed to reside in the knowledge of a name. The description is subdivided into substantives, adjectives, participles, and relative clauses. The indeterminate part comes next, and is so various as to make analysis difficult. One persistent element is an appeal to the worshipper's merit or service; or again, some bait is offered such as to drink of blood or partake of sacrifice. He notes that in Euripides prayers of the more popular type are generally spoken by messengers. Lastly the author deals with the prayers themselves, their formulae and their context. He comes to the conclusion that the whole system lies on a foundation of magic, and therefore has grown from a great antiquity. Few will be found to quarrel with his conclusion. His arrangement is fairly clear when it is understood, but the presentation lacks that lucidity which is so general in French work. There are no aids to the memory or eye, but all is set forth in unbroken masses. If some of the subdivisions seem to be unimportant, it was a fault on the right side to mark them.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

SHORT NOTICES.

Der Dom zu Aachen und seine Entstehung. Ein Protest. By Jos. STRZGOWSKI. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 1 mark. Pp. 100; 2 plates.

This pamphlet hardly calls for notice in these columns, except in so far as readers of the *Classical Review* are friends of the best in antiquity, and dislike shoddy restorations.

For the author, taking as his text the restoration of Aachen Cathedral, has made an attack on the vicious methods which are in such cases too common. He has no difficulty in proving the lack of conscientiousness shown by architects who restore by rebuilding, and cites examples from his text. The pamphlet has however a distinct interest in its plates and numerous illustrations, amongst which are some Hellenistic bronzes and ivory carvings preserved in the cathedral, and a number of plans and comparisons of Byzantine buildings.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

Mycenaean Troy. By H. C. TOLMAN and G. C. SCOGGIN (Vanderbilt Oriental Series). With plate, 44 figs., four maps, and plans. Pp. 111. 8vo. New York, etc. [1903].

AN avowedly popular and brief, yet so far as it goes satisfactory, description of the results of Drs. Schliemann and Dörpfeld's excavations, to which are added brief estimates of the Mycenaean civilisation in general and of its relation to the Homeric poems. The illustrations are good and well chosen, and the bibliographical notes will be found useful by those who wish to pursue the subject further. The book should prove useful as a handbook to those who have the opportunity of personally visiting the site. But the evidence from Crete hardly justifies the authors in regarding 2000 B.C. as the date for the most flourishing period of the Cretan civilisation.

H. B. W.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Athens.—An interesting monument has been found near the military hospital S. of the Theatre of Dionysos. It is an oblong pillar of marble about 8 ft. high and 9 in. wide. On the lower part of the front surface is represented a large serpent, over whose head is inscribed in hasty letters of the fourth century B.C.

ΞΙΑΩΝΑΝΕΟ|ΗΚΕ

The last three letters are, for want of space, written on the side of the pillar. Above the inscription was fastened the sole of a sandal in marble. Upon this sole is a

design in low relief, representing a bearded man wearing a mantle; his r. hand is raised and he carries a staff in his l.

It seems probable that this monument belonged originally to the neighbouring temple of Asklepios.¹

Ithaka.—The foundations of a large building of polygonal masonry have been found. They probably belong to a temple of the Hellenistic Period. Near this building several objects came to light. They include a relief representing a woman (24–28 in. high), probably of second-century workmanship, a portrait of an ephēbos standing with a dog (in marble, about 30 in. high), a bronze vase with animals in relief, a terracotta female head of life size, and several bronze utensils. Two capitals of the Mycenaean Period, in the form of an inverted mushroom, have also been found.²

Rini (Thessaly).—Pottery fragments with letters in relief resembling those found by Mr. A. J. Evans in Crete have been discovered, together with implements of bone.²

Crete.—At Palaikastro members of the British School have uncovered several private houses and streets, and have found much Mycenaean pottery. Two statuettes in ivory, of Egyptian style, are remarkable for the careful rendering of anatomical details. The discovery of an inscription containing a hymn to Zeus Diktaios has determined the position of the Diktaion.

At Praesos several architectural fragments belonging to an old temple and potsherds with Eteocretan inscriptions have been found.²

Delos.—Members of the French School have excavated two third-century statues of Silenos crowned with ivy and carrying a wine-skin on his l. shoulder. A second-century group of Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros is noteworthy. Eros sits on Aphrodite's l. shoulder and tries to thrust back Pan by the horn. In the N.E. of the island several dwelling houses have been laid bare.²

ITALY.

Rome.—Three new fragments belonging to the consular and triumphal *fasti* have recently been found. The first records the three triumphs of Tarquinius Priscus over the Latins, Etruscans, and Sabines respectively. The second, found in Jan. 1904 between the Temple of Vesta and the Arch of Augustus, is especially interesting as confirming the third consulship of L. Papirius Cursor in 319 B.C. (cf. Liv. ix. 15. 11).

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* 1904, part 2, p. 212.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* Aug. 27th, 1904.

The third fragment is too mutilated to be assigned with any certainty to a particular date.³

ROUMANIA.

Adam-Klissi.—A pillar belonging to the Trophaeum Traiani has been moved into the Museum. It formed part of the hexagonal base, and its discovery confirms the view of Furtwängler that the inscription was on a single slab.

Near the Danube, between Calafat and Cetate, a small treasure has been found. It comprises barbaric gold ornaments and a silver cup of Graeco-Roman workmanship with decoration of storks, cranes, dolphins, mussels, water-plants, flowers, and trees. The cup is very similar in style to those found at Hildesheim and Boscoreale.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

American Journal of Archaeology. viii. No. 2. Apr.–June 1904.

1. B. Powell and J. M. Sears, jun.: Excavations at Oeniadae. (Five plates, 47 cuts.)

(1) History and topography; excavations of 1900; description of walls and gates, shewing what parts were Philip's work. (2) The theatre; only eastern half of orchestra laid bare; description of cavea, with inscriptions on seats relating to freeing of slaves, of orchestra, and of stage building, which had rooms each side of the proscenium; no evidence of a raised stage. (3) A small temple at west of harbour without peristyle or end-columns. (4) A building on the hill, of trapezoidal form, with thirteen rooms, apparently a dwelling-house. (5) A Greek bath with frigidarium, tepidarium, *ἐλαιοθήσια*, and some interesting minor details, not later than 100 B.C. (6) The ship-sheds, consisting of five bays with column between, at entrance to harbour, with a store-room on north side; inscribed tiles found; date doubtful. 2. Bibliography of archaeological books (1903).

Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst. xix. Heft 1. 1904.

1. F. Studniczka: The interpretation of the figures in the East pediment of the Parthenon. (Plate, seven cuts.)

Maintains the identification of the seated pair as Demeter and Kore on the ground of the form of their seats, which are not chairs but panelled coffers with low feet; similar *cistae* are used as seats by deities on vases (as the Olto cup in Corneto and B.M. F 271); in Attic art only Demeter and Kore use these as seats (cf. the Ninnion pinax and an Eleusian relief).

2. J. H. Holwerda: The costume of archaic draped figures. (Plate and cut.)

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1904, part 1, and *Röm. Mitt.* 1904, p. 117 ff.

⁴ *Arch. Anz.* 1904, part 3.

Explains by practical experiments a detail of drapery in the Acropolis statues, which implies a linen garment with overhanging fold falling over the breast, worn over the chiton; it answers to Herodotus' Ionic dress.

3. E. Pernice: A door-fastening and lock from Boscoreale. (Five cuts.)

Describes a bronze object in Berlin, formed of two strips of bronze, one movable, with handle attached; through the lower one a bolt could be shot and fixed by the other sliding over.

4. G. Loeschke: The date of the Hermes of Alkamenes.

The Hermes Propylaios must have been set up in the Propylaea before it was finished, soon after 450; Alkamenes was then at the height of his career, and the style (as evidenced by the Pergamon find) must represent that of his earlier work.

- Anzeiger.* (1) Obituary notice of G. von Kieseritzky. (2) Third report on Mileus excavations (theatre and large southern Agora), by Th. Wiegand. (3) Cult figures of the 'Thracian Rider' (J. Ziehen). (4) Acquisitions of Berlin Museum, chiefly objects in metal (E. Pernice). (5) Museums of S.W. Germany (Colmar, Freiburg, Donaueschingen). (6) Collections of Erlangen University. (7) Meeting of Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft in Jan. (Dörpfeld's paper shewing Leukas to be the Homeric Ithaca). (8) Bibliography, etc.

Heft 2. 1904.

1. A. Jolles: Heraldic groups. (Twenty-two cuts.)

Deals with the question of independent discovery of decorative motives by different peoples, as opposed to the borrowing theory; 'antithetic' groups in Mycenaean art taken as basis of discussion. Riegl is right in attributing their origin to the human instinct for symmetry. They are also shewn to have arisen independently in Egypt and Babylonia respectively.

2. L. Curtius: A female head at Rome. (Plate, twelve cuts.)

Publishes a head in the Museo nelle Terme, which had been thought to be a Muse; compares it with the head of a Hygieia at Deepdene and replicas of the latter. All these appear to go back to a temple-statue of Hygieia of the fourth century; the style being Scopaeic, they may be referred to the one which that sculptor made for Tegea.

3. G. Weber: Aqueducts in towns of Asia Minor. (Two plates, nine cuts.)

Discusses the water-system of nine towns in the south-west: Metropolis, Tralles, Antioch on the Maeander and in Pisidia, Aphrodisias, Trapezopolis, Hierapolis, Laodicea, and Apamea Kibotos.

Anzeiger.

1. Annual report of work of Archaeological Institute.
2. Finds in 1903 (contributed by various writers from different countries).
3. The Reichslimes Commission in 1903.
4. Meeting of Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, May 1904.
5. Miscellaneous.
6. Bibliography.

Athenische Mittheilungen. xxix. Heft 1. 1904.

1. Obituary notice of U. Koehler.
2. H. von Prott: The plain of Sparta. (Plate.)

With reference to Pausanias' description, suggests sites for Pharis, the temenos of Zeus Messapios, Bryseae, Lapithaion, and Harpleia.

3. H. von Prott: A marble group from Sparta. (Cut.)

A relief of a woman supported by child-birth deities (*Ath. Mitth.* 1885, pl. 6); she is probably a goddess; the supporters may be Dactyl.

4. B. Schröder: Archaic sculptures from Laconia and the Maina. (Two plates, six cuts.)

Describes six recently-found pieces, including a ram-headed term, a relief with Herakles and the stag on an Ionic pilaster cap, and reliefs relating to hero-cults.

5. M. N. Tod: The Παιδικὸς Ἀγών at the festival of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

Publishes inscriptions relating to the victory of a youth in a kind of bull-fight.

6. W. Dörpfeld: The theatre at Thera. (Two plates, four cuts.)

In third cent. B.C. this had a simple σκηνή of wood with changeable façade; subsequently a permanent stone proscenium and new auditorium with marble seats were built; in first century after Christ the theatre was converted to one of Roman type.

7. B. Keil: Two Pergamene inscriptions.

Discussion of inscriptions relating to the public bank.

8. F. Bötte and G. Weicker: Nisaia and Minoa. (Cut.)

Recent excavations uphold Dörpfeld against Lolling, who put Minoa on the west of the harbour of Megara, Nisaia on the east; a clear picture of the district can be reconstructed from Thucydides' account of the war. Objects from the excavations described.

9. W. Dörpfeld: The original plan of the Erechtheion. (Plate.)

Supplementary to article in last part.

10. A. Wilhelm: An epigram from Tegea. Corrections of one published in *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1901, p. 271 ff.

11. H. S.: Two Thessalian inscriptions; Λύττιοι πρὸς θαλάσσην (*Ath. Mitth.* 1903, p. 463).

The latter term explained as referring to the Chersonese.

Heft 2. 1904.

The whole of this part is devoted to an account of the excavations at Pergamon, 1902-03 (illustrated by fifteen plates and thirty-eight cuts).

Dr. W. Dörpfeld describes the topographical and architectural results, which include the completion of the uncovering of the second Agora, the investigation of a large dwelling-house in the neighbourhood and of storerooms in the main street, and the partial uncovering of the large gymnasium. The part of the Agora now laid bare includes the southern hall and the S.W. angle, with a row of chambers in the substructure of the S. side. The dwelling-house had thirteen rooms round three sides of a court, with remains of marble panelling. The gymnasium formed the main part of the year's work; of the three terraces on which it was built, dating from the time of Eumenes II., the two lower were laid bare. On the middle one were an exedra and a prostyle temple, and on the lower a series of niches, in one of which was an inscribed stele relating to the admission of ephēbi; the two were connected by an arched staircase with a round tower adjoining.

The inscriptions, published by Messrs. Schröder, Schröder, and Kolbe, include name-lists from the temple in the gymnasium, an honorary decree of the time of Attalus III. to a gymnasiarch with interesting religious details, a stele in which the three classes of youths to whom the three terraces of the gymnasium were allotted are distinguished as παῖδες, ἐφηβοί, and νέοι, and twenty-two others.

W. Altmann discusses the finds, in particular the Alkamenes herm (see *C.R.* 1904, p. 188), and other sculptures, also terracottas and metal objects, and some late pottery of the fourth century after Christ, some with reliefs, some enamelled.

F. Winter appends a note on the Alkamenes herm, which he thinks was not set up in the Propylaea before 440 B.C., arguing for the advanced character of its style. This view would accord better with the received dates for Alkamenes.

H. B. W.

Numismatic Chronicle, 1904. Part 2.

G. Macdonald. 'The pseudo-autonomous coinage of Antioch.' The coins of the most obvious interest are those that bear the names of the various *legati* of Syria, but many other specimens, little regarded hitherto, are carefully examined in this paper and new light is thrown on the history of the municipal and Imperial mints of Antioch.—Sir J. Evans. 'A new type of Carausius.' A unique bronze coin with *rev.* GENIO BRITANNI(AE). Youthful genius with cornucopiae holding patera over altar. In exergue, C.

Numismatische Zeitschrift. Vol. xxxv. for 1903. (Published, Vienna, 1904)

J. Graf. 'Münzverfälschungen in Altertum.' A monograph of 130 pp. dealing with the plated coins, etc. of the Greeks and Romans, with some useful lists.—A. Nagl. 'Der griechische Abakus.' E. Gohl. 'Die Münzen der Eravisker.'—G. Richter. 'Die jüdischen Münzen.'—R. Egger 'Ein Weihgeschenk der Metapontier.' On the *θεῖος χρυσὸν* dedicated by the Metapontines at Delphi.—J. Bruns. 'Unedierte Münzen von Dazien und Moesien im Kroatischen Nationalmuseum in Agram.'

Revue Numismatique. 1904. Part 2.

M. P. Vlasto. 'Choix de monnaies rares ou inédites de Tarente.'—R. Dussaud. 'Le culte de Dusarès d'après les monnaies d'Adraa et de Bostra.' Coins of Adraa show a large stone resting on an altar, and the inscription ΔΟΥΚΑΡΗΘ ΘΕΟC makes it clear that the sacred stone of Dusares is represented. The Nabathæan inscriptions speak of 'Dusares and his *môtab*,' a word which has been translated 'throne' but which should doubtless be rendered 'altar'—the altar on which the sacred stone was deposited. The coins of Bostra mention the Games *ACTIA DVSARIA* and show three betyls placed on a platform reached by a staircase. The head of Zeus Ammon also occurs

on coins of this place and Dussaud suggests that in Roman times Ammon may have been assimilated to the native Dusares.—A. De La Fuye. 'Monnaies arsacides surfrappées.' 1. A tetradrachm of Phraates IV. dated B.C. 33 is re struck on one of the silver coins (usually attributed to Antioch) bearing the head of Antony on *obv.* and the head of Cleopatra on the *rev.* 2. Another tetradrachm of Phraates IV. is struck on a tetradrachm of Tiridates—the Parthian mentioned by Horace. 3. A tetradrachm of Vonones dated A.D. 323 is re struck on a tetradrachm of his rival Artabanus III. The drachm which Vonones struck is already well known from its interesting inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΝΩΝΗΣ ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΣ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΝ. Col. De La Fuye

also publishes a tetradrachm which, as he points out, differs from the ordinary coins of Phraates IV. He suggests that it was issued by Pacorus, son of Orodes I.—A. Dieudonné. 'Du classement des monnaies grecques.' This subject was discussed by Mowat in a previous number of the *Rev. Num.* Dieudonné considers that the geographical arrangement must be paramount, but suggests some reasonable modifications of numismatic geography as at present set forth in most of our great museums. Beginning with Sicily where some of the oldest (and none of the latest) coins are found, he passes over to Magna Græcia and then into central and northern Italy. Greece proper is then entered from the west. From the Peloponnese and the Islands we pass to Macedonia and reach Asia by the north. Spain, Gaul, and Britain are placed at the end, and not at the very beginning as at present. In another number of the *R.N.* space might perhaps be found for a table showing the proposed new order in detail.—J. De Foville. 'Un aureus inédit de l'Empereur Tacite.' The coin is in the French collection. It was probably struck in November or December 275 A.D. At the end of that year Tacitus left Rome and in spite of his age put himself at the head of the army for the campaign against the Goths. The type *VIRTVS MILITVM* represents the Emperor riding his horse at a gallop and hurling a spear. When proclaimed by the Senate he had, according to Vopiscus, modestly expressed his astonishment at their choice of an old man who could no longer ride or hurl the javelin.—Mélanges, etc. *Bryllus.* The type of a youthful figure standing between two serpents is identified by E. Babelon as the Eshmoun-Adonis of the town; cp. the Eshmoun-Asklepios of Carthage.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1904.

29 June. S. Eitrem, *Die Phaiakepisode in der Odyssee* (O. Rössner), unfavourable. Aristotle's *Metaphysik*, von E. Rolfes. I. Bk. i.-vii. (A. Döring), favourable. P. Willems, *Le sénat romain en l'an 65 après Jésus-Christ*, publ. par J. Willems (J.). Th. Zielinski, *Rom und seine Gottheit* (H. Steuding). R. Pichon, *Lactance* (C. Weyman), favourable. C. U. Clark, *The Text Tradition of Ammianus Marcellinus* (C. W.).

6 July. O. Rössner, *Untersuchungen zur Composition der Odyssee* (K. Löschhorn), favourable. Aristotelis *republica Atheniensium*, ed. F. G. Kenyon (G. J. Schneider). M. W. de Visser, *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen* (H. Steuding), favourable. B. Maurenbrecher, *Sallustiana. I. Die Überlieferung der Jugurthalücke* (Th. Opitz), favourable. Taciti *de Germania libellus*, ed. L. Okeeki (R. Lange), unfavourable. F. Matthias, *Über die Wohnsitze und den Namen der Kimbern* (P. Schulze). 'A welcome contribution.' A.

Hemme, *Das lateinische Sprachmaterial im Wortschatz der deutschen, französischen und englischen Sprache* (O. Kabisch). 'A convenient help.' Stadt-gymnasium zu Halle a. S. Festschrift zur Begrüssung der 47. Versammlung der deutschen Philologen, von F. Friedersdorff, B. Bräuning, O. Genest, M. Consbruch, F. Kähler.

13 July. H. Demoulin, *Fouilles et inscriptions de Ténos* (W. Larfeld). Sophokles' *Aias*, von F. Schubert. 4. Aufl. von L. Hüter, favourable. S. Schlossmann, *Nexum* (B. Kübler).

20 July. P. D. Ch. Hennings, *Homers Odyssee*. Ein kritischer Kommentar (J. Sitzler). 'A valuable book.' E. Turner, *Quaestiones criticae in Platonis Lachetem* (H. Draheim). G. Hyde, *De Olympionearum status a Pausania commemoratis* (Fr. Spiro), very favourable. L. Homo, *Essai sur le regne de l'empereur Aurélien* (E. Groag), favourable. *Catenarium Graecarum catalogus*, comp. G. Caro et J. Lietzmann (A. Heisenberg). K. Krumbacher, *Die Akrostichis in der griechischen Kirchenpoesie* (G. Wartenburg).

27 July. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part IV. ed. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (C. Wessely). W. Spiegelberg, *Die Aufenthalt Israels in Ägypten im Lichte der ägyptischen Monumenta* (A. Wiedemann). 'A weighty furtherance.' P. Goessler, *Leukas-Ithake, die Heimat des Odysseus* (O. Rössner). H. Luckenbach, *Olympia und Delphi* (J. Ziehen), favourable. Sophocles, *The Oedipus Coloneus*, with a commentary abridged from the large edition of R. C. Jebb by E. S. Shuckburgh (H. Steinberg), favourable. A. G. Roos, *Prolegomena ad Arriani Anabases et Indicae editionem criticam* (Th. Büttner-Wobst), favourable. H. Francotte, *De la condition des étrangers dans les cités grecques* (H. Gillischewski), favourable. U. Leoni-Giovanni Staderini, *Sull' Appia antica* (H. Ziemer). 'To be recommended.' K. Staedler, *Horaz-Kommentar*. I. *Die Gedichte an (für) Maecenas*. II. *Die Gedichte auf sich selbst* (H. Steinberg), favourable on the whole. Phaedri *fabulae Aesopiacae*, rec. J. S. Speyer (S. Herzog), favourable. *Florilegium patristicum* digessit G. Rauschen. II. (J. Dräseke), favourable.

10 Aug. K. Altendorf, *Ästhetischer Kommentar zur Odyssee* (J. Sitzler), favourable. Aristotelis *Ethica Nicomachea*, rec. F. Susenhihl. Ed. II. cur. O. Apelt (K. Goebel). E. Hambruch, *Logische Regeln der platonischen Schule in der aristotelischen Topik* (A. Döring), very favourable. R. Dienel, *Quae rationes inter librum περὶ ὕψους et Taciti dialogum de oratoribus intercedere videantur* (E. Wolff), favourable. P. Rasi, *Dell' arte metrica di Mago Felice Ennodio*. II. (J. Hilberg).

17 Aug. *Berliner Klassikertexte*. I. *Dilysos Kommentar zu Demosthenes*, bearb. von H. Diels und W. Schubart (C. Wessely), favourable. *Aeschinis quae feruntur epistolae*, ed. E. Drerup (H. Gillischewski), favourable. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, von P. Arndt. Lief. cviii-cxv (W. Amelung). II. Gubrauer, *Altgriechische Programm-Musik* (A. Thierfelder), favourable. A. Taccone, *Il trimetro giambico nella poesia greca* (H. Draheim). 'Diligent and comprehensive.' Galeni *de Temperamentis libr. III.*, rec. G. Helmreich (K. Fuchs), favourable.

31 Aug. Fépas, *Abhandlungen zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte*, A. Fick gewidmet (F. Solmsen). T. Frank, *Attraction of mood in early Latin* (H. Blase), favourable. Th. Hingst, *De spondeis et anapaestis in antepenultimo pede versuum generis*

duplisis Latinorum (H. Draheim). 'Makes a good impression.' R. Asmus, *Julians Galiläerschrift in Zusammenhang mit seinen übrigen Werken* (J. Dräseke). 'A very valuable work.'

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xiii. 8. 1904.

R. Fritzsche, *Der Anfang des Hellenentums*. 'Where do we note the first gleams of the Hellenic genius, the aesthetic-intellectual as opposed to the religious spirit of the E.? Schrader's *Reallexikon der indo-germanischen Altertumskunde* is easily supplemented as regards evidence from literary sources and finds: e.g. the King's halls found in the lit. of Ireland, Germany, and India. Against Gruppe's views we may plead that (1) mythological spirit and religious feeling are common to all mankind: Greece borrowed from the E. not the myths (in which she herself was rich) but the mystery; (2) heroic man really did exist—as is shown by the agreement in so many traits of the testimony of the Indian epics, German antiquities, etc. (e.g. Tacitus' Germania) and Homer.' E. Ziebarth, *Ein attisches Stammbuch*. J. Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica* is welcomed and highly praised, its usefulness in connexion with the study of the Athenian societies shewn, and a few corrections or amplifications suggested. G. Egelhaaf, *Das Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte von Below und Meinecke*. A. Werminghoff, *Felix Hemmerli*. In *Anzeigen und Mitteilungen* P. Cauer reviews V. Bérard's *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee* and E. Assmann's *Das Floss der Odyssee*; E. Petersen defends against Kekules his interpretation of Plin. 34. 75 (Canachus' Apollo): *calx* here denotes 'Handball.'

Mnemosyne. Vol. 32. 4. 1904.

S. A. Naber, *Adnotationes criticae ad Lycurgi Leocrateum*. J. H. W. Strijdt, *De inscriptionibus in insula Prole nuper inventis*. J. J. Hartman, *De Ovidio poeta commentatio*. Deals with the Metamorphoses. 1. O. uses 'heavy' verses—e.g. such as begin with 4 spondees—with a definite purpose: in bks 14, 15 he is less careful. 2. The best Roman poets, though they did not accept the Homeric law against caesura κατὰ τέταρτον τροχαῖον, did nevertheless follow its principle in the most carefully composed parts of their works. 3. The numerous exx. of involved construction to be found in bks. 14, 15 (and 13,400-end) point to this part of the work having been less carefully polished than the other. 4. Sources: Ovid's originality shewn by various artifices of which he makes frequent use (e.g. his devices for connecting myths). The reading of 11. 747 (*tunc uia tula maris*) and interpretation of 5. 118, 13. 382 are settled on the strength of observations made here. E. van Hille, *De lapide nuper Athenis in arce invento* (from part 3). The ἀρχαῖος νεῶς mentioned in the last part of the inser. is probably the Hecatompodon (Dörpfeld's παλαὶος νεῶς). The statue, the ornaments of which are there enumerated, cannot have been the old ἑξάγων. J. C. Naber, *Observatiunculae de iure Romano*. Isaacus vi. J. van Leeuwen, *Homericæ* (from vol. 30). Codex A of the Iliad. Its archetype had some of its lines deleted, others added in margin, by a corrector. Notes on scholia of the *Pax* and the argument of Cratinus' *Dionysalexander* by J. v. L., on Cic. *Fam.* 1. 1. 2 (read *itratum esse scribis*) by J. J. Hartman, and on Ov. *Her.* 20. 4 (*cui* for *qui*) by P. H. D. Mommsen's *epistolae* iv.

The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1904.

Two meetings of the Classical Association of Scotland are reported at length in the *Proceedings* for 1904, a volume of about 110 pages, published at Edinburgh by Messrs. H. and J. Pillans and Wilson. At the Glasgow meeting on December 5, 1903, Prof. G. G. Ramsay in his presidential address on 'the Classics and popular education' advanced reasons and quoted authorities to show that 'the intellectuality of classical study' was its great merit, and criticised the 'new educational legislation enacted by the Scottish Department' contained in the circular of February 16, 1903; Prof. J. S. Phillimore in a vigorous paper 'On the best present lines of defence for Classics' maintained that an effort should be made to get 'the whole body of arts to combine against anti-educationists' since Classics were 'the first line of defence for all humane or liberal education'; Prof. Butcher emphasised the importance of improved methods and Mr. Parker Smith and others continued the discussion. Dr. J. G. Kerr read an instructive paper on 'Latin in a Science School' (Allan Glen's School, Glasgow).

At St. Andrews on March 12, the subscription was raised to 7s. 6d. After a brief address from the President, Prof. J. Burnet, in a paper on 'Form and Matter in Classical Teaching,' which drew from subsequent speakers a number of well deserved encomiums, advocated 'pure scholarship' against 'research' as the classical ideal, and put in a plea for verse composition as a trainer of the mind. Incidentally he made some caustic comments on the way in which 'critical' texts of authors are now often constructed and pass undetected. The Headmaster of Fettes, Dr.

Heard, read a paper on 'the place of Unseens in the curriculum.' He urged that 'the Unseen should be judged by a literary and not merely a linguistic standard' and spoke of the great utility of sight reading. The Committee was empowered to watch the forthcoming Education Bill, and, if necessary, to call a special meeting.

A brief account of the May meeting of the Association for England and Wales was given in our issue for June, and the *Proceedings* of the same are now published (by Mr. John Murray) and will be in the hands of a number of our readers. The next meeting will be held in London on January 6 and 7, and we understand that the Lord Chancellor, who has shown his continued interest in Classical Studies in a recent speech at Oxford, will be proposed as President for the coming year. The place of meeting and the details of the programme have yet to be settled; but it is probable that the pronunciation of Latin will be one of the subjects discussed. The Association has not ceased to grow and now counts 900 members, one of its most recent adherents being the Oxford Chancellor, Lord Goschen. The influence of the Association seems to be penetrating the provinces, if we may judge from the fact that a local Association has been started in Manchester with a first meeting whose conspicuous success was largely due to the energy of the new professor of Latin at the Victoria University. May the example prove infectious!

Congregation at Oxford has declared against 'Optional Greek' by 200 votes to 164, a result which must affect the fate of the proposals of the Studies Syndicate at Cambridge now under discussion.

ON SOME TRAGIC FRAGMENTS.

[The numeration is Nauck's (1889).]

p. 780 Astydamas 8. 4 ἔνεκα τῶν ἔστιν εἰρεῖν ἄνδρ' εἶα—καὶ τοῦτον οἱ ζητοῦντες εἰσὶ μυρίοι. Mr. Tucker in last month's number is right, I think, in reading ἔτεσιν for ἔστιν: but when he supposes that Porson must have written ἐν δ' ἑκατόν ἐστιν ἔργον ἄνδρ' εἰρεῖν εἶα, he is mistaken. Porson's note is 'Malim ἐν δ' ἑκατόν ἐστιν ἔργον—κεῖ—εἰσὶ μυρίοι.' At the time he wrote it Porson may not have discovered his own canon, or he may have thought (as Nauck thought) that this was not the sort of verse to which it was applicable. Certainly it sounds like Comedy; but my paper in *C.R.* 1902 p. 252, where I suggested ἄνδρ' εἰρεῖν εἶα as probable (like *Eur. fr.* 411), will show how easily the order might have been changed. 'Though the seekers be μυρίοι' would be καὶ ὅσοι (Grotius): καὶ . . . εἰσὶ would mean 'and yet (καίτοι) the seekers are μυρίοι: this would refer to the philosophers, like Diogenes who went about saying ἄνδρα ζητῶ: cf. *Bato Com.* 2. 3 καὶ τὸν φρόνιμον ζητοῦντας ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις καὶ ταῖς διατριβαῖς ὥσπερ ἀποδεδρακτοῖα.

p. 790 Chaeremon 36

πλοῦτος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ὅλας τιμὰς ἰὼν οὐκ ἔσχεν ὄγκον ὥστε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ἀλλ' ἔστι σεμνός· ἐν δὲ δώσει (or δώσει) βροτῶν ἡδὺς συνοικεῖν καὶ τιν' εἰληχῶς χάριν.

In *C.R.* 1899 p. 5 I suggested that in the first line we had a corruption of τὰκόλαστα or τὰκόλαστον, remarking that the contrary was σωφροσύνη, and leaving σώφροσιν to be read in v. 3 by any one who ventured. Whether this is right or not, Mr. Tucker makes a step by reading now

πλοῦτος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰκόλαστα πᾶς ἰὼν οὐκ ἔσχεν ὄγκον ὥστε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἄσεμνος· ἐν δὲ σώφροσιν βροτῶν ἡδὺς συνοικεῖν καὶ τιν' εἰληχῶς χάριν.

For his ἄσεμνος makes a good opposition to ὄγκον, which is here used in a good sense, 'dignity,' as in *Alexis* 263. 5 φέρει δὲ τοῖς μὲν χρωμένους δόξης τιν' ὄγκον, τοῖς δ' ὀρώσιν ἡδονήν, κοσμὸν δὲ τῷ βίῳ.—ἄσεμνος is corrupted in *Sannyrion* 1 (*I* p. 793 *Kock*) πέλανον καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἃ καλεῖτ' ἀσέμνως τάλφιθ' ἡμεῖς οἱ βροτοί: so *Meineke* and *Cobet*, where the MSS. give ἃ καλεῖται

σεμνός.—But I cannot think that this superfluous πᾶς is right; I had thought of πρὸς μὲν τὰκόλαστίμ' εἰσιών, but ἀκόλαστος is a somewhat hazardous formation, and though εἰσιών could be said of wealth entering a house, one would expect then πλοῦτος γὰρ εἰς μὲν . . .

p. 812 Moschion 2

ὦ καὶ θεὸν κρατοῦσα καὶ θνητῶν μόνῃ μοῖρ', ὦ λιταῖς ἄτρωτε δυστήνων βροτῶν πάντολμ' ἀνάγκη, . . .

For ἄτρωτε Mr. Tucker suggests ἄπτωτε 'with ears averted from.' Nauck's ἄτεγκτε would be normal Greek; but I suspect that here the true word was ἄτρεπτε: *Plut. de Stoic. repugn.* p. 1056 c τὴν δ' εἰμαρμένην αἰτίαν ἀνίκητον καὶ ἀκώλυτον καὶ ἄτρεπτον ἀποφαίνων αὐτὸς Ἄτροπον καλεῖ . . . from 'Arist.' *de Mundo* p. 401^b 8-19, seemingly: οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀνάγκην οὐκ ἄλλο τι λέγεσθαι πλὴν τοῦτον, οἷονεὶ ἀνίκητον οὐσίαν ὄντα, εἰμαρμένην δὲ διὰ τὸ εἶρεν τε καὶ χωρεῖν ἀκωλύτως, πεπρωμένην δὲ διὰ τὸ πεπερατώσθαι πάντα . . . τέτακται δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸ γεγονός μία τῶν Μοιρῶν, Ἄτροπος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρελθόντα πάντα ἄτρεπτά ἐστιν . . . If so, the author of that treatise is, as *Osann* reasonably thought, *Chrysippus*.

Kaibel Ep. 507 μοίρῃ ὑπ' ἀτρέπτῳ. 727 μετὰ μοῖραν ἄτρεπτον. This therefore was an established attribute of μοῖρα or ἀνάγκη, like the first line and the epithet πάντολμος and the ζυγόν following.

p. 820 Sosiphanes 2

νῦν σοὶ πρὸς ὄψιν (at the sight) θυμὸς ἡβάτω, γέρον· νυνὶ δὲ γ' ὀργὴν ἡνίκ' ἡδικοῦ λαβεῖν.

ὀργὴν λαβεῖν ἡνίκ' ἡδικοῦ 'to grow angry when you were being wronged' might have been preceded by τότε ἔδει, but not by νῦν δὲ: therefore in *C.R.* 1899 p. 5 I gave νῦν δὲ σέ γ' ὀργὴν ἡλίκ' ἡδικοῦ λαβεῖν. Mr. Tucker now offers νῦν δὲ σ' ἐς ὀργὴν ἡλίκ' ἡδικοῦ λαβεῖν, rendering it 'now might you take in wrath the great injuries you suffered.'

But surely this is no improvement, in the absence of any evidence that Greek ever said ἐς ὀργὴν λαβεῖν τι. On the other hand ὀργὴν λαβεῖν is good Greek; as ὀργὴν ἔχειν is 'to be in a state of anger' like νόσον ἔχειν,

so ὀργὴν λαβεῖν is 'to conceive anger' at the moment (νῦν) like νόσον λαβεῖν: e.g. Dem. 743 ταύτην τὴν ὀργὴν νῦν ἐπὶ τουτοῖ λαβετε. But what νυνὶ δεῖ γ' should be there is no means of determining: to the conjectures Nauck records add νῦν δεῖ γὰρ by Nauck *Opusc.* I 46. A scribe may have found merely νῦν δεῖ ὀργὴν, for it was their

common practice to insert γ' to fill up a hiatus between vowels; or it may have been originally νῦν δὴ σὺν ὀργῇ ἡλικ' ἡδικοῦ λαβεῖν corrupted to νῦν δεῖ σ' . . . as in Soph. *O.C.* 721 νῦν σὺν τὰ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα δὴ φαίνεν ἔπη was corrupted to νῦν σοὶ . . . δεῖ . . .

W. HEADLAM.

ADVERSARIA UPON FRAGMENTA TRAGICORUM ADESPOTA.

[The Numeration is Nauck's (1889).]

frag. adesp. 115 :

τοῦ σώματος γὰρ εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ πόνοι
τοῦδ' εἶναι οἶκον στέφανον ἐξηυρήκαμεν,
λευκὸν τ' ὀρύσσειν ἄργυρον σπείρειν τε γῇν,
τά τ' ἀλλ' ὅσ' ἡμεῖς ὀνόμασιν γινώσκο-
μεν.

Read τὰ τ' ἀλλ' ἂ σ ε μ ν ο ῖ ς κ.τ.λ.

frag. adesp. 118 :

τίς ὧδε μῶρος καὶ λίαν ἀναιμένος
εὐπιστος ἀνδρῶν ὅστις ἐλπίζει θεοὺς
ὅστων ἀσάρκων καὶ χολῆς πυρουνμένης,
ἂ καὶ κυτὶν πεινῶσιν οὐχὶ βρώσιμα,
χαίρειν ἀπαρχαῖς καὶ γέρας ἑλαχεῖν τόδε ;

Read καλεῖν. [In the first line the ἀναιμένως of Grotius is surely an improvement.]

frag. adesp. 124 :

σοφὴ μὲν ἤμην, ἀλλὰ πάντ' οὐκ εὐτυχής.

The order is bad and ἤμην will not do. Another version gives ἀλλὰ οὐ πάντα εὐτυχής. I suggest

σοφὴ μὲν ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ τι πάντα γ' εὐτυχής.

frag. adesp. 126 :

ὃ κακοὶ
κάνάξιοι τῆς ἐμῆς σποράς,
Διτωλίδος ἀγάλματα μητρός.

This may possibly be right, since in Eur. *fr.* 386 there occurs ἀνόητον ἀγαλμ', ὃ πάτερ, οἴκοισι τεκόν. But the context there is unknown, whereas in the present place Heracles is reproaching his children ὡς μαλακοῦς. I suspect that the true word was ἀτἀλματα, i.e. '(petted) nurselings.' They were παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι (Aesch. *S. c. T.* 777).

frag. adesp. 270 :

Hesychius has ἑτραπεζίτην Πάριν τὸν παρα-

βάντα τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ ἀτιμάσαντα τὸν Μειέλαον.

Read τραπέζα τῆς τῆς (i.e. τὸν ἀτίζοντα τὴν τράπεζαν). This is nearer to the explanation than an otherwise possible τραπέξαπάτην.

frag. adesp. 310 :

ἐχθροῖς ἀπιστῶν οὐποτ' ἂν ἑπαύθους βλάβην

is surely dubious Greek, but might be quoted by commentators on Xen. *An.* 6. 6. 25 (βίαν χρῆναι πάσχειν αὐτόν). There Stephanus read βίαια (ΙΑ for Ν), although Cobet (*N.L.* p. 526) seems to think that he himself is the first to make the correction. Here I should read λάβους.

frag. adesp. 457 :

ἔν τῷ λαλεῖν δεῖ μηδὲ μηκύνειν λόγον.

The schol. on Soph. *El.* 1437 quotes this by way of illustration along with his interpretation δι' ὅτ' ἂν παύρ' γε' μὴ ἀνατεταμένως φθέγγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐλαφρῶς. The equivalent of ἐλαφρῶς and the opposite of ἀνατεταμένως is ἀνετῶς, of which ἐν τῷ is an easy corruption.

[Here, by the way, emend Hesych. ἀνετῶς ἀνατεταμένως = Soph. *fr.* 583. This being directly opposite to the truth, we must emend with ἀνετῶς.]

frag. adesp. 458 :

In the schol. on Soph. *O.C.* 1375 (quoting this fragment) a variant story is given of the cause of the curse of Oedipus upon his sons. The schol. proceeds καὶ ἔοικεν τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔκκειν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τινι αὐτὰ ἑκκετῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ γελοιότερον κ.τ.λ.

Read ἐκκεῖσθαι. The story is 'set forth.'

frag. adesp. 484 :

ἑφθείρει γὰρ ἡ πρόνοια τὴν ἀβουλίαν.

The sense, if obtainable at all, is unsatis-

factory. The true reading is probably $\theta\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ and the thought is that 'caution lies in wait to catch (or stalks) folly.' The same error occurs in Soph. fr. 463.

κημοῖσι πλεκτοῖς πορφύρας †φθείρει γένος,
where the schol. on Ar. *Eg.* 1150 and also Hesychius, with their λαμβάνουσιν, point to $\theta\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}$.

frag. adesp. 507 :

ὦ δέσποτ' ἴναξ ἔστι τοῖς σοφοῖς βροτῶν
χρόνῳ σκοπεῖσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας πέρι.

Read, I think, in explanation of both the corruption and the two datives

ὦ δέσποτ', ἀνετ' ἔστι κ.τ.λ.

i.e. 'wise men must leave it (refer it) to time to discern the truth.' Whether ἀνετ'(a) was explained by ἀνακτέ(a), or the

loss in ἀν<ετ'> ἔστι left ἀν(a) to be explained as ἄναξ, is not of much moment.

frag. adesp. 537 :

κρείσσον τ' ἀμύνειν κατθανεῖν γὰρ εὐκλεῶς
ἢ ζῆν θέλοιμ' ἂν δυσκλεῶς †γε κατθανών†.

Read δυσκλεῶς κατπατακῶν.

[*Obiter* I may remark that this use of θέλω ἢ for θέλω μᾶλλον ἢ is more common than is generally supposed, and I believe the text is sound in Aesch. *Ag.* 1321

ἄπαξ ἔτ' εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν ἢ θρήνον θέλω
ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς,

so far at least as ἢ θρήνον is concerned. Cassandra will not deliver her own dirge, but a ῥῆσις of another kind. It may be that χροῖσι was written by Aeschylus, but there seems no reason why ῥῆσις should not be a 'deliverance'.]

T. G. TUCKER.

PLATONICA.—VI.

(Continued from Vol. XVII. p. 22.)

PROTAGORAS.

327 c Following the principle of what I wrote before in this *Review* (xv. 296), that ἀνθρώποις is an error due to ἄνθρωπος preceding and ἀνθρώπους following, I should now read ἐν νόμοις καὶ παιδείᾳ (or possibly δικαστηρίοις) τεθραμμένων. Cf. just below οἷς μήτε παιδεία ἐστὶν μήτε δικαστήρια μήτε νόμοι.

328 e There is no point in αὐτῶν τούτων, *this very question*. Read τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων, meaning that, if he raised the same question, he would be told the same things.

334 a πολλὰ οἷδ' ἂν ἀνθρώποις μὲν ἀνωφελῆ ἔστι, καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ καὶ φάρμακα, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία, τὰ δέ γε ὠφέλιμα τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώποις μὲν οὐδότερα, ἵπποις δέ, τὰ δὲ βουσὶν μόνον, τὰ δὲ κύνσιν.

I think now that these words would run best and fit best into their context, if we read ἀνθρώποις <τοῖς> μὲν ἀνωφελῆ τοῖς δέ γε ὠφέλιμα, the τοῖς having dropped out through its likeness to the syllable preceding, and τοῖς δέ having then been assimilated to the τὰ δέ thrice following.

341 d I do not myself feel much difficulty in the superfluous δοκεῖν after οἶμαι (οἶμαι . . παίζειν καὶ σοῦ δοκεῖν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι). If any

exists, we might get over it by reading παίζει καὶ σοῦ δοκεῖ πειρᾶσθαι. But cf. for instance the δοκεῖ in Dem. 15. 11.

353 d ἢ κὰν εἴ τι τούτων εἰς τὸ ὕστερον μηδὲν παρασκευάζει, χαίρειν δὲ μόνον ποιεῖ, ὅμως δ' ἂν κακὰ ᾖν, ὅ τι μαθόντα χαίρειν ποιεῖ καὶ ὀηοῦν ;

In the apodosis ὅμως δ' ἂν κακὰ ᾖν most recent editors read εἴη for ᾖν against all the MSS. Mr. Adam defends ᾖν, saying 'the imperfect is used because the answer "no" is expected and desired . . . See Goodwin *M. T.* p. 190, § 503' ; but there is no such principle known to Greek Grammar and Goodwin affords, I think, no parallel to this passage. Surely ὅμως δὲ κακὰ ἔστιν ; would equally have invited the answer 'no.' I do not however think we should read εἴη. I would retain ᾖν but read παρεσκευάζε and εἴποιε. The imperfects, a very slight change, give a good, if not a better, sense, because excess in pleasures constantly does entail subsequent evil and therefore a supposition to the contrary goes naturally into the imperfect. In 350 b ἔλεγες has been rightly restored for λέγεις.

In view of other passages where ὅ τι μαθὼν occurs, ὅ τι μαθόντα seems sound here, but I should make it accusative singular, not

with Mr. Adam nominative plural. That would personify food and drink too much.

355 A ἡ ἀρκεῖ, as a question, may be right, if a full stop is put before it. An alternative, which seems to me not improbable, is ἡ < μὴ > ἀρκεῖ governed by the εἰ preceding.

355 C ἡττώμενος—ὑπὸ τίνος; φήσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, φήσομεν νῇ Δία.

So punctuate all the books I have looked at. But I would join νῇ Δία with τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.

357 A τί ἂν ἔσφζεν ἡμῖν τὸν βίον; ἄρ' ἂν οὐκ ἐπιστήμη; καὶ ἄρ' ἂν οὐ μετρητική τις; ἐπειδὴ περ ὑπερβολῆς τε καὶ ἐνδείας ἐστὶν ἡ τέχνη; ἐπειδὴ δὲ περιττοῦ τε καὶ ἀρτίου, ἄρα ἄλλη τις ἢ ἀριθμητική;

The use of ἐπειδὴ here seems to deserve notice. It is never used, I think, with the indicative, like ὅτε, to mean *when, whenever*. It cannot therefore here mean simply that, *whenever* it is a matter of more and less, it is μετρητική, and, *whenever* of odd and even, ἀριθμητική. Nor on the other hand does *since* make sense here, because only one of the two propositions can be true. It seems rather, if I understand it, to mean *when once, after we have once settled that*, or something similar. But I do not know any exact parallel. Perhaps *postquam* might be so used.

ἐπερ δὴ . . . εἰ δὲ δὴ may naturally occur to one as possibilities, but they are hardly probable.

357 E Agreeing that in οὔτε αὐτοὶ οὔτε τοὺς ὑμετέρους παῖδας παρὰ τοὺς τούτων διδασκάλους . . . ἐμπετε a verb is missing after αὐτοί, I should conjecture it to be something like *μανθάνετε* rather than the ἴτε, φοιτᾶτε, etc., that have been suggested. I take it that as a rule the pupils of the sophists were young men, not fathers of families.

360 D οὐκέτι ἐνταῦθα οὗτ' ἐπινεύσαι ἠθέλησεν ἐσίγα τε.

Read οὐδ' ἐπινεύσαι ἠθέλησεν, ἐσίγα δέ. 'He would not even nod assent but remained silent.' I cannot think οὔτε . . . τε is good Greek after οὐκέτι, which would have the effect of negating both, the τε clause as much as the οὔτε clause. οὐδέ *not even* is also much more pointed in the context.

360 E χαριῶμαι οὖν σοι καὶ λέγω ὅτι κ.τ.λ.

λέγω may be right enough, but in view of the frequent corruption of futures λέξω is worth suggesting.

361 C For ἐξελεῖν I would now write simply ἐλεῖν.

The following explain themselves.

311 A The third ἔρδον (after εἰκός) might be better omitted. So perhaps σοφόν after σέ in 310 D.

312 D Perhaps ὅτι ἂν εἴποιμεν, echoing the question. Cf. *Euthyphro* 2 C: *Λύες* 662 A. Or τί, ἂν εἴπωμεν;

328 A οὐ ῥάδιον < ἂν > οἶμαι εἶναι.

333 B σοφία < τ' > ἐναντία καὶ σωφροσύνη αὐ φαίνεται.

GORGIAS.

448 A

ΓΟΡ. πάρεστι τούτου πείραν, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, λαμβάνειν.

ΠΩΛ. νῇ Δεῦ' ἂν δέ γε βούλη, ὦ Χαιρεφῶν, ἐμοῦ.

There should be no stop after νῇ Δία. It does not assent to what precedes, but goes with what follows, just as *e.g.* in 463 D, μὰ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκратες, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς συνίημι ὅ τι λέγεις, the μὰ τὸν Δία must go with οὐδὲ αὐτὸς συνίημι, because there is nothing preceding for it to refer to. Cf. 458 D. So often in Aristophanes νῇ or μὰ Δία etc. goes with what follows, in spite of some word (ἰλλά etc.) intervening: see Blaydes on *Plut.* 202: *Lys.* 594: and Gilbert *ad Xen. Mem.* 2. 7. 4.

448 C πολλὰ τέχνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν ἐμπειρῶν ἐμπείρως ἡρμημένα.

Not only is the adverb ἐμπείρως somewhat oddly used, but it adds nothing to ἐκ τῶν ἐμπειρῶν. The Schol. on Hermogenes (Walz 4. 44, cited by Thompson) gives ἐκ τῶν ἐμπειρῶν ἐμπειρίας, which helps to make one doubt. Should we read ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐμπειρῶν ἐμπειρίας? (Cf. Thompson's *Gorgias* Appendix p. 181 n. 1, and compare Gorgias (?) *Hel.* 18 πολλὰ πολλοῖς πολλῶν with ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἄλλως here.)

458 E ῥητορικὸν φῆς ποιεῖν οἷός τ' εἶναι, ἐάν τις βούληται παρὰ σον μανθάνειν; Ναί. οὐκοῦν περὶ πάντων ὥστ' ἐν ὅλῳ πιθανὸν εἶναι;

For ὥστε, which has no propriety here and is distinctly awkward, read ὥς γε, ὥς γ' ἐν ὅλῳ having a limiting sense. ἐν γε ὅλῳ (πιθανώτερος) occurs immediately after. In *Prot.* 348 C the Bodleian codex has ὥστε μοι ἔδοξεν for ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ ἔδοξεν, and in *Rep.* 352 D the same mistake is made.

465 D ἀκρίτων ὄντων τῶν τε ἱατρικῶν καὶ ὑγιεινῶν καὶ ὀψοποικῶν.

If τῶν ἱατρικῶν has ὑγιεινῶν added to it, the balance of the sentence seems to require that <καὶ ἡδέων> be inserted after ὀψοποικῶν. Dobree wished to omit ὑγιεινῶν καὶ

472 B ἐγὼ δ' ἂν μὴ σὲ αὐτὸν ἔνα ὄντα μάρτυρα παράσχωμαι ὁμολογούντα περὶ ὧν λέγω, οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἄξιον λόγου μοι πεπεράνθαι περὶ ὧν ἂν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ᾗ· οἶμαι δ' οὐδὲ σοί, ἐάν μὴ ἐγὼ σοι μαρτυρῶ εἰς ὧν μόνος.

There seem to be here two noticeable things: (1) the apodosis οὐδὲν οἶμαι κ.τ.λ. ought to contain some sort of future, (Hirschig proposed οὐδὲν <ἂν> οἶμαι): (2) in οἶμαι δ' οὐδὲ σοί we should like to find the sense *you will not be satisfied either*, whereas it can only mean *I think you will not have succeeded either*, and the repetition of οἶμαι is quite pointless and weak, when οὐδ' αὖ σοί would have been enough. From these two considerations may we not infer that Plato wrote a δόξει or δόξειν with πεπεράνθαι and that the same is understood with οὐδὲ σοί? He wrote, that is, something like οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἄξιον λόγου μοι <δόξειν> πεπεράνθαι.

478 c Should εὐδαιμονέστατος be εὐδαιμονέστερος? The ἀθλιώτερος following strongly suggests it, and MS evidence on this point is worth very little. Cf. the variations in 473 c and 490 e. The εὐδαιμονέστατος in D, followed as it is by δεύτερος κ.τ.λ., proves nothing.

480 c παρέχειν μύσαντα εὔ καὶ ἀνδρείως ὥσπερ τέμνειν καὶ κᾶεν ἱατρῷ.

In view of Bergk's <μὴ> μύσαντα cf. Aristides 43. 34 ἀπαλήσαντας ἔαν καί, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, μύσαντας φέρειν.

482 B c οἶμαι . . . καὶ τὴν λύραν μοι κρείττον εἶναι ἀναρροστέιν τε καὶ διαφωνεῖν καὶ χορὸν ὧ χορηγοῖν καὶ πλείστους ἀνθρώπους μὴ ὁμολογεῖν μοι κ.τ.λ.

Thompson notices the irregularity of the optative. It is strange that neither he nor anyone else has seen what must have happened, namely that an ἄν has been lost, probably after κρείττον or in καί (read κᾶν).

483 A φύσει μὲν γὰρ πᾶν αἰσχίον ἐστὶν ὅπερ καὶ κᾶκιον, τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι.

For πᾶν, which gives no sense here, when τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι is attached to it, πᾶσιν and παντί have been suggested. Does it not stand for πον, a word which is plausibly restored for πολὺ in 488 E?

485 B ἔγωγε ὁμοίωτατον πάσχω πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὺς ψελλιζομένους καὶ παίζοντας. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ παιδίον ἴδω, ᾧ ἔτι προσήκει διαλέγεσθαι οὕτω, ψελλιζόμενον καὶ παίζον, χαίρω τε καὶ χαρίεν μοι φαίνεται καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ πρέπον τῇ τοῦ παιδίου ἡλικίᾳ. ὅταν δὲ σαφῶς διαλεγόμενον παιδαρίον ἀκούσω, πικρόν τί μοι δοκεῖ χρήμα εἶναι καὶ ἀνὰ μόνον τὰ ὦτα καὶ μοι δοκεῖ δουλοπρεπές τι εἶναι· ὅταν δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἀκούσῃ τις ψελλιζόμενον ἢ παίζοντα ὄρᾳ, καταγελαστόν φαίνεται καὶ ἄνανδρον καὶ πληγῶν ἄξιον· ταῦτόν οὖν ἔγωγε τοῦτο πάσχω καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας.

In this Morstadt proposed to bracket καὶ παίζοντας, καὶ παίζον, and ἢ παίζοντα ὄρᾳ. Schanz brackets καὶ παίζοντας and (after Cobet) ψελλιζόμενον καὶ παίζον.

It is plain, I think, that παίζειν in this passage cannot be taken in the general sense of playing games. The two clauses, ᾧ ἔτι προσήκει διαλέγεσθαι οὕτω and ὅταν σαφῶς διαλεγόμενον παιδαρίον ἀκούσω, without a word being said about games, make it clear that παίζειν cannot refer to games generally, but must be taken in the very closest connexion with ψελλίζεσθαι referring to the same thing. Moreover, Plato would surely not have condemned all games in this wholesale manner, nor have laid it down that any grown man who played a game deserved a beating. Παιδιά is not limited in its sense to children's games, and both Plato and Aristotle distinctly recognise the legitimacy of the thing for men.

Understanding παίζειν then to refer to the same thing as ψελλίζεσθαι, I presume Morstadt's reason for his omissions was the inappropriateness of the word. When a child lisps and stammers, it is not doing so in play. Yet παίζειν is actually used here twice over to describe the child's trick of speech, as well as a third time in reference to the grown man, where it is hardly suitable either, for in him it is affectation, folly, or a natural defect, not παιδιά. If we had only the first two passages, I should not doubt that we ought to read παίωντας and παίων. In the Aristotelian *Problems* 3. 31 the question is διὰ τί τῶν μεθύοντων ἢ γλῶττα παταίει; and the word occurs there several times over. It may be said that the use of ἢ γλῶττα, as the subject, makes all the difference, and that to speak of a child as παίων would suggest something quite different. By itself it would; but παίων coming after ψελλίζομαι is fairly clear. We should certainly not say simply 'a child trips' in this sense, but we could quite well say 'a child stammers and trips,' leaving

'in speech' to be understood, just as we say that a man 'wanders' or 'rambles,' that is, in speech or in mind. With the corruption of *πταίω* to *παίζω* perhaps I may compare the corruption which I have conjectured in Xen. *Cynegeticus* 9. 5 of *πηήσας* to *πίεσας* (*πιέσας* *ὡς ἐπὶ γῆν*). In the *Prometheus* 885 the MSS. vary between *πταίοντο* and *παίοντο*, and in the *Rhetorica ad Alex.* 1425a 38 *πταίσωσιν* has been restored with great probability for *πίεσωσιν*. In *Bacchae* 1141 *πηήσασα* is recognised as a blunder for *πήξασα*.

But *ἡ παίζοντα ὁρά* does not admit of being changed to *ἡ πταίοντα ὁρά*. *ὁρά* is of course impossible with *πταίοντα*, and *ἡ* should be *καί* as before. We should expect, that is, *ψελλιζομένου καὶ πταίνοντος*. If my conjecture is right, as I think it must be, we must omit *ἡ παίζοντα ὁρά* altogether, taking it to have been added by some one who found *παίζοντας* and *παίζον* in the other places and thought the word ought to occur here too with a suitable verb. It is plain, though the editors do not seem to notice it, that *ὁρά* is quite as unsuitable to *παίζοντα*, if the latter refers to speaking, as it would be to *πταίοντα*. In any case therefore, even if we keep *παίζοντας* and *παίζον*, either *παίζοντα* is wrong or *ἡ παίζοντα ὁρά* must be omitted, as Morstadt proposed.

486 C *παῖσαι δ' ἐλέγχων, πραγμάτων δ' εὐμυσίαν*

ἄσκει καὶ ἄσκει ὁπόθεν δόξεις φρονεῖν.

The second *ἄσκει* may be right, but it looks to me like one of those unintentional repetitions of a word, by which we all sometimes go astray in writing, and perhaps especially in copying. Now in 526 D all the MSS. give *σκοπῶ ὅπως ἀποφανοῦμαι*, which is certainly right, but T has *γρ. ἄσκῶ*; and for *σκοπῶν* which follows two lines later the text of Eusebius has *ἄσκῶν*, which Burnet adopts. Cf. Cobet *N.L.* p. 629 on Xen. *Sympr.* 4. 42 and Marchant's note *ad loc.* Should we read *σκόπει* here? *σκόπει ὁπόθεν* would closely resemble *σκοπῶ ὅπως*.

492 C *ἡ πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἄθλιοι γεγονότες εἴησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης;*

τὸ καλὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης does not strike me as very Platonic. I would suggest *τοῦ καλοῦ τούτου* with *τῆς . . σωφροσύνης* in apposition. The confusion is a well-known one. Notice the use of *ταῦτα τὰ καλλωπίσματα* just below.

499 A *οὐκοῦν ὁμοίως γίγνεται κακὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαθὸς ὁ κακός;*

κακὸς καὶ ἀγαθός seems to make no sense. Omit *κακός καὶ* and read *ἀγαθός* only, to which the preceding questions lead up. *κακός καὶ ἀγαθός* may be due to *τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν* just before.

512 D *ἀλλ', ὦ μακάριε, ὅρα μὴ ἄλλο τι τὸ γαυαῖον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ τοῦ σφάζειν τε καὶ σφάζεσθαι. μὴ γὰρ τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ ζῆν ὁπόσον δη χρόνον, τὸν γε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνδρα ἐατέον ἐστί.*

There is probably no parallel to be found anywhere, at any rate in good Attic Greek, for *μὴ . . ἐατέον ἐστί*. Goodwin (*M.T.* 269) gives two, *Prot.* 312 A and *Meno* 89 C, remarking that the latter may be interrogative. So may the former, and it would be most unsafe to build on them. We are therefore left with this passage alone, as Aristotle's *μήποτε* can not count for very much. Is it too bold to suggest that *μὴ* here represents *οἶμαι*? The *οι* was perhaps lost after *αι* in *σφάζεσθαι* and the *μαι* then changed to *μὴ*. For *οἶμαι* thus standing independently at the beginning of a sentence see Ast's *Lexicon* s.v. p. 423: Stallbaum on *Gorg.* 460 A: 472 BC above: *Rep.* 608 D, etc. *ἡ* has also been suggested.

513 C *τῷ αὐτῶν γὰρ ἦθελε λεγομένων τῶν λόγων ἕκαστοι χαίρουσι, τῷ δὲ ἄλλοτρίῳ ἄχθονται,*

The dative *ἦθελε* seems a little questionable, unless indeed a word is lost. But perhaps we should read (*ὁμο*)λογουμένων. In *Lysias* 12. 71 *ὁ ὁμολογημένος ὑπ' ἐκείνων καιρὸς* seems fairly certain for *ὁ λεγόμενος*, where the tense is wrong.

The following proposals explain themselves.

450 B *περὶ λόγους ἐστὶ τούτους οἱ τυγχάνουσιν κ.τ.λ.* Read *τοιούτους*.

456 B *φημὶ δὲ καὶ (read καὶ) εἰς πόλιν . . ἐλθόντε . . οὐδαιμοῦ ἂν φανῆται.*

469 A *οὐ χρή οὔτε τοὺς ἀζηλώτους ζηλοῦν οὔτε τοὺς ἀθλίους < εὐδαιμονίζειν > ἀλλ' ἐλεεῖν.*

480 B *μενεῖ for μένει.*

510 B *φίλος . . ὅνπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τε καὶ σοφοὶ λέγουσιν, ὁ ὁμοῖος τῷ ὁμοίῳ.*

Read *ὅπερ* for *ὅνπερ*. Hirschig *ὥσπερ*.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

NOTES ON THE SCHOLIA TO THE AVES.

IX these notes the accentuation and punctuation of quotations from the Manuscripts and from the Princeps have been normalized.

1 τὸ μὲν παρὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι, τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὸ εἶ ἔχειν τὴν ἐλπίδα. Princeps. For πείθεσθαι read πείθειν τὸν ἐταῖρον, i.e. παύεταιρ. παύεταιρ was mistaken for πείθεσθαι. (Mehler proposes πείθεσθαι <τῷ ἐταίρῳ>, but the meaning is wrong, Blaydes simply πείθειν.) This gives the form Πειθέταιρος, with meaning that befits the character, and the comment accounts for both parts of the compound.—τὸ μὲν, τὸ δέ are read in VFE. The alternative reading (inferior) would be not τῷ μὲν, τῷ δέ. (RM), adopted by the editors, but τοῦ μὲν, τοῦ δέ.

13 οὐκ τῶν ὀρνέων: ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀρνεοπώλων. Princeps. For ὀρνεοπώλων (MSS.) read ὀρνεοπωλίων. ἐκ requires a word signifying the place, not the person. Cf. ὀρνεοπολίων (VFE², ὀρνεοπωλείων Princeps) and χυτροπωλίων (F²E, χυτροπωλείων Princeps) in the next Scholium, and Hesychius s.v. ὄρνεα.

31 Ἀκέστορα γὰρ ὁμῶς εἰκὸς λαβεῖν πληγὰς, ἐὰν μὲ συνστρέψῃ τὰ πρᾶγματα. Princeps. Read

Ἀκέστορ, σέ γ' ἄρ' ὁμῶς εἰκὸς λαβεῖν
πληγὰς, ἐὰν μὴ σὺ στρέψῃ τὰ πρᾶγματα.

The division of the tribrach after the second short syllable in the received text (Dindorf, Dübner) is suspicious. In Aristophanes, at least, there are only three instances of this, where the second word is γάρ (*Ach.* 71 is corrupt), and all three occur in the first foot. For σέ, cf. the reading of V in the next verse, σὺ στρέψῃ. Here στρέψῃ is inadmissible, but it suggests the right form. Bentley proposed συστρέψῃ.

66 καὶ τάχα ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὴν πάλαι σημασίαν τὸ ἔρο ἔρον μετεβλήθη δὲ εἰς τὸ ὦ. Princeps. Read καὶ τάχα ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν (MSS.) σημασίαν γεγραμμένου (MSS.) τὸ ἔρον (MSS.) ἔρο (ἔρω MSS.), μετεβλήθη (MSS.) δὲ εἰς τὸ ὦ. The form ἔρο is required. For the meaning of παλαιὰ σημασία, as here used, cf. Schol. *Il.* A 104 ὦ: ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει 'ὄν ποτ' Ἀχιλλεύς' μῆποτε δὲ πεπλάνηται, γεγραμμένον τοῦ ο ἔπ' ἀρχαϊκῆς σημασίας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦ, προσθεὶς τὸ ν. Schol. *Pind. Nem.* i. 34 καταλείπεται δὲ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ σημασίᾳ τὸ 'ἰσλός' ἢ γὰρ ἀντίτροφος ἀπῆται τὸ ν (i.e. ἰσλούς). Cf. the Scholium on 935.

68 φασιανὸς δὲ συκοφάντης παρὰ τὸ φαίνειν μετὰ φασιανῶν εὐρισκόμενος. Princeps. Read φασιανικός (FM): συκοφάντης, παρὰ τὸ φαίνειν, <ῆ> 'μετὰ φασιανῶν εὐρισκόμενος.' The definitions obviously are alternatives.

96 εἴξασιν ἐπιτρίψαι σε: δύναται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔποπος λέγειν, οὗτοι ζητοῦσί σε ἐπιτρίψαι διὰ τὴν ὄψιν· δύναται δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν λέγειν, εἰκόασιν οὗτοι ἡμᾶς ἐπιτετριφέναι ὥδε ἐλθόντες, εἰ ἐφόβει αὐτοὺς τὸ προσωπεῖον· τὸ δὲ εἴξασιν, ἢ εἰκόασιν ἢ παρεγένοντο. Princeps. This is the reading also in V, except that V has δύναται καὶ ἐφ' and omits the last clause, which is found in FE. Read the alternative clause thus: δύναται δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν λέγειν· 'ἥξασιν οὗτοι ἡμᾶς ἐπιτετριφέναι ὥδε ἐλθόντες,' ἐκφοβεῖ γὰρ (R) αὐτοὺς κτέ.

The alternative definition of εἴξασιν at the end of the Scholium, ἢ εἰκόασιν ἢ παρεγένοντο, points unmistakably to ἥξασιν or possibly ἦκασιν (both these forms occur in late Greek): *these fellows* (the Epos and his attendant) *have come out to do us, to judge from their looks.* ὥδε ἐλθόντες balances διὰ τὴν ὄψιν of the preceding interpretation, *to judge from your appearance.* After ὥδε ἐλθόντες the commentator adds ἐκφοβεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ προσωπεῖον. Note that ἥξασιν is the reading in the text of the play in both M and U, and that the editors of Suidas before Gaisford read ἥξουσιν s.v. ὑγεία. Küster even says: 'apud Aristophanem hodie minime recte legitur εἴξασιν.'

102 πότερον ὄρνις: ἔπαιξε δέον εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπος ἢ ταῶς· ὀξύνεται δὲ καὶ περισπᾶται. Princeps. V has πότερον ὄρνις ἢ ταῶς: ἔπαιξεν δέον εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπος ταῶς εἶπεν· ὀξύνεται δὲ καὶ περισπᾶται. Read πότερον ὄρνις ἢ ταῶς: ἔπαιξε· δέον γὰρ (E) εἰπεῖν 'ἄνθρωπος,' 'ταῶς' εἶπε· δασύνεται (Suidas) δὲ καὶ περισπᾶται.

VE have the proper lemma; in F and the Princeps the lemma conforms to the mistaken interpretation of the text of the play which substituted ἄνθρωπος for ὄρνις, not for ταῶς. The correct interpretation in V appears rewritten in M: εἶδε γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ εἶπε ταῶς. The form of the note in E (εἶπεν ἢ ταῶς) shows how the error arose. Van Leeuwen's interpretation of the text, 'homo an nugator,' assumes the wrong form of the Scholium.—For Suidas's δασύνεται (Cod. AV), cf. *Athen.* ix. 398A: οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ δασύνουσι καὶ περισπᾶσι (on the authority of Seleucus). Cf. also 379 E

(Trypho). Suidas (Cod. V) has the lemma ταῶς.

107 Read the lemma *νώ; βροτώ*. The following interpretation clearly indicates the sharp separation of the two words. Γ has *νώ, βροτώ*; and *νώ; βροτώ* is found in the text of the play in BC and Pal. 167.

109 *μή ἀλλὰ θατέρουν τρόπον πέπονθε*. Princeps. This is repeated by Dindorf (Dübner). Read *μάλα θατέρουν τρόπον(V)*: *πέπονθε τοῦτο* (τοῦτο Suidas), the text is corrupt.

129 Read *ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν μου πρῶ: νῦν οὐ 'τὴν πρῶϊαν,' ἀλλ' ἴσον τῷ 'ἐν ὧρα πρῶ'*. οὕτω γὰρ μονοσυλλάβως λέγουσι τὸ 'πρῶ'. Εὐπολις Βάπταις.

ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἔξεις ἄγαθα πολλὰ δὴ πρῶ. τοῦ 'πρωί' γὰρ συναίρεσίς ἐστι τὸ 'πρῶ'. διὸ δέξινται· τὸ δὲ 'πρῶν' περισπᾶται. Καλλίμαχος.

οὐ πρῶν μὲν ἥμιν ὁ τραγῶδης ἤγειρε.

None of the MSS. contain the whole Scholium, but its elements are found in VRTEM, in clear order, except the quotation from Callimachus, which is due to Suidas (s.v. *πρῶ*), but in a connexion that warrants the belief that it was a part of the original Scholium. Cf. Io. Alex. 32, 7 (Herodian, i. 494, 7); Cramer, *An. Ox.* ii. 463, 13; Hesych. *πρῶ*; Eustath. 1025, 38; Schol. *Ecl.* 291.

The important word is *πρῶν* (τὸ δὲ *πρῶν* περισπᾶται). This stands as *πρῶ* V, *πρῶν* Γ and Suidas (Cod. AV.), *πρῶν* EM. M places the iota subscript with care. Cf. Herodas v. 62.—For *ἐν ὧρα πρῶ* at the beginning of the Scholium, cf. Thuc. vii. 39: *τῆς ὥρας πρότερον*.

149 Read *Δίδυμος δέ φησι Λέπρεον ὀνομάσθαι ἢ διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν (RT² αὐτόν V) λεπρὰν εἶναι* (Toup for *λέπειν*). διαφαίνονται γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ὀρενῆς· πέτρας γὰρ εἶναι αὐτόθι ποικίλας τῷ χρώματι καὶ διαλείκους ὁμοίας τοῖς τὰς ὄψεως λεπτῶσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ὀνομάσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πάθους· ἢ διὰ τὸ τοὺς πρῶτως οἰκήσαντας κτέ.

This is the reading of V, except in the two places indicated, confirmed in the main by RT²EM, but R omits the whole of the alternative clause, *ἢ διὰ τὸ τοὺς πρῶτως κτέ.*, and this fact has confused the interpretation. Didymus offered two (ἢ... ἢ...) explanations of the name *Λέπρεον*. The place was so called either because it was situated in a rocky, scaly, 'leprous-looking' country, or because its inhabitants were in fact lepers.

Here διαφαίνονται ἐκ τῆς ὀρενῆς means occupy a conspicuous position at the foot of the mountains, and (as the mood shows) is parenthetical and probably not a part of the original explanation of Didymus. The fact has been observed by modern travellers (cf. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. 64) that the ruins of ancient Lepreum lie on a spur of the mountains that overlook the valley of the Strovitz. Cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ παρακειμένου τραχέος ὄρους in the abbreviated form of the Scholium in Photius (s.v. *Λέπρεον*), which is repeated by Suidas.

167 οὗτος δὲ διαβάλλεται ὡς μετὰβλητος (εἰμετάβλητος MSS.) τοὺς τρόπους· πρὸς γὰρ τῇ κιναιδίᾳ καὶ δειλίᾳ καὶ ὀψοφαγίᾳ καὶ νοστισμῷ καὶ πονηρίᾳ, ὀνειδίζουσι τὸν Τελέαν. Princeps. For τὸν Τελέαν at the end V has τὸ Τελέα, Γ² τῷ Τελέα. Read *ὀνειδίζουσι τόδε Τελέα, cast this reproach on Teleas*, namely εἰμεταβλήτω εἶναι. The ordinary interpretation of the vulgate, in addition to his unnatural lust, Teleas is reproached also with cowardice, etc., ignores γὰρ and violently separates δειλίᾳ and the following datives from κιναιδίᾳ, with which they are naturally construed in dependence on πρὸς. Küster, observing the difficulty, read καὶ ἐπὶ δειλίᾳ in both Suidas and the Scholium, but this leaves γὰρ unexplained.

189 Read *Βοιωτοὺς δίδον αἰτούμεθα: πολέμοι ἦσαν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συλλαβόντες Λακεδαιμονίοις κτέ.* The MSS. have *συμβалόντες*, but *συμβάλλω* expresses the idea of hostile encounter, not assistance. The confusion of λαβών and βαλών in the MSS. is frequent.

267 *τοροτίξ: οἱ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἔπος λέγουσιν εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ὀρνιθὸς τιнос περιπταμένου*. Princeps repeated by Dindorf (Dübner). With Γ read *οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα (πάντα V) τοῦ ἔπος ἐπικαλουμένου (ποικιλλομένου V), οἱ δὲ κτέ.* The reading *ποικιλλομένου* may be sound; it would refer to the art with which the Erops has embellished his song (227-262) by the new word of call, *τοροτίξ*. Cf. the use of *ποικίλλω* in the rhetoricians.

299 Read *φησὶ δὲ Δίδυμος τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα κηρύλος λέγεσθαι*. VI² have *κηρύλος*, but the testimony of the MSS. in such a case is of slight weight. τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ὄνομα, however, points to this form. Didymus held the view that most birds received their names from their peculiar notes (σχεδὸν γὰρ τὰ πλείεστα τῶν ὀρνέων ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς ἔχει τὴν ὀνομασίαν Athen. 392 f), and von Leutsch suggests that Didymus associated the κηρύλος with the cry *κηῦξ*. Cf. Dion. de Av. ii. 7:

καὶ τὰς ῥῥᾶς δ' εἰ καταπαύειν μέλλοιεν (i.e. αἱ ἀλκύνες), κῆνξ, κῆνξ συνεχῶς ἐπιποῦσαι σιγῶσαι. Schol. Luc. i. 178 identifies the κῆνξ (the male ἀλκύνων) with the κηρύλος.

Similarly read at the end of the Scholium: τοῦτο οὖν ἔστω σημεῖον τοῦ καὶ τὸν κηρύλον ἴσως παρὰ τὸ κείρειν ἡτυμολογηκέναι τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην· ἀντέθηκε γοῦν αὐτῷ κοινῆ. (VG² have κηρύλον.) The Scholiast's text of 299, therefore, read ὅστις ἐστί; κηρύλος, and κηρύλος, found in all the best MSS., in the text, is right. The form κειρύλος is a pure fiction. To foist it into Aristophanes's verse is a mistake, since it is not the poet's practice to explain his puns.

303 καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους τὸν πρῶνός τις ὦν κελβλήπυρίς τις ὀνομάζεται. Princeps repeated by Dindorf (Dübner).

The quotation from Hermippus is a crux. 'Non expedit.' Meineke. 'In Hermippo qu. an legendum κοπρώνης. Nescio; sed credo ὡς τις ὦν κοπρώνης.' Dobree. Küster desiderated better MSS. This help seems to be furnished by V, which has Θεμιστοκλέα (supported by Γ), πρῶν (i.e. πρῶην), and ὅστις. These readings were overlooked by Dindorf and Dübner. τὸν before πρῶν in V disturbs the rhythm, but τ might easily displace τό or γέ or δέ. τὸ πρῶην, *nurein*, seems to be possible. Read:

A. καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸ πρῶην, ὅστις ὦν κελβλήπυρίς—

B. τίς ὀνομάζεται;

The Scholiast, after quoting the fragment of Hermippus, remarks ὥστε ἐνθάδε ἦ (H. Jackson, ἦ the previous Editors) ἐκεῖ ἡμάρτηται τὸ ἐν περὶ τὴν γραφὴν, so that in the verse of our poet (ἐνθάδε) as in that of Hermippus (ἐκεῖ) the single word is a scribe's error. The verse of Hermippus, then, admitted the same sort of double interpretation as the verse of Aristophanes, which the Scholiast erroneously proposed to read:

νέριτος ἰέραξ φάττα κόκκυξ ἐρυθρόπους κέλβλη πυρίς.

In the scurrilous tetrameter of Hermippus Θεμιστοκλέα depends in construction on some verb in the context, and the situation is similar to that in *Aves* 1290 ff., where birds' names are given to men: A. *And lately we brought Themistocles to book, who is indeed a κελβλήπυρίς*—B. *What's the name he gets?* The Scholiast, insisting that κελβλήπυρίς is two words, erroneously interprets the verse thus: καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸ πρῶην, ὅστις ὦν κέλβλη πυρίς τις ὀνομάζεται!

450 ἐν τοῖς πινακίοις: ἐπεὶ ἔθος ἦν τοὺς

ταξιάρχους διὰ κήρυκος ἀπαγγέλλειν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις τὰ δεδογμένα. Princeps and the Editors, following the MSS. Read διὰ κηρύγματος, for the fact cannot be established that the proclamation was oral. For κήρυγμα, the order inscribed on the πινακίον, cf. Schol. Pac. 1183: ἐν οἷς ἐγράφοντο οἱ στρατιωτικοὶ κατάλογοι καὶ τὰ κηρύγματα.

465 λαρινὸν ἔπος: . . . ὡς ἐν Λαρίσση μεγάλων βοῶν γινομένων ἔστι δὲ πόλις Θεσπρωτίας. The MSS. have Λαρίση (V) or Λαρίσση (ΓM). Read Λαρίνη, and cf. Athen. 376 c: ἡ ἀπό τινος κόμης Ἑπαιρωτικῆς Λαρίνης. Cf. also Eustath. 1383, 2.

476 τεχνεὺς Κεφαλῆσιν: προσέπαιξε τὸν δῆμον, Κεφαλεῖς γὰρ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς. The Scholium, which occurs in ΓM, confirms Κεφαλεὺς as the designation of the member of the deme. Cf. C.I.A. I. 398; IV. 2, 251b; and Steph. Byz. s.v. βοὸς κεφαλαί.

484 Δαρείου καὶ Μεγαβύζου: Δαρείος βασιλεὺς ἦν, Μεγαβύζος δὲ στρατηλάτης πορθήσας Μεμφίδα. Princeps. Read Μεμφίτας. In the MSS. we find Μέμφιδας V, Μεμφιδ... Γ, Μέμφιν M. The Princeps alone has Μεμφίδα, but the accusative of the name of the town is Μέμφιν, not Μεμφίδα. The accent of the word as reported on the incomplete form in Γ strongly supports the correction suggested by V. The construction is unobjectionable. One could say in the street even in Aristophanes's time (*Ach.* 164) πορθεῖν τινά τι. Cf. also Diod. xi. 32.

501 προκυνιδεῖσθαι: ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, ἵκτινος φαίνεται εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐφ' ᾧ ἡδόμειοι κυλίνδονται ἑς ἐπὶ γόνυ· παίξας οὖν ὡς βασιλεῖ φησι τὸ κυλινδεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. Princeps. In the last part of the Scholium read: ἐφ' ᾧ ἡδόμειοι κυλινδοῦνται ὡς ἐπὶ γόνυ πέσας οὖν βασιλεῖ φησι τὸ 'κυλινδεῖσθαι,' ἴδιον γὰρ βασιλέως τὸ γονυπετεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. The last clause, ἴδιον γὰρ βασιλέως κτέ, occurs in VRGM.

πέσας (late aorist), found in the MSS. (παίξας only in the Princeps), seems to have misled Musurus, who joined ὡς ἐπὶ γόνυ with what precedes, omitted ἴδιον γὰρ... γονυπετεῖσθαι, and read as above. This is critical procedure run wild. His reading παίξας has been adopted by subsequent editors. Suidas (s.v. γονυπετεῖσθαι), as it frequently happens, is nearer the mark. Translate, *he uses the word κυλινδεῖσθαι, then, as if he had prostrated himself before the king.* The Scholiast represents Peithetaerus

as conceiving himself in the situation described. If this seems too imaginative, read *πέσαντος* (Suidas has *πίπτοντες*). For *βυσιλέϊ*, cf. Herod. v. 86 : *ἐς γούνατα γάρ σφι αὐτὰ πεσεῖν* and the usage with *γονυπετεῖν*.

521 Λάμπων δ' ὄμναισι : τῶν εἰκῇ δαιμόνων ὅτι πρῶτοι οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ οὕτως ἐπετήδευσαν ὀμνῆναι. *Priniceps*. This is practically the reading in the MSS. and is adopted by Dindorf (Dübner). Read <κατὰ> τῶν εἰκῇ δαιμόνων <οὐ> πρῶτοι οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ ἐπετήδευσαν οὕτως ὀμνῆναι.

The introductory clause cannot be left in mid-air without construction. For *κατὰ τῶν εἰκῇ δαιμόνων*, cf. below *κατὰ τῶν θεῶν* and *κατὰ τοῦ χηνός*. οὐ was suggested by Bothe. The negative is required, since the following quotation from Sosicrates is introduced to prove (*πολὺ γάρ*) that this form of oath began in the time of Rhadamanthus. Furthermore, the phrase *τοιοῦτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Σωκράτους ὅρκοι* ('of Socrates also') is a fixed part of the accounts of the 'Oath.' Cf. Suidas, Photius (both s.v. *Ῥαδαμάνθους ὅρκος*); Schol. Plat. *Apol.* 21 E; *Apost.* xv. 17; Eustath. 1871, 5.

574 αὐτίκα Νίκη πέταται : νεωτερικὸν το τὴν Νίκην καὶ τὸν Ἑρωτα ἐπερωσθαι. Ἀρχέννους γάρ φησι, καὶ τὸν Βουπάλου καὶ Ἀθήνιδος πατέρα, οἱ δέ, Ἀγλαοφῶντα τὸν Θάσιον ζωγράφον, πτηνὴν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν Νίκην. *Priniceps*. In the second sentence the MSS. have ἄρχεννος γάρ φησι καὶ τὸν βουπάλου καὶ ἀθήνιδος πατέρα, and Dindorf (Dübner) read Ἀρχεννον γάρ φησι, τὸν Βουπάλου καὶ Ἀθήνιδος πατέρα.

Probably we should read Ἀρχερμον γάρ φησι τινες τὸν Βουπάλου καὶ Ἀθήνιδος πατέρα. No Ἀρχεννος is known, and the word would naturally seem to be a corruption of the name of the father of Bupalus and Athenis. This was Ἀρχερμος. Cf. *Plin. N.H.* xxxvi. 11 (Cod. Bamberg.); Tzetzes in Cramer, *An. Ox.* iii. 366, 4. For the name, cf. also Löwy, *Inscr. Griech. Bildh.* 1; *C.I.A.* IV. 1, 350 a and 373 (p. 181). With the corruption of the name the case shifted and the common interchange of *φασί* and *φησί* occurred. καὶ has no meaning in the vulgate; τινές, although a mere conjecture, furnishes a proper antithesis to the following οἱ δέ.

639 οὐδὲ μελλονικῶν : ὅτι βραδὺς ἦν περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους καὶ ὥς οἱ διαβάλλοντες οὐχὶ προνοητικὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀμελητής· τινὲς δέ φησι τὸ προνοητικὸν καὶ μὴ προπετές τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἶναι. *VR*.

For ἀλλ' ἀμελητής, which is repeated by Dindorf (Dübner), read, with E and Hesychius (s.v. *μελλονικῶν*), ἀλλὰ μελλητής. *T*

has ἀλλὰ μελητής, and this is read also in the *Priniceps* and Suidas (Med.). The very word *μελλονικῶν* implies ἀλλὰ μελλητής.—The following τὸ προνοητικὸν καὶ μὴ προπετές must mean *in respect of his qualities of foresight and caution*, but this 'causal' accusative is doubtful. Musurus inserted *οὐ* in the *Priniceps*. The rewritten form of the note in M, τινὲς δέ φησι τῷ προνοητικὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν, suggests τῷ προνοητικὸν καὶ μὴ προπετῇ εἶναι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἶναι (εἶναι lost before εἶναι), or possibly τῇ προνοητικῇ καὶ μὴ προπετεῖ τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν εἶναι.

648 Read ἀτὰρ τὸ δεῖνα : πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῦτο φησι. In R (which has *φησι*) the relation of the note to the text is indicated by a signum before 648; in E (which omits τοῦτο φησι) the note is an interlinear above δεῖνα.

The tradition is preserved in some of the MSS. that the words ἀτὰρ τὸ δεῖνα (as ἔωμεν in the preceding verse) were spoken by Peithetaerus and Euelpides in concert. To 648 *T* prefixes the direction ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ ἔποψ and *U* οἱ δύο.

701 Read *ξυμμιγνυμένων δ' ἐτέρων* : τὰς συνουσίας μετέδωκεν. The note (omitted by *VTM* and the *Priniceps*) is an interlinear over *ξυμμιγνυμένων* in *T²E*. For the accusative, cf. *Xen. Anab.* iv. 5. 5 : εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν αὐτοῖς πυροῖς.

767 τοῦ πατρὸς νεώττιον : ὥς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, τοιούτου ὄντος, ἀποδρᾶναι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς πανουργίας. *Priniceps*. This is the reading of the Scholium also in the MSS. Read τοῦ πατρὸς νεώττιον : ὥς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τοιούτου ὄντος, <ἐκπερδίκισαι δὲ> ἀποδρᾶναι, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ περδίκος πανουργίας. In support of the two corrections, cf. Suidas (s.v. *ἐκπερδίκισαι*) : τὸ διαδρᾶναι ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν περδίκων, πανούργων ὄντων. And Zonaras (s.v. *ἐκπερδίκισαι*) : διαδρᾶναι πανούργως ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν περδίκων, πανούργων γάρ τὸ ζῶον καὶ διαδιδράσκει τοὺς θηρευτάς. Cf. also Hesych. s.v. *ἐκπερδίκισαι*; *Apost.* vi. 96 = *Diog.* ii. 57 (where ἀποδρᾶναι occurs).

778 ἄλλως (i.e. κύματά τ' ἔσβεσε) : ἀντὶ τοῦ 'ἡσύχασεν ἡ θάλασσα κυμαίνουσα κατακλυμένη.' The Scholium occurs only in *T*. Dindorf (Dübner) follow Victorius in reading *κατακλινουμένη* for *κατακλυμένη*, but cf. Hesych. (s.v. *κατακλυόμενοι*) : ἐξοιστρούμενοι ('oestro liberati' Hemsterhuys), καταθελγόμενοι, and Phot. (s.v. *κατακλυοῦσαν*) : θέλγουσαν, πρᾶννοσαν.

It is significant that Victorius has this note, although it occurs only in *T* of existing MSS.

793 Read εἰ τε μοιχείων: ἀντὶ τοῦ 'μοιχὸς ὅστις ὦν ἑμῶν.' The scholium appears in this form in VRFE, except that VR read ἄν for ὦν. Dindorf (Dübner) read ἐστὶν for ὦν, but erroneously, since μοιχὸς ὅστις ὦν ἑμῶν is a perfect paraphrase of εἰ μοιχείων τις ἑμῶν ἐστὶν ὅστις of the text of the play.

800 Read μεγάλα πράττει κἀστὶ νυνί: παραγραφέντα ἐκ Μυρμιδόνων Αἰσχύλου. The MSS. have παρὰ τὰ γραφέντα, except Γ which reads παραγραφέντα.

807 ταυτὶ μὲν ἡκίσμεθα: διεσκέμμεθα. Princeps. Read ἡκίσμεσθα: διεσκέμμεθα. Musurus is responsible for διεσκέμμεθα, which occurs in none of the MSS. that have the note (VEM). For the form διεσκέμμεθα, cf. Suid. (s.v. ἀνείκασσθε): ἀνασκώψατε (= Hesych. s.v. ἀνείκασσθε, Bekker, *An. Graec.*, 596, 24), and Hesych. (s.v. εἰκάζειν): σκώπτειν, εἰκάζειν ('fort. γελοιάζειν' Meineke), τὸ λέγειν 'ὅμοιος εἶ τῷδε.'

822 ἄλλως (i.e. ἵνα καὶ τὰ Θεαγένοῦς) λέγεται ὅτι μεγαλέμπορος τις ἐβούλετο εἶναι περαΐτης ἀλαζῶν ψευδόπλουτος, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ

'καπνός' ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνούμενος οὐδὲν ἐτέλει. Εὐπολὶς ἐν Δήμοις.

The Scholium is found in this form in VF²E, except that V omits ἐν before Δήμοις. It does not occur in RFM. περαΐτης has given serious offence, and various substitutes have been proposed: περιαλητής Casaubon; καίπερ αἵτης (l) Toup; ἐπαΐτης or προσαΐτης Meineke; πράκτης Kock; πένης ὦν or καίπερ πένης ὦν Blaydes; πράτης H. Jackson.

The Scholium furnishes another interesting case of the possible recovery of verses from a play now lost. The order of words in the Scholium is not possible in *prose*, and indicates that the writer unconsciously followed the order of words in Eupolis's verses. Adopting Mr. Jackson's substitute for περαΐτης, the verses in the *Demi* may have run:

μεγαλέμπορος τις εἶναι βούλεται
πράτης ἀλαζῶν ψευδόπλουτος, Θεογένης,
καπνός δὲ καλεῖται, πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπισχνούμενος
οὐδὲν τελεῖ.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE.

THE DATE OF THE DIONYSALEXANDER.

PAP. OXYR. 663.

I AM not sure that the argument does not fix the date for this play even more precisely than its beneficent discoverers think. This is certainly the case if the corruption noted by them in l. 8 is, as I would suggest, nothing more than the writing of Π for Π' so that ΠΥΩΝΠΟΙ¹ stands for περὶ ὑῶν

ποιήσεως. When the insignificant omission is made good, a sense emerges which implies that when the Dionysalexander was produced the project for the legitimizing of the younger Pericles was either debating or accomplished. — 'Turning to the audience they talk with one another on the question how men may get themselves sons.'

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

THE OPENING SENTENCE OF THE VERRINES.

Cic. *Div. in Cacc.* i. § 1. Si quis vestrum, iudices, aut eorum qui adsunt, forte miratur me . . . ad accusandum descendere . . . una et id quod facio probabit, et . . . putabit.

Instead of the vulgate *miratur*, all the MSS. have *mirantur*, until corrected in the fifteenth century. This is true of Par. 7776 (eleventh century): it is true also of Par.

7823, which, though late, can be shown to have faithfully preserved the tradition which the now mutilated codex of Claudius Puteanus (Par. 7775, thirteenth century) derived from what must have been the archetype also of the famous ninth century MS., Regius 7774 A.

The explanation is that *mirantur* must have been a copyist's error for *mirabitur*.

The substitution of *v* for *b* is a common occurrence, which would result in this case in *mirantur*, passing easily into *mirantur*. This is one more instance of the need for paying attention to neglected errors in our

MSS., and the opening sentence of the *Ferrines* should no longer be misquoted.

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Oct. 29, 1904.

HORACE, *ARS POETICA*, vv. 125 FOLL.

Si quid inexpertum scenae committis et
audes
personam formare novam, servetur ad unum
qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.
difficile est proprie communia dicere: tuque
rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus
quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.
publica materies privati iuris erit, si
non circa vilem patulumque moraberis
orbem
nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
interpretes

I would suggest a way of throwing light upon the force of *proprie communia* and dispelling all ambiguity, by transferring here some lines (240-3) which cause an almost equal perplexity where they stand. If set before v. 128 they will shew that the force of *difficile* has been misapprehended, and remove the difficulty which is serious at first sight of taking *proprie communia dicere* in the most obvious sense 'to treat with originality themes that are common property.' It is always taken to mean 'it is hard, so do not attempt it.' But with this sense none of the proposed interpretations seem to suit the entire context. It is assumed that Horace is warning off the Pisos from a too difficult enterprise, and that *proprie communia dicere* is therefore in contrast with *Iliacum carmen deducis in actus*, and parallel to *proferre ignota indictaque*. This interpretation of Acron (and Mr. Wilkes) who takes *communis* as *intacta, non ante dicta*, would do very well if the sentence stood alone. But, as Professor Wilkins says, the parallelism of *publica materies privati iuris erit* is too close to be denied, and *publica materies* cannot bear the sense of 'unappropriated material' because v. 133 speaks of translation.

Orelli's (and Dr. Johnson's) interpretation, 'it is difficult to give individuality to abstract types' is subject to the same grave objection that the parallelism of *publica materies* is ignored. Even if this could be, it does not suit so well as Acron's view the

alternative parallelism with *ignota indictaque primus* which both these interpretations require. Neither is it much in the way of the ancient dramatists to individualise types.

Professor Wilkins offers another interpretation which has the merit of preserving the ordinary sense of *communis*. '(It is fairly easy to treat novel themes without inconsistency.) The difficulty arises when you endeavour to treat familiar themes in a distinctive and individual manner. You are selecting a theme from the *Iliad*: then you are wise to confine yourself simply to throwing Homer's poem into dramatic shape, instead of attempting an originality of handling which would probably lead you into inconsistencies.' On this view v. 128 whilst recommending *communis* dissuades from treating them *proprie*. This can hardly be right, for lines 131 foll. plainly give directions how to treat the theme *proprie*, with freedom and originality. It is not likely that a courtier like Horace would say to the Pisos 'It is too hard for you but this is how I should advise your betters to do it.' Moreover it would be very confusing to set *ignota indictaque primus* not parallel to *inexpertum* and *persona nova* but as belonging to the alternative contrasted with these. If now we set vv. 240-3

Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi
quivis
speret idem, sudet multum frustra
laboret
ausus idem: tantum series iuncturaque
pollet
tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.

between v. 127 and v. 128 all these difficulties are removed and the sense is quite clear.

Horace has mentioned two courses

Aut famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia
finge. (v. 119)

In the eight lines which follow he has given

the guiding principles to be followed in each case. Now he says, 'I should prefer the first method and work on familiar material, trusting to lend it distinction by the handling. The ordinary man thinks this easy: but let him try: such is the power of judicious setting, such distinction is lent to plots familiar to all. It is not an easy thing, as men imagine, but a hard thing to treat familiar subjects with originality: you yourself, Piso, have also preferred this, the better and harder course, in drawing the plot of your tragedy from Homer. The choice is worthy of your powers. But you must see that this *fabula communis* is treated *proprie*, and to this end you must avoid the following three faults . . .'

The Piso here addressed was writing a tragedy on some Homeric subject after the fashion of the day. This is shown by the form *deducis* in contrast to *proferres*, and confirmed by the disproportionate scale of the treatment of the drama in this epistle. By the emphatic *tuque* 'you as well' Horace affects to fortify his own theory by the practice of Piso, and indirectly conveys, not a depreciation, but an appreciation of his judgment, ability, and ambition.

Horace seems to have in mind Aristotle's *Poetics* c. 14, where it is said that the tragic poet usually, though not necessarily, draws his plots from the well known histories of a few mythical families which afford the fitting Recognitions and Catastrophes, keeping the names and traditional characters of the personages, but that none

the less he should display invention of his own in the artistic treatment of this material. αὐτὸν δὲ εὐρίσκειν δεῖ καὶ τοῖς προδεδομένοις μύθοις χρῆσθαι καλῶς.

It is of course impossible to delete altogether with Ribbeck vv. 240-3, some of the best and most Horatian lines in Horace. But they would be much better away from their present context, where they strangely interrupt a discussion of the style of the Satyr drama, *Silenus* v. 239 evidently referring to the *Cyclops* of Euripides and *Fauni* v. 244 to the Satyr chorus. Editors who retain them have to apply a little gentle violence to make them refer to the style of the Satyr play: but the expressions which are most refractory in this view *ex noto fictum carmen sequar*, and *de medio sumptis*, are just those which are most effective in the proposed context, the first stating Horace's preference for the usual course *famam sequi* (hence *sequar*), and the second anticipatory and clearing up the meaning of *communis*.

The above interpretation is not dependent on the proposed transference though less obvious without it. But if such transference solves two *crucis* at once and makes both contexts quite clear and smooth, it seems worth consideration in the case of a writer so deliberate and fastidious, so careful

ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici.

H. J. MAIDMENT.

AD APULEIUM.

Met. iv. c. 23, p. 85, 14 v. d. Vliet (Teubner, 1897):

'nec mora cum latrones ultra <solitum> anxii atque solliciti remeant, nullam quidem prorsus sarcinam vel omnino licet vilem laciniam ferentes sed tantum <totis> gladiis, totis manibus, immo factionis suae cunctis viribus unicam virginem filo liberalem—advehebant.'

'totis' addidit v. d. Vliet: ego in 'tantum' (tantū) latere puto 'tantis' i.e. 'tot,' cf. p. 125. 12 'tantorum seminum,' p. 67. 4 'rerum tantarum.' -If pro compendio -ū legebatur. Simili errore p. 56. 9 in F 'nonen' scriptum est pro 'non enim' (non enī).

Met. vi. c. 16, p. 129. 20:

'iam tu quidem maga videris quaedam mihi et alta prorsus malefica.'

Exemplorum copia docent viri docti verba 'magus et maleficus' (vel: veneficus) sic iungi solere, cf. etiam Apul. *Apol.* c. 78 (p. 96, 6, v. d. Vl.). Inde est quod nulla quantum scio editio est post Oudendorpianam quae non spreta *Codicis* Fauctoritate, *Codicis* φ lectionem 'maga' exhibeat. Et tamen illius fidem satis firmiter stabilitam puto. Quod aliud est verborum artissima coniunctio, aliud eorundem interruptus tenor, ut levius fortasse argumentum omitto: sed notandum est pronomen 'quaedam' suas proprias partes hic agere, ut addito adiectivo

'magna' vim substantivi nominis efficiat (p. 218. 16 quidam procerus, p. 240. 22 vilis aliqua, p. 191. 19 cuiusdam pauperis), potentemque illam magiae artem teete indicari, sicut p. 62. 15, ubi Pamphile (maga) magis suis artibus reformari dicitur: fuere qui et illic 'magicis' rescriberent (coll. p. 67. 25 artis magicæ), inter eos v. d. Vliet, haud aequo facilem illic errorem librario imputantes atque hic in vocibus 'magna-maga.' Conferantur quæ in Actis Apostolorum de Simone mago scripta sunt 8. 9, 10: 'ἀνὴρ δὲ τις ὀνόματι Σίμων προῦπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων καὶ ἐξιστάνων τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας, λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν, ὃ προσείχον πάντες ἀπὸ μικροῦ ὥς μεγάλου λέγοντες· Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη.'

Met. vi. c. 26, p. 137. 7 :

'nam et illa ipsa praeclara magia tua vultum laboresque tibi tantum asini < dedit >, verum corium non asini crassum sed hirundinis tenue membranulum circumdedit.'

Pro 'hirundinis' 'hominis' v. d. Vliet, 'hirundinis' antiquiorum nonnulli scripserunt. Remedium petendum est ex Plinio *H.N.* 16. 31 'Cortex quibusdam membranaceus, ut viti, harundini.'

Met. vii. c. 7, p. 147. 6 (Haemon latro in exilium cum uxore proficiscentem procuratorem principis, dum in taberna pernoctant, adgreditur) :

'invadimus et diripimus omnia nec tamen periculo levi temptati discessimus. simul namque primum sonum ianuae matrona percepit, procurrens in cubiculum clamoribus inquietis cuncta miscuit, milites suosque famulos nominatim sed et omnem viciniam suppetiatum convocans.'

Quis sibi persuadebit 'singularis pudicitiae feminam' (p. 146. 20) extra cubiculum noctem egisse vel redeuntem milites illic invenisse? Profecto aut 'cubiculo' scripsit Apuleius (p. 203. 16: 'procurrit cubiculo') aut, quod verisimilius est, 'in publicum' (p. 48. 5: 'civitas omnis in publicum effusa' (sic Gruter pro 'populum')). Procurrens = domo procurrens, cf. p. 138. 4 'virgo captiva—vocis exitu procurrens.'

Vitium inde ortum esse puto quod librarius aliquis propter impressionum confusionem, cum sonum saepius occurrentis litterae auribus memoriaque teneret, eandem litteram etiam alieno loco intrudebat, id quod in librorum transcriptione haud raro factum esse scimus, hodieque fieri experiuntur qui

typothetarum plagulas corrigere solent.¹ Sic aliquis per errorem scripserat 'procurrens in cubiculum clamoribus,' quod sequens librarius in 'cubiculum' corrigendum existimabat.

Met. vii. c. 18, p. 155. 12 :

'cum fluvium transcenderemus qui forte praeter viam defluebat, peronibus suis ab aquae madore consulens ipse quoque insuper lumbos meos insiliens residebat.'

Immo 'per viam' ut in montuosis regionibus fieri adsolet: et quid opus erat flumen transire iuxta viam defluens? Cf. Lucian. *Or.* p. 599 (c. 29) 'καὶ ποταμὸς ἦν ἀένας ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ· ὁ δὲ τῶν ὑποδημάτων φειδόμενος ὀπίσω τῶν ξέλων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καθίζων ἐπέρα τὸν ποταμόν.'

Met. vii. c. 19, p. 156. 13 (Asinus stupam ardentem tergo vehens leto proximus est) :

'iamque fomento tenui calescens et enutritus ignis surgebat in flammam et totum me funestus ardor invaserat nec ullum pestis extremae suffugium nec salutis aliquod apparet solacium et ustrina talis moras non sustinens [et] maturiora consilia praevertitur.'

Sic v. d. Vliet pro 'meliora.' Praetulerim 'pleniora,' coll. p. 225. 1 'et magnam domus cladem ratus indigere consilio pleniora—'

Met. vii. c. 21, p. 157. 7 (Asinum calumniatur mulio) :

'ut quemque enim viatorum prospexit sive illa scitula mulier sive virgo nubilis seu tener puellus, eos ilico disturbato gestamine, nonnunquam etiam ipsis stramentis abiectis, furens incurrit et homines amator talis appetit et humi prostratis illis inhians illicitas atque incognitas temptat libidines et ferinas voluptates aversa Venere invitat ad

¹ Huius communis fere hominum erroris exempla dedimus in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 1. p. 52, unde apparebat etiam sequentis alicuius syllabae vel litterae sonum, prioris impressionem saepe turbare: quod passus est ille qui scripsit ix. c. 36, p. 216. 3 'canes—transcurrentium viatorum passibus morsibus alumnatos,' ubi non cum Colvio 'passivis' correctum velim sed 'passim,' sicuti Eyssenhardt edidit. Adverbia enim cum substantivis verbalibus quae vocantur ab Apuleio iungi solere, praeter cetera exempla docent iv. c. 1, p. 68. 9 'iamque nos (sc. iumenta) omni sarcina levigatos in pratrum proximum passim libero pastui tradidere' = ut passim libere pascere; viii. c. 15, p. 174. 27 'lupos—nimia ferocitate saevientes, passim rapinis aduetos infestare cunctam illam regionem,' nisi quis maluerit torta interpretatione 'passim' aut ad 'saevientes' referre aut ad 'infestare.' Dubium est iii. c. 3, p. 49. 18: 'iuvenem—passim caedibus operantem.'

nuptias. nam imaginem etiam savii mentiendo ore improbo compulsat ac morsitat.'

Bursian addit <et> post 'voluptates,' Rohde corrigit 'voluptarius,' v. d. Vliet transponit post 'illicitas.' Ego post 'ferinas' insero <instruens> coll. p. 235. 20 'et quo se patrono commendationem faceret, studiosissime voluptates eius per meas argutias instruebat,' p. 275. 7 'si quam rem voluptati struendae moliris,' p. 154. 18 'aliam mihi denuo pestem instruxit,' p. 77. 28 'publicas voluptates instruebat.'

Met. vii. c. 23, p. 158. 13 :

'nefas,' ait 'tam bellum asinum sic enecare et propter luxuriam lasciviamque amatoriam criminatum opera servitioque tam necessario carere.'

Graviore remedio usus v. d. Vliet ita rescripsit: 'et propter luxuriam lasciviamque, amatoria crimina, tam <utili> opera servitioque tam necessario carere,' cum lucidus ordo restitui possit, si verba 'sic enecare et' transponas post 'criminatum.'

Met. viii. c. 10, p. 171. 7 :

'Nec isto sermone Thrasyllus sobriefactus vel saltem tempestiva pollicitatione recreatus identidem pergit linguae lactantis susurros improbos inurgere.'

Ad *Codicum* F et ϕ scripturam 'lingue satiati' (quod tamen in F inductum est) propius accedit aut 'lingua satianti,' aut quod Colvius coniecit 'linguae satiantis.' Neque id a re alienum: Thrasylli instantia taedium affert Charitae ut quae totum huius machinationem iam diu perspexerit. Cf. p. 101. 12 'haec autem novissima quam fetu satiante postremus partus effudit—' De abl. in -i cf. p. 194. 21 'stagnanti.'

Met. viii. c. 23, p. 180. 25 :

'— civitatem quandam populosam et nobilem iam fessi pervenimus. inibi larem sedesque perpetuas pastores illi statuere decernunt quod et longe quaesituris <nullae magis> firmae latebrae <fore> viderentur et annoiae copiosae beata celebritas invitabat.'

Falsa, ut opinor, interpretandi ratione ductus v. d. Vliet—is enim 'longe' cum 'quaesituris' iungebat—verbis supplendis ambiguitatem tollere conatus est; nam dubium videbatur utri quaesituri essent, illine qui pastores utpote servos fugitivos indagarent an ipsi fugitivi novas sedes petentes. Sed notandus est usus ille Apuleianus, quo 'longe' (= valde, cf. p. 25. 25 'tibi longe provisum cupio') gradu positivo adiungitur ut eliciatur super-

latus (longe firmae = firmissimae), cf. p. 17. 15 'longe opulentus' et praecipue p. 103. 14 'longe firmiter': adverbium autem interposito nomine ab adiectivo suo separatum haud semel apud nostrum invenies.¹ 'Quaesituris' autem non potius esse participium puto quam substantivum inter alia plura ab Apuleio inventum neque absurdum videtur cum 'firmae' cum ablativo (= a quaesituris) iunxisse, si quidem stilo eius convenit, cf. p. 176. 29 'qua caveremus clade,' Flor. xiv. p. 164. 4. v. d. Vl. 'ni—circumstantis coronae obtutu magistri secreta defendisset.' Conferatur etiam *Hist. Bell. Alexandr.* i. 'Incendio tuta Alexandria.'

Met. viiii. c. 14, p. 198. 18 :

'fabulam denique bonam, praeceteris suave comptam, ad aures vestras adferre decrevi.'

'Suavem compertu' edidit v. d. Vliet. Adverbio 'suave' (cf. p. 95. 12 'suave recubans') integro relicto, cum Colvio scripserim 'conditam,' sicuti in Flor. xx. p. 186. 16 'ego et alias crateras Athenis bibi: poeticae cōmtam (F. 'cōmtam' ϕ), geometriae limpidam, musicae dulcem, dialecticae austerulam' Scioppius recte 'conditam' coniecit.

Met. viiii. c. 22, p. 205. 11 :

'revelatis luminibus libere iam cunctas facinorosae mulieris artes prospectare poteram.'

Lectionis 'libere iam' quae est in Juntina pro 'liber etiam,' quod in 'liber iam' mutat Rohde, suffragatur p. 54. 7 'risus libere iam exarsit in plebem.'

Met. viiii. c. 37, p. 216. 20 (Fratres fratri dum is a canibus dilaceratur, auxiliatur) :

'obvolutisque lacinia laevis manibus lapidum crebris iactibus propugnare fratri atque abigere canes adgrediuntur.'

Qui scuto carent, brachium laevum vestimento tegere solere nota res est; sed quibus o m i n u s contra canes pugnandum est neque inde ullum telum verendum, quid in illa re tutelae sit, non magis liquet quam

¹ p. 60. 21 'coram magiae noscendae,' p. 58. 21 'iam capillos absconditos,' p. 115. 16 'commodum Venerem lavantem,' p. 149. 10 'ex animo quidem meo sententiam conducibilem,' p. 148. 26 'arbitror latrones nihil anteferre lucro suo debere ac ne ipsam quidem saepe et aliis damnosam ultionem' (= ac saepe ne ipsam quidem ultionem, quamvis etiam damnum afferat aliis); in locis qui leguntur p. 59. 13 'ignorabiliter lamminis litteratis,' p. 66. 8 'temere fascem lignorum positum' verborum ordinem mutavit v. d. Vliet, idemque fecit Luetjohann p. 37. 12 'probe calicibus cefricatis,' nescio quo iure.

quomodo non augeatur salutis periculum fratri sub ipsis canibus iacenti, dum lapides in canes iaciuntur. Corrigo 'ictibus': comminus enim fratres cum canibus proeliantur, idque faciunt quod c. 40 hortulanus facit qui militem 'sublime elatum terrae graviter applodit et statim de via lapide correpto totam faciem manusque eius et latera converberat.'

Mox unus e fratribus inermis impetum facit in armatum invenem qui canes illos incitavit et (c. 38, p. 217. 26)

'complexu fortissimo arripit eius dexteram magnoque nisu ferro liberato multis et crebris ictibus impuram elidit divitis animam.'

Iniuria v. d. Vliet 'librato' edidit: 'nisus' enim non est 'impetus' sed 'raptus,' ut p. 137. 19 'et alacri statim nisu lorum quo fueram destinatus abrumpo.'

Met. xi. c. 30, p. 276. 19:

'instructum teletae comparo largitus, ex studio pietatis magis quam mensura rerum < mearum impendiis > collatis.'

Adverbium 'largitus' recte vindicat v. d. Vliet: in sequentibus autem quae in F ita scripta sunt:

1
mensura 4 colatis

in φ: insura 4 colatis

solus Kaibel emendandi viam indicasse videtur dum scribit 'quam mensura commoditatis'; sic et ὁμοιοτέλετον (pietatis—commoditatis) restituitur et utraque pars sententiae aequabili pondere procedit: sed praetulerim 'mensura facultatis' hoc est 'facultatis' (cf. Ital. facultà). Litterae f et r (mensurarum) in scriptura longobardica fere sunt similes; de singulari numero cf. *de Plat. dogm.* c. 4, p. 84. 1, Goldb: 'avaritia atque lascivia, quarum altera liberalitatem coerces, altera immoderatus fundendo patrimonia prodigit facultatem.'

Apol. c. 22, p. 30. 23 v. d. Vliet (Teubner 1900):

(Ad vitae usum pera et baculo contentum esse verum philosophum cum Cratete sentit Apuleius, citatque illius:)

'πῆρῃ τις πόλις ἐστὶ μέσῳ ἐν οἴνοπι τύφῳ'
(tum continuo ad accusatorem suum pergit:)
'<omitto> iam cetera tam magnifica, quae si tu legisses, magis mihi peram quam nuptias Pudentillae invidisses.'

Omitto quod ex litteris ΤΩΝΤΩ, quae in MS. post τυφῳ leguntur, eruit Jahn, exulet; in litteris enim illis nihil latere nisi NO. CLXIV. VOL. XVIII.

'ΠΟΝΤΩι'—initio versus Κρήνη in *Cod.* extat pro πῆρῃ, conflatis scilicet Homeri et Cratetis versibus—vidit Spengel (*Rhein. Mus.* N.F. xvi. p. 28). Animadvertas etiam velim, sicuti, hoc loco ΤΩ(ΝΤΩ) ex ΠΟ(ΝΤΩ) corruptum est, contra p. 100. 28 (ΕΛΘΕ)ΠΟ esse scriptum pro (ΕΛΘΕ)-ΤΩ. Neque in verbis 'iam cetera c. q. s.' quidquam desideratur: per 'iam' transitio indicatur ut *Met.* p. 254. 18 'iam gestamina longe diversa,' p. 96. 3 'iam ceteras partes,' *Apol.* p. 37. 21 'iam et illa similia'; 'tam' autem significat 'aeque,' ut *Apol.* p. 16. 8 'nam cetera omnia, credo quia tam lepida non erant, igni deussit.'

Apol. c. 24, p. 32. 16:

'De patria mea vero, quod eam sitam Numidia et Gaetuliae in ipso confinio meis scriptis ostendi dicis—non, video quid mihi sit in ea re pudendum.'

'Ita v. d. VI. ex Kruegeri coniectura; in MSS. est 'ostendi scis.' Cum autem Apuleius non Aemilianum solum sed et ceteros calumniatores alloquatur (c. 22 'cum ad contumeliam diceretis,' c. 25 'nomen vos puditum est'), corrigendum est 'ostendistis.' Recte se habet tempus perfectum: rem enim non diffilietur Apuleius.

Apol. c. 41, p. 54. 18:

'Nunc praeterea vide quam ipsi sese revincant. aiunt mulierem magicis artibus, marinis illecebris, a me petitam eo in tempore, quo me non negabant in Gaetuliae mediterraneis montibus fuisse, ubi pisces ꝓ deucalionis diluvia repperiuntur.'

v. d. Vliet edidit: '—post D.d. <non> repperiuntur,' Ellis (*Class. Rev.* xv. p. 48) supplet '<via> repperiuntur' (where D.'s flood will hardly permit fish to be found), suspicatus etiam in 'per' latero posse 'super.' Faciliore remedio utendum puto et rescribendum 'repperirentur' (εἰρεθεῖεν ἄν); 'per Deucalionis diluvia' idem est quod 'Deucalionis temporibus,' cf. *Met.* p. 241. 1 'per absentiam mariti' (ubi nemini de Beroaldi emendatione pro 'prae abstinence mariti' dubium esse confido).

Apol. c. 63, p. 79. 18 (Ligneo Mercuriolo, quem summa religione colebat Apuleius, Aemilianus accusator nomen 'sceletum' invenerat):

'en vobis, quem scelestus ille sceletum nominabat.'

Quod aptius convicium quam id quod *Cod.* F servavit 'scelestus ille' iaci poterat in illum

qui alibi 'Charon' audit (p. 72. 6), alibi 'capularis senex' (p. 84. 4)? Cf. etiam p. 80. 10 'hunc denique qui larvam putat, ipse est larvans,' p. 80. 17 'sepulcrorum tericulamenta, a quibus aevo et merito laud longe abes,' p. 24. 6 'mirarere tot in facio tua sulcos rugarum.'

Apol. c. 64, p. 80. 21:

'quin altitudinis studio secta ista (Platonica) etiam caelo ipso sublimiora quae-
piam investigavit et in extimo mundi *ter-
goretit*:'

v. d. Vliet 'tergo retexit,' Spengel 'restitit' (Plato *Phaedr.* 247 c: ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ῥώτῳ), rectius Ellis (*Clas. Rev.* xv. p. 48) 'stetit'; cf. Apul. in libro *de Plat. et eius dogm.* c. 10, p. 72. 3 Goldb.: 'si hic olim chorus antiquus (sc. caelestium siderum) steterit.'

Apol. c. 84, p. 102. 5 (In epistula ad filium scripta, ipsa Pudentilla negaverat se ab Apuleio magicis artibus in ipsius amorem esse inductam):

'Ἐγὼ οὔτε μεμάγεμαι οὐτ' ἐρῶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκφ.'

Litteras ἐκφ. varie explent viri docti. Cum autem Ap. subnectat:

'reclamat vobis Pudentilla et sanitatem suam a vestris calumniis quodam praeconio vindicat, nubendi autem seu rationem seu necessitatem fato adscribit'

unde apparet Pudentillam magiam quidem negare, nubendi autem voluntatem confiteri sed fato tribuere, verba graeca sic interpretor: 'Ego neque incantata sum, neque praeter fatum amo'¹ et suppleo 'τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκφ ἐγὼ οὐ σά,' coll. Plat. *Gorg.* 512E: πιστεύοντα ταῖς γυναιξίν, ὅτι τὴν εἰμαρμένην οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἐκφύγοι.

Apol. c. 90, p. 109. 9:

'atque ego scio, plerosque reos—hoc uno se abunde defendisse, vitam suam procul ab huiusmodi sceleribus abhorrere—; haec ego quamquam possim merito dicere, famen vobis condono.'

Scaligeri coniecturam 'atqui' non debuit recipere v. d. Vliet: verba 'atque ego scio' significant 'scio quidem—' sed his argumentis uti nolo (= haec ego quamquam possim dicere), cf. c. 56, p. 71. 17 'Atque ego scio, nonnullos et cum primis Aemilianum—res divinas deridere.—sed (p. 72. 12)

¹ Odiosum amoris nomen, ab adversariis inventum, per ironiam adservat Pudentilla.

ego, quid de me Mezentius sentiat, manum non vorterim.' Nep. *Epam.* 2. 3.²

Apol. c. 102, p. 124. 10 (Respondet Apuleius Aemiliano qui eum criminatus erat quod veneficiis (i.e. magicis incantationibus) in amorem Pudentillae viduae se insinuvasset, ut per eius nuptias divitior evaderet filiorumque rem familiarem interverteret, demonstratque in omnibus rebus se privignorum potius quam suis commodis prospexisse):

'o grave veneficium dicam, an ingratum veneficium?'

In his ut interpretationi sufficientibus nihil muto, quamquam ego equidem non dubito quin Apuleius, figurarum quae vocantur studiosissimus concinnator, per oxymoron simul et antithesin scripserit: 'o gratum (sc. privignis) veneficium—'

Florid. xvi. p. 170. 15 v. d. Vliet (Philemonem in theatro dum frustra expectant homines, missi sunt qui accirent):

'atque eum in suo sibi lectulo mortuum offendunt. commodum ille anima edita obriguerat, iacebatque incumbens toro, similis cogitanti: adhuc manus volumini implexa, adhuc os recto libro impressus; sed enim animae vacuus, libri oblitus et auditorii securus.'

'lecto libro' v. d. Colvii coniectura ediderunt Krueger et v. d. Vliet. Non ita diu est cum nescio qui vir doctus codicum scripturam ita, si recte recorder, interpretaretur quasi poeta, dum manu caveret ne liber evolutus ('rectus') sponte rursus revolveretur, legens esset mortuus pronusque super librum corruens facie eum contexisset. Cum autem nemo librum dum legit ore tangat vel premat, fieri non potest ut qui ita procumbat speciem legentis nedum cogitantis praebeat, nec non aegre con-

² Sic et alibi mutavit editor, quod auctoris usus ut integrum vindicat, velut *Apol.* c. 45, p. 59. 3 'postremo quid vis?' (= p. 98. 5), ubi 'quid vis?' transposuit v. d. VI.; c. 18, p. 26. 14 'haec flagitia divitiarum alumni solent' (cf. *Mel.* vi. c. 9, p. 124. 10 'cachinnum extollit qualem solent furenter irati'), ubi v. d. VI. '<esse> solent' edidit: huius verbi solent aliquid passiva forma est participium 'sucus'. *Ap.* c. 3, p. 6. 13 'multa in me proprio conflictu et alia communiter in philosophis sunt ab imperitiis': *Ap.* c. 64, p. 76. 8 'qui multi factum voluit' (= *de Plat. dogm.* p. 91. 18 Goldb. 'studium illis instaurare velle'), quod per 'gratum' factum supplevit v. d. VI., prave autem interpretatus defendit Ellis (*Clas. Rev.* xv. p. 48) [vid. Cassin. in edit. Oudend. ii. p. 532]; *Apol.* c. 103 p. 125. 19 'dotales tabulas accipe, donationem recordare, testamentum lege,' ubi 'tabulas' quod addidit v. d. VI. removendum est, ut stet promisso Apuleius, binis verbis se responsurum (vs. 14).

cedetur una manu duas voluminis partes dextra laevaue distineri posse. Verum ita res se habet: librum ille ad perpendiculum (rectum) manu tenebat, convolutum, sed digito illic inserto ubi inter legendum substiterat, mox continuaturus; ima pars voluminis nititur lectulo, idque eius brachii manu tenetur in quod procumbit poeta; summam, dum cogitat, ore premit, non facie dico sed ipso ore, sicut homo ille cogitabundus quem Rodin sculptor Gallus confecit, os manu inversa fuleit. Ita dum moritur, gravationis leges habitum hominis servant.

De deo Socrat. c. 6, p. 11. 5 Goldb. (=p. 10. 3 Luetj.):

‘per hos eosdem (i.e. daemones), ut Plato in *Symposio* autumat, cuncta denuntiata et magorum varia miracula omnesque praesagiorum species reguntur.’

Intercidisse <vatum>, quod ante ‘cuncta’ invero, tam genitivi sequentes ‘magorum’ et ‘praesagiorum’ indicant, quam verba Platonis in *Symp.* 202 E: διὰ τούτου καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πᾶσα χωρεῖ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἱερέων τέχνη τῶν τε περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπωδὰς καὶ τὴν μαγανείαν πᾶσαν καὶ γοητείαν.

De deo Socr. c. 11, p. 14. 14 Goldb. (=p. 12. 22 Luetj.):

‘quod si nubes sublime volitant, quibus omnis et exortus est terrenus et retro defluxus in terras, quid tandem censes daemonum corpora, quae sunt concreta multo tanto subtilior...? non enim ex hac faeculenta nubecula tumida caligine conglobata, sicut nubium genus est, sed ex illo purissimo aeris liquido et sereno elemento coalita eoque nemini hominum temere visibilia e. q. s.’

Ultima verba emendasse videtur Luetjohann scribens ‘non enim ex hac faeculentae nubeculae fumida caligine,’ quamquam etiam in sequentibus ‘purissimi’ correctum velim. De ‘non enim’ cum adiectivo vel participio cf. *Met.* p. 56. 9 ‘non enim laeta facie,’ p. 204. 9 ‘non enim deterritis.’

In verbis ‘quae sunt concreta multo tanto subtilior’—ubi de codicum vera scriptura ‘multo tanta’ dubium esse iam non potest, cf. Leo in *Archiv für lat. Lexic.* xii. p. 99—

laecunam quam statuit Goldbacher una littera supplevit Luetjohann ‘subtiliora’ scribens; ‘concreta’ enim pro substantivo adhibitum putat ut supra § 34 ‘corporum texta.’ Cum autem in illo exemplo propter substantivum in casu genetivo additum nihil sit subsidii, correxerim: ‘quae sunt concretio multa tanta subtilior,’ coll. c. 15, p. 18. 9 (= p. 15. 19 Luetj.) ‘corpus atque animum duobus nominibus comprehendentes, quorum communio et copulatio sumus.’

De Platone et eius dogm. ii. c. 22, p. 97, 10 Goldb.:

‘sapientia amatorem boni adolescentem facit, sed eum, qui probitate ingenii sit ad artes bonas promptior. nec deformitas corporis talem abigere poterit adpetitum, nam cum ipsa anima complacita est, homo totus adamatur: cum corpus expetitur, pars eius deterior est cordi. iure igitur putandum est eum, qui sit gnarus bonorum, cupitorem quoque eiusmodi rerum esse; is enim solus bonis desideriis accenditur, qui bonum illud oculis animi videt [hoc esse sapientem]. † istud vero quoniam est ignarus, osor quoque nec amicus virtutum sit necesse est.’

Quod inclusit Wower, qui tamen in suo libro legebat ‘hoc est esse sapientem,’ Goldbacher emendare conabatur scribebatque ‘hoc est sapientem,’ suspicatus etiam—quod erat consequens—pro ‘illud’ legendum esse ‘illum.’ Sed per ‘bonum illud’ significatur id cuius, ut supra scriptum est, ‘amatorem sapientia adolescentem facit,’ et verba ‘qui bonum illud oculis animi videt’ spectant ad Plat. *Phaed.* 65 D: Ἦδὲ οὖν πρόποτέ τι τῶν τοιούτων (sc. τῶν δικαίων καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν) τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδες; Interpolationem profectam esse puto ab aliquo qui nesciret quid esset bonum illud.

Ea quoque sequuntur, ubi Goldb. temptabat ‘iste vero qui boni (vel bonorum) est ignarus’ sic lego:

‘istudiosus vero e. q. s.’ Idem adiectivum—sed addita negatione—est in *Apol.* p. 52. 7 ‘medicinae neque instudiosus neque imperitus.’

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NOTES ON THE EMPHATIC NEUTER.

SEVERAL years ago certain idiomatic uses of Latin neuters attracted the writer's attention and examples began to accumulate. A somewhat careful search in the meantime has failed to discover any published discussion of these neuters, or any mention of them in the grammars or the handbooks of Latin style. It is hoped therefore that the following observations may not be without interest.

It is so common in English to emphasize by saying 'Nothing could be finer, more agreeable,' or the like, that it is easy to overlook a striking peculiarity of certain analogous Latin phrases. Pliny writes (*Letters* i. 22):

Nihil est enim illo gravius sanctius doctius, ut mihi non unus homo, sed litterae ipsae omnesque bonae artes in uno homine summum periculum adire videantur.

Now a *thing* may be *gravis* in the physical sense, it may even be *sanctus*, but it cannot be *doctus*. Pliny evidently means to say that no one in the circle of his acquaintance possessed in larger measure the dignity, uprightness, and range of culture which the best Romans admired in their noblest men. Why then does he not say just that? *Nemo* was the precise word, always available, always in good use, from Plautus to Suetonius. Could *nihil* have been a slip, or an intrusion of the resurgent *sermo plebeius*?

The range of this peculiar idiom is very wide. Its essence is the coupling with certain neuters, *nihil*, *quid*, etc., of epithets or statements which are strictly applicable only to intelligent and moral beings. Examples follow, which might be greatly extended:

Pl. *Men.* 620 Nihil hoc confidentius, qui quae vides ea pernegat.

Also 630, *Trin.* 199-202 and elsewhere.

Ter. *Adel.* 98 Homine imperito numquam quicquam iniustius.

Also 366 (nil quicquam). *Har. Tim.* 255 (quid).

Catullus 9. 11 Quid me laetius est beatiusve?

Cic. *Att.* 5. 1. 3 Nihil tam vidi mite, nihil tam placatum quam tum meus frater erat in sororem tuam. Also in sections 4 and 5 of the same letter.

Caes. *Att.* 9. 16. 3 Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse iucundius.

Nepos, *Alcib.* 1 Constat enim . . . nihil

illo fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus.

Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 18, 19 Nil fuit unquam sic impar sibi, that is, nobody was ever such a bundle of contradictions [as Tigellius]. Also *Odes* i. 12. 17, 18.

Martial i. 10 Adcone pulchra est [Maronilla]? Immo foedius nil est.

Juv. x. 278, 279 Quid illo cive tulisset | natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam?

These examples are without exception neuter or interrogative with a negative implication. *Quid*, *nihil* (*nil*), and *quicquam* are the prevailing neuters. In every instance *nemo*, *quis*, or *quisquam* would be the more precise word, and would correspond with good usage in English, where an imitation of the Latin would be not only incorrect, but often ludicrous or impertinent.

It will not be superfluous perhaps to dwell for a moment upon the distinctive meaning of these expressions. Demosthenes (*de Corona* 47) uses οὐδέν like *nihil*, and three editions taken at random interpret in as many ways. One says the neuter indicates 'contempt;' the second makes it suggest the character rather than the man, the third finds in it simply emphasis.

For the Latin the third view is undoubtedly the correct one. If we frame an English expression like this: 'In peace no virtue so becomes a man as modest stillness and humility,' clearly we have said something much less forceful than Shakspeare's 'In peace there's *nothing* so becomes a man,' etc. So when Clitipho says to his friend (Ter. *Har. Tim.*, 295, 296), *Si haec sunt, Clinia, | vera, ita ut credo, quis test fortunatior?* all seems natural and as forcible as English could make it. But Catullus (ix. 10, 11), exulting in the return of his long-absent friend, anticipating with keenest zest the renewal of social joys, throws logic to the winds and cries,

O quantum est hominum beatiorum,
quid me laetius est beatiusve?

That is to say, *no man, no woman, no rollicking boy at play, no hero reclining at a banquet of the gods, was ever more radiantly happy than I.*

Considering the evident fondness of the

Latin writers for this form of emphasis, it seems probable that whenever *nihil*, or a similar neuter, is used in a comparison with masculine or feminine nouns, the expression is more emphatic than the (apparently) parallel English forms. To us all sexless objects are alike neuter: to the Latin writers not so.

In his *Laelius* (50) Cicero says *nihil est enim appetentius similium sui nec rapacius quam natura*. Is it not probable that the writer intended to cover all beings, natures, elements, animate and inanimate that could be conceived of as coveting their like? So Caesar writes to Cicero (*Att.* 9. 16), *nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate*. Is not this intentionally more sweeping than *nullum vitium* etc.? Cicero says (*Flam.* 15. 4. 4) *nec est quicquam Cilicia contra Syriam munitius*: this certainly is more sweeping, more emphatic, than if he had used *ulla provincia*, or *ulla regio*.

We turn now to certain neuters found in expressions not negative, where emphasis is secured in a slightly different way. While *nihil*, *quicquam*, and *quid* in questions implying a negative, emphasize by exclusion, *quicquid*, *quantum*, and *quid* in exclamations produce a similar effect by inclusion. Thus in Ter. *Hau. Tim.* 247, we have *portant quid rerum!* What a load of things! In 254, *di boni, quid turbaest!* So in 255, *Andria* 745, and *Phor.* 853 (*quantum*).

Catullus is fond of this inclusive neuter. In 3. 1, 2 we find

Lugete, O Veneres Cupidinesque,
et quantum est hominum venustiorum.

Other examples occur in 9. 10 (already quoted), and in 31. 14. Compare the first two with Ter. *Phor.* 853. Horace has this use of *quicquid* in *Sat.* i. 6. 1, and *Epode* v. 1. Livy xxiii. 9. 3. *Iurantes per quicquid deorum est*. That is, by every god above, below. Cicero's *quicquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri* (*in Cat.* i. 18) is like saying, At every rustle of man or mouse.

Typical examples illustrating the difference between the simple relative *quod* and the more inclusive *quicquid* may be taken from the *Andria*. In line 464, Mysis says, *nam quod peperisset iussit tolli* [*Pamphilus*]. That is, *be it male or female, he has promised to acknowledge it*. Earlier in the play Davus is expressing himself in a very different mood. He has no sympathy with his young master's feelings as a lover and prospective father, and besides he forebodes a flogging for himself. Hence he says (219) *quicquid peperisset decreverunt tollere. Be it*

male or female, sound or sickly, an infant Apollo or a monstrosity, they have decided to rear the brat. This fairly expresses Davus' mood, whether the poet distinctly thought of such a catalogue or not. The neuter indefinite is certainly broad enough to cover the amplest list of undesirables.

Tennyson has elegantly imitated this use of *quicquid* in his *In Memoriam* xviii. 'And come, whatever loves to weep.' And Henley wrote

'I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.'

If these two related uses of the Latin neuter deserve a name, they may perhaps be classed together with sufficient accuracy as *the emphatic neuter*, the one type emphasizing by exclusion and the other by inclusion.

When this usage is distinctly recognized, light is thrown on other expressions which at first seem inaccurate or clumsy. When Horace says (*Epist.* i. 9. 4), *legentis honesta Veronis*, the essential thought is that Tiberius chooses his friends from the ranks of honorable men; but the blanket-signification of the neuter makes the compliment much more telling. Livy (i. 53) makes the people of Gabii comfort 'the false Sextus' by assuring him *in se ipsum postremo sacviturum, si alia desint*. Not that Tarquin was given to venting his spite upon inanimate objects, but the neuter secures by the simplest means the utmost breadth of meaning.

In view of the range and frequency of these emphatic neuters, it may well be that in some passages, where the context does not absolutely require such an interpretation, the usage has been entirely overlooked. A possible instance is found in the *Adelphoz*, 125-127. Demea says with fine scorn, *Pater esse discite ab illis qui vere sciunt*. Micio replies, *Natura tu illi pater es, consiliis ego*. Demea retorts (Dziatzko's text) *Tu consiliis quicquam?* Understand *agis*, says Dziatzko. But why? If the omitted predicate can be taken from the preceding line with as good effect or even better, why should we bring in a new verb, even though it is one that is frequently omitted?

I understand Demea to mean 'Are you anything at all in judgment?' that is, when it comes to sound judgment, you are nobody, nothing. No wonder Micio replies, *Ah! si pergis, abiero*. For *quicquam* in predicate, instead of its more common use as subject, compare the *Tusculan Disputations* (i. 7. 14), *quid enim tam pugnat quam non modo miserum, sed omnino quicquam esse qui non sit?*

In the *Adelphoe* (264) we have the phrase *nil pote supra*, universally rendered, so far as the writer has observed, 'Nothing could be better,' or the like. This is a possible meaning of course. But Ctesipho is here exclaiming over the unselfish devotion of his brother. 'All his interests he has made second to my advantage. He has brought upon his own head the reproaches due to my *amour* and misdeed.' He concludes, *Nil pote supra*. Is not the natural climax this, 'No one could possibly do more'?

In the *Andria* (120) we have a similar phrase, *ut nil supra*. It seems more satisfactory, when careful account is taken of the context, to render in harmony with the usage illustrated above, and make the phrase equivalent to *ut numquam venustiore vultu quisquam fuerit*.

In the *Phormio* (208) Geta says *Hoc nil est, Phaedria. Ilicet*. Possibly it is adequate to say, 'This is nonsense.' But Antipho's remark is true enough. The deficiency which disquiets the versatile Geta is in his young master's personality, not in his language. As a modern Geta might say, 'Antipho hasn't any *sand*.' Now if the emphatic neuter may properly be recognized here, the sense is certainly more satisfactory. '*Phaedria, this fellow's no good. Let's go.*' Such a use of *nil* would be parallel with that in the *Adelphoe*, 394, *Tu quantus quantu's nil nisi sapientia es*. If Syrus had been speaking in the same tone to Micio concerning Demea in the latter's presence, the Latin might have been, *Hoc, quantum quantumst, nil nisi sapientia est*.

For the present, one more instance must suffice. In his *De Finibus*, ii. 55, Cicero relates an interesting incident of a certain Sextilius, who secured a large legacy by a

falsehood of which he could not be convicted. Then follows *Num igitur eum postea censes anxio animo aut sollicito fuisse? Nihil minus contraque illa hereditate dives ob eamque rem laetus*. Reid translates 'Nothing could be less true.' But this again is dragging in a predicate in no way suggested by the foregoing words. *Dives* and *laetus* show clearly that the man, and not the statement is still in mind. The natural rendering, therefore, seems to be, 'No one was less so, but on the contrary he was enriched by that inheritance and happy for that reason.'

It should perhaps be added that this discussion lays no claim to completeness. After a sufficient number of examples were gathered to determine the nature and import of the usage, other questions demanded consideration, and therefore no author has been exhaustively studied with reference to these neuters, and some have not been examined at all.

Interesting queries are suggested. Is the usage essentially colloquial? Caesar uses it in letters, but apparently not in his narrative works. Cicero, on the other hand, employed it in most, if not all, of his most dignified works. Why is it rare in his orations? The *Milo* (ii. 5) contains the only example thus far noted by the writer. Yet it would seem to be precisely the sort of exaggeration suited to popular address. What does it signify if a writer absolutely avoids it, literary fastidiousness, or logical precision?

The writer at least, and perhaps Latinists in general, would be interested in a further discussion of these neuters.

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THE LATIN FUTURE INFINITIVE

(*Crambe repetita*).

Quid Postgatius de origine Latini infinitivi et participii futuri activi senserit. Specimen literarium inaugurale quod—submitte JAN HENDRIK LEOPOLD Leovardensis die xvi mensis Aprilis anno MCMIV hora iii. Leovardiae—apud H.V. Bellium K.Z.N. MCMIV. Pp. vi, 78 (pp. 72-78 Theses).

I DISLIKE as much as most people plodding over the same ground twice; but when

positions which I have defended in eight pages¹ are assailed in seventy, I feel that I owe it to the eminent philologists who have accepted my views to take some notice of the attack. I do so with somewhat less reluctance as most readers of the *Classical Review* have, it is probable, never seen my longer paper.

Dr. Leopold (for I assume that the

¹ *Classical Review* v. (1891) p. 301, *Indogermanische Forschungen* iv. (1894) pp. 252-258.

dissertatio inauguralis which he courteously sent me was successful) has presented my views, with certain exceptions to which I shall refer below, in a form with which I have no fault to find; and from the ease and purity of his Latin style I should infer that upon a purely linguistic question his judgment is not unlikely to be sound. But unfortunately the issues here cannot be decided by a simple appeal to the evidence afforded by the extant literature or to Dr. Leopold's 'leges syntacticae linguae Latinae.' For any solution the aid of comparative grammar or 'historia grammatica' is indispensable. So that when Dr. Leopold denies 'the probability of my conjecture' and very frankly adds 'non is sum qui ex historia grammatica eam diiudicare possim,' I can console myself for my disappointment by the thought of the one-eyed man who complained of the stereoscope on the ground that what it showed him lacked solidity.

Before considering Dr. Leopold's argumentation, it should be said that a large part of his *dissertatio* consists of collections of references and quotations bearing on points raised directly or incidentally by my discussion, such as the substantives in *-tura* (pp. 15, 16), the omission of *sum*, etc. with the fut. part. in *-turus* (pp. 18-25), the occurrences of the future infinitive with and without *esse* in Plautus and Terence, with a table in which he brings out somewhat different totals from myself (pp. 33 *sqq.*) and that these collections will be of service to the student of Latin, whatever value be attached to the author's own conclusions.

In a matter so complicated as the present one, it is all-important that the chief issues should be clearly set out. They are:

A. The usage of the declinable future infinitive.

B. The origin of the declinable future infinitive in the indeclinable future infinitive.

C. The origin of the indeclinable future infinitive.

D. The origin of the periphrastic future participle.

A.—The usage of the Declinable Future Infinitive.

On the theory which Dr. Leopold champions that the declinable infinitive in *-turum* (*esse*), etc. is merely the future participle, we should expect its behaviour to be that of a future participle. But, as I showed in detail, it has, apart from declinability, of

which another account may be given, hardly a single mark of a participle. I take the points of difference seriatim.

1. The non-insertion of the substantive verb *esse*, which is normal in the infinitive,¹ of this supposed periphrasis by the future participle is abnormal in the indicative (and subjunctive) of the same periphrasis.

Dr. Leopold, traversing this statement, quotes to refute it twenty-nine passages of Plautus and Terence. Of this total, four belong to a class by themselves, as they are places where *sunt* (or *sint*) is omitted with the neuter plural nominative *futura*. These are *Amph.* 1133, *Aul.* 432, *Bacch.* 510 and *Trin.* 209. Dr. Leopold deserves credit for collecting these examples which, except *Bacch.* 510 (where I noted that *futillia* had been conjectured) I had overlooked. Two again belong to a type which I expressly excluded (*Idg. F.* p. 256) '*victuri hostes* is very rare except of course when a verb can be at once supplied from the context' (my italics). One example is *Pers.* 378, A. '*Futura's dicto oboediens an non patri?*' B. '*Futura*' where, to speak exactly, the verb of 'being' is not left out, but carried on. The other is *Eun.* 463. Two more are *Stichus* 73 '*neque equidem id factura neque tu ut facias consilium dato*' ('equidem is factura' A, '*ego sum factura*' the Palatine MSS) and *Men.* 119 '*nunc adeo ut facturus dicam*.'

The remaining twenty-one instances are such as *Mil.* 698 '*Quid? nutrice non missurus quidquam quae uernas alit?*' Dr. Leopold, flying in the face of the general opinion, refuses to admit that here we have aphaeresis of the *e* in *es* and that *e.g.* *missurus* above is for *missuru's* or more strictly *missurus's*. He says that he does not understand

'*cur lectio codicum quia daturus, "venturus," "facturus" tradunt non servata sit. Si enim vocabulum "sum," ut supra vidimus, salva sententia omitti potest, multo facilius secunda persona "es" in colloquiis scenicis ubi gestus sonus vultus ad intelligendum multum valent, abesse potest. Quare facio cum iis qui formas "daturus," "venturus" similia scribunt, quae lectio codicum auctoritate nititur.*' (p. 22)

I will leave Dr. Leopold's heresy to be dealt with by the editors of Plautus, and

¹ This observation, so far as I know, has not been disputed during the ten years that have elapsed since it was published and Dr. Leopold accepts it. His figures for the two dramatists are PLAUTUS 118 omissions 26 insertions. Total 144. TERENCE 56 omissions 18 insertions. Total 74. But for all this the grammars continue to mis-state the facts, *e.g.* the recent ones of West (1902), Allen and Greenough (1903) and Hale-Buck (1903).

only ask him these two questions. First, how is it that his ellipse is confined to the masculine singular? Does he not imagine that gesture, tone and expression are as effective when addressed to a female as to a male, to a multitude as to an individual? Secondly, how does he scan *Epid.* 284 'Tum tu igitur calide quidquid acturus age' or, in other words, how does he explain the fact that where the quantity of the final syllable of these forms can be tested it is long?¹

Dr. Leopold quotes from Plautus 134² examples of the periphrastic future and from Terence 35. It would thus appear that there are at most only 6 real cases of omission in the indicative and subjunctive (4 of these being with the one word *futura*) in a total of 169 or deducting the 2 cases of apparent omission in a total of 167. These figures should be compared with those for the future infinitive given under 2.

2. Another surprising feature in the behaviour of the declinable future infinitive is one that emerges when it is compared with the *periphrastic perfect infinitive* which is admittedly formed by *esse* with a participle.³

Dr. Leopold is not content with my simple statement (p. 255) '*Esse* is much less often absent with the perfect than the future,' and suggests that I ought to have counted the Plautine instances of the perfect infinitive, both with and without *esse*. As I did not, he has done it for me with the following result: I take his figures without question:

INFINITIVE	With <i>esse</i>	Without <i>esse</i>
Perfect	115	112 = 49 p.c.
Future	26	118 = 82 p.c.

I could not desire a more obliging opponent.

3. Another peculiarity of our infinitive is the *non-insertion* of its *subject*, as in Plautus, *Pseud.* 565 'neque sim facturus quod *facturum* dixeram,' where they say *me esse* is to be supplied. If *facturum* is really an infinitive,

¹ Dr. Leopold also denies the aphaeresis with the perfect participle and quotes, with similar unconsciousness of any difficulty, *Iud.* 871 'ut nancūs habe.'

² This agrees well with my own enumeration, 128, as I excluded the examples from the Plautine prologues which are 4 according to Dr. Leopold.

³ Dr. Leopold gives a list of passages where the substantive verb is omitted with the perfect in finite moods. This is sheer superfluity and confuses the issue. The omission of the copula with the finite forms of the perfect would be relevant if we were considering its non-insertion in the perfect infinitive. But upon this there is no question.

tive, this is just as intelligible a construction as *Capt.* 193 'ad fratrem quo *ire* dixeram mox iuro' or its exact equivalent in Greek, εἶπον ποιῆσαι. But if *facturum* is the accusative of a participle, it is as astonishing as 'laesum dixeram' for 'laesum me esse' would be. In order to make the omission possible we have to provide an infinitive, and if we provide it by the assumption that there is an omission of *esse*, we are met by the extremely awkward fact, a knowledge of which we owe to the fine observation of Krueger and of Madvig (on *Cic. Fin.* v. 31) that in this particular idiom the insertion of *esse* is the rarest of occurrences. Dr. Leopold does not deal with this argument, nor do I wonder.

4. A difficulty of another kind is presented by a rare but sufficiently attested construction. This is the one first found in Plautus *As.* 364 'quas—Diabulus ipsi *daturus dixit*,' then in Prop. ii. 6. 7 '*uisura* et quamvis numquam *speraret* Vlixen' and Apuleius *Met.* 7. 14 'quoad summos illi *promitterent* honores *habaturi* mihi.'⁴ These constructions might with some little violence be forced to conform to the idiom of (3); and '*daturum*' and '*uisuram*' have been read. But this, as we both agree, is arbitrary. We agree, moreover, that they take their case from their principal subject '*Græcorum modo*.' The only question then is how did they arise. If we regard them as infinitives which have become declinable, they fall at once into line with the rest, corresponding to ἐφη δώσειν, ἤλπισεν ὀψέσθαι, ὑπέσχεοντο ρεμῆν. But Dr. Leopold says they are nominatives *with* infinitives

'nominativus enim cum infinitivo Græcorum modo a verbo sentiendi et declarandi pendens apud poetas Latinos et scriptores argenteae Latinitatis nonnumquam reperitur: Prop. II. 6. 7' c.q.s. (p. 38).

and having said this he proceeds to compare them with other constructions (nominatives with perfect infinitives he calls these) which are obvious imitations of Greek participles '*sensit medios delapsus in hostes*' *Aen.* 2. 377 ἦσθετο πεισών, *Aen.* 10. 500 'gaudet potitus,' χαίρει τυχών, *Georg.* 2. 510 'gaudent perfusi,' χαίρονσι ραινόμενοι, and *Qv. Met.* 9. 545 'superata fateri cogor,' a construction which, though not wholly clear, seems to be an imitation of ὁμολογεῖν with the participle, that with the infinitive being

⁴ *Stat. Theb.* 7. 791 sq. which I formerly quoted does not belong here. Still less do *Virg. Aen.* 4. 519 'moritura' and *Stat. Theb.* 1. 347 'uentura' (quoted by Dr. Leopold) where the participle is an ordinary attribute.

unsuitable to the poet's needs. His remaining example 'sinit perterrita' deserves quotation in full 'at non caede uiri tanta *perterrita* (neuter plural) Lausus, pars ingens belli, sinit agmina' *Aen.* 10. 426.¹

Among imitations of participles should be placed Stat. *Theb.* 7. 791 *sq.* 'non aliter caeco nocturni turbine Cori | *scit peritura* ratis' οἶδεν ἀπολουμένη with a proper graecism: for I can find no Latin authority for the improper one assumed for *scire* by many commentators on Horace *carm.* 3. 27. 73 'uxor inuicti Iouis *esse nescis.*' φησὶν εἶναι justifies *ait esse* and the like. But οἶδα λέγων is one thing and οἶδα λέγειν another.

B.—The origin of the Declinable Future Infinitive in the Indeclinable Future Infinitive.

Starting from the peculiarities in usage which have already been noticed, I contended that the future infinitive was not compounded from the future participle in *-tūrus* with *esse*; but that it was due to an attraction of an old indeclinable future infinitive in *-tūrum* vouched for by Gellius *Noct. Att.* i. 7, named an infinitive by him and compared by him in respect of function to the Greek infinitive: '*futurum* [Cic. *Verr.* V. § 167] non refertur ad rem sicut legentibus temere et incuriose uidetur neque pro participio positum est set uerbum est indefinitum quod Graeci appellant ἀπαρ-έμφοτον.'

Now this indeclinable future infinitive, found occasionally with *esse* but generally without it, is too well attested to be got rid of, though Dr. Leopold does what he can to whittle the evidence away. This evidence has been published more than once already. But as its amount and character are of prime importance to the inquiry, I subjoin from the *C.R.* the list of places in which this infinitive has been seen, marking with an asterisk the instances which Dr. Leopold (pp. 48-56) either doubts or disputes, and thus enabling the reader to form his own judgment upon each portion of the material without wrapping it in the dust of controversy.

Besides the locus classicus in Gellius already cited the construction is mentioned

¹ Dr. Leopold mistakes in supposing that I have passed over these constructions in silence ('quod Postgatus silentio praeterit' p. 38). For at the foot of the page from which he has just been quoting occurs this note 'If the pronoun be omitted' [with the Perf. Inf.] 'the only construction possible is the poetical graecism of Verg. *Aen.* 2. 377 'sensit medios delapsus in hostes.'

by Priscian ix. p. 864; and a large proportion of the passages given below come from these two grammarians.

A.—The Inf. in *-tūrum*. Plautus **True.* 400, *Cas.* *645, *664 (*occisurum*, A *occisurum* in both passages), Cato (ap. Prisc., Jordan p. 26, 7), C. Gracchus (ap. Gell.), *Lucilius ap. Prisc. = xvii. v. 8 (L. Mueller), id. xxx. vv. 107, 108, *C.I.L. i. 197 (lex reperta Bantiae) 18 (4 times), [*C.I.L. i. 198 (lex Acilia repetundarum) restored four times 36, 37 (bis), 44], Laberius in *Gemellis* (v. 51 Ribbeck), Quadrigarius in *Peter's Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae* p. 222, ll. 1, 2 (= Gell. *l.c.*), id. *ib.* p. 232, 6 (= Gell. *l.c.*), Sallust **Jug.* 101. 4, *Varro *de re rust.* i. 68.

B. The Inf. in *-tūrum* contaminated with *esse*. C.I.L. i. *197 25, *198 45, *Sulla ap. Prisc. *l.c.*, Valerius Antias ap. Gell. *l.c.* 'dixerunt omnia . . . processurum esse.'

In addition to these there is the passage of Cic. *Verr.* V. § 167 which furnishes Gellius with a peg for his disquisition 'In oratione Ciceronis quinta in Verrem, libro spectatae fidei, Tironiana cura atque disciplina facto, scriptum fuit Homines tenues . . . neque apud ciues solum Romanos qui et sermonis et iuris et multarum rerum societate iuncti sunt fore se tutos arbitrantur: sed quocumque uenerint, hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum.'

With this list before me I wrote (*Idg. M.* p. 254) 'Early Latin possessed also an *indeclinable fut. inf.*' Dr. Leopold prints the 'Early' in italics and comments as follows:

'non probare possum quod Postgatus contendit in sola prisca Latinitate hunc infinitivum indeclinabilem reperiri nisi forte Valerium Ant., Ciceronem, Sallustium, Varronem huic aetati attribuit.' (p. 56)

There is nothing to warrant the suggestion that I must regard these four writers as belonging to the age of 'prisca Latinitas.' There are such things in language as 'survivals'; and of the four writers Sallust is notorious for his archaisms, Valerius Antias was a contemporary of Sisenna who died in 67, Cicero wrote the passage in question (on which I purposely laid no stress because in Gellius' time its reading was disputed) not later than 69, and unless I deceive myself, there is intentional archaic quaintness in the last passage of all 'pensilia, ut uuac, mala et sorba ipsa ostendunt, quando ad usum oporteat promi quod colore mutato et contractu acinorum si non dempseris ad edendum *ad abiciendum*

descensurum se minitantur,' Varr. *R. R. i.* 68. I think then that an unbiased reader will admit that this infinitive belonged to early, or if you like, earlier Latin and that it was practically extinct before the Augustan era and that he will not be surprised to learn that Priscian *l.c.* says it was often used by the *antiquissimi*.

But Dr. Leopold says it was used in every period of Latin literature :

'aut igitur negandum omnino infinitivum indeclinabilem fut. act. existisse aut concedendum usurpatum esse per omnia tempora litterarum Latinarum. Hæc mihi sententia aridet.' (p. 57)

And on what grounds are we to make this generous concession? On the strength of one place in Gellius himself *Noct. Att. iii. 3. 1* (an obvious utilizing of his own discovery) and one place (will it be believed?) in Gregory of Tours as to which Dr. Leopold himself says that it is an imitation of Gellius (p. 57). This indeclinable infinitive Dr. Leopold sees clearly enough must somehow or other be brought into line with the declinable one; and the device by which he would effect this is the following: That, inasmuch as the form of the fut. act. inf. in *-um* and without *esse* was commoner than the rest of the forms, it was regarded as the true form and was subsequently used indeclinably. These are his words:

'Equidem censeo eius causam repetendam esse ex eo quod infinitivi fut. act. forma in *-um* desinens copula carens frequentior est quam cum copula iuncta: hanc formam igitur habitam pro vero infinitivo posteaque indeclinabiliter usurpatam esse: *dicturum eam* exempli causa iuniorem formam esse quam *dicturam eam*.' (p. 57)

'In fine superioris capitis statui indeclinabilem infinitivum futuri ortum esse e declinabili infinitivo cuius forma in *-um* cadens et numero prævalens causa fuerit eorum scriptores Latini pro formis in *-am*, *-os*, *-as* desinentibus indeclinabiliter scripserint formam in *-um* exeuntem.' (p. 59)

By not one word does Dr. Leopold show that he has the faintest conception of the initial improbability of this hypothesis. To him it seems quite natural that the Romans, possessing a mode of forming the infinitive future, which showed the identity of the subject with the verbal predicate in gender and number, should have perversely substituted for it another mode that showed neither. It is as though the Greeks, while able to say and saying *οἶδα αὐτὸν ἐσόμενον αὐτῇν ἐσόμενήν αὐτοῖς ἐσόμενους αὐτὰς ἐσόμενας, αὐτὰ ἐσόμενα*, had lumped these all together in congruences like *οἶδα αὐτὰς ἐσόμενον*. But even this is to understate the case because the passage of Quadrigarius 'si dum conciderentur, hostium copias ibi occupatas futurum'

shows that we have to postulate a concord such as *ἦδαι τὰς τῶν πολέμιων ἱλας κατεληγμένας ἐσόμενον*. When he has disposed of this, Dr. Leopold must not omit to explain how it comes that Terence's use of the future infinitive shows in general a freer declinability than that of Plautus (as I pointed out on p. 254) if the indeclinable form is *later* than the declinable.

I do not propose to repeat from *Idg. R.* p. 258 the parallels which I have adduced from Latin and elsewhere for the irrational attraction of one word by another and which Dr. Leopold has completely ignored. But I will add from German a striking instance of an infinitive assuming, just as in the present case, the declension of an adjective. The modern High German gerundive in 'ein zu verbessernder Fehler,' 'eine zu lobende Frau,' 'ein nachzunehmendes Beispiel,' is simply the Old and Middle High German inf., *anne* (O.H.G.) and *enne* (M.H.G.); e.g. 'das hûz ist zo sehenne' 'the house is to be seen' which has taken the position of an attribute and the inflexions of an adjective.

C.—Origin of the Indeclinable Future Infinitive.

This infinitive I explained as the fusion of a dative of a verbal stem in *-tu* + *es-om*, an old infinitive from the root *es* 'be' which by regular sound-change would appear as (*e*)*rum* in Latin. Thus *amātū-rum* would come from *amātū* + *erum* and mean 'to be for loving,' from which it is but a short step to the simple sense of futurity. This *erum*, or *esom*, is not otherwise attested for Latin but is found in the two nearest Italic languages Oscan where it is *ezom* and Umbrian where it is *erom*. Dr. Leopold objects that this sort of expression is well enough for English but that 'eiusmodi elocutio a lingua Latina aliena est.'

For Dr. Leopold the Latin language begins with Plautus. But if my explanation be right, these infinitives show a change of sound, *s* to *r*, which makes them at the least a hundred and fifty years older than that writer's earliest plays, and how much older, no one can possibly say. When therefore Dr. Leopold brings these four objections against my theory

- (1) 'inf. **erum* = **esum* ab omnibus formis inf., quæ apud Romanos in usu fuerunt, magnopere differt;
- (2) supinum II in prisca Latinitate cum sola copula non solebat iungi;
- (3) si ita iunctum fuisset, significationem potius passivam quam activam habuisset;
- (4) in supino II cum verbo "esse" iuncto nulla vis futuri inest' (p. 11)

he is applying deductions drawn from a period of Latin of which he knows something to another period of which he knows nothing, and is thus unconsciously making an incursion into the territory of 'historia grammatica' without taking the most rudimentary precautions for his safety. Had he done so, by consulting, for example, Lindsay's *Latin Language*, p. 490, Brugmann's *Grundriss d. Vergl. Grammatik*, ii. § 899, or in fact any recent work upon the subject, he would easily have discovered that my mode of explaining the future infinitive is in principle identical with the accepted explanation of the future indicative, *sedē-bō*, *amā-bō* and the like being universally regarded as compounds of a verbal noun form (infinitive) with the present of the root to 'be,' *bheg*, Lat. *fu*; and that there is nothing shocking in the supposition that, just as the roots *es* and *fu* were combined in the paradigm of the substantive verb, so they were combined in the formation of the future tense. Though I am not here concerned with other uses of these suffixed auxiliaries, I may note in passing that the connexion of future and imperfect seen in *-bo*, *-bam*, is observable also in *fore*, *forem*.

As I have been dealing with derivatives of the verb *fu*, I may here refer to Dr. Leopold's chapter v. This concerns itself with *fore* and *futurum* and furnishes some useful information and statistics as to the relative frequency of the two infinitives. But its purpose is to suggest that the growth of the indeclinable use was assisted in this case by the commonness of the unchangeable *fore*. No one will blame Dr. Leopold for doing his best to make his view more probable, though personally I think this use of *fore* somewhat far-fetched, and I do not see why he did not invoke the help of all the infinitives in the Latin language. But I must protest when he writes

'sed secundum Postgatum forma infinitivi "*futurum (esse)*" antiquior est, ita ut expectes usum huius infinitivi frequentiorē apud Plautum et Terentium fuisse quam infinitivi "*fore*": sed tabellae rem contrariam docent.' (p. 69)

Never in my waking moments have I held the view which the words that I have placed in italics attribute to me, and I can see nothing in the articles quoted by Dr. Leopold to warrant the statement.

To conclude this section, Dr. Leopold's general attitude is quaintly exhibited in the last words of his preface where he asks

'Denique unde Postgatus ipsum participium "*futurus*" vel potius inf. "*futurum esse*" ortum esse putat? Neque sine causa hoc roges quod

"*futurus*" antiquissimum participii futuri exemplum esse videtur. *Nam antiqua supina "futu" constitit* (my italics)!' (p. 12)

Audacious as it may be, I should reply that the infinitive *futurum* is to be explained in precisely the same way as the other similar infinitives and that *futū* did once indubitably exist. And now in turn I will ask Dr. Leopold a question 'Seis puto, uir bone, *absens* et *praesens*: num unquam *sens* exstitit?'

D.—The Origin of the Periphrastic Future Participle.

The origin of this participle seems, as it seemed to me in 1894, a matter for legitimate doubt. I felt the force of the consideration upon which Dr. Leopold lays very proper emphasis that in the time of Plautus it was already well developed; and this was why I introduced my suggested explanation with the words 'I have conjectured with the approval of Brugmann, *Grundr. l.c.* that the participle arose out of the declinable fut. (inf.) and I added that Kretschmer might be right in explaining it as formed by adding *-ro* to the 'verbal' stem *-tū*. Between these two possibilities I do not feel even now that it is possible finally to decide. For even approximate chronological data are absent. It is clear that at the time of Plautus the popular consciousness associated together the declinable infinitive and the periphrastic participle. This is shown for example by the passage I cited (p. 258) Plaut. *Pseud.* 565 '*neque sim facturum quod facturum dixeram.*' But just as we have refused to admit such association as proof that the infinitive came from the participle, so we must refuse to admit it as proof that the participle came from the infinitive. On the whole I now incline to believe that the participle is of independent origin. A participle in *-tūrus* could hardly fail to be connected with an infinitive in *-tūrum* and the declension of the infinitive would be very much facilitated. I lean the more to this view through observing what befel the German infinitive. This I state in the words of my friend, Dr. K. Breul whom I consulted upon this very subject. 'In the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, in Middle and North German documents, a dissimilation of *-m* to *-nd* took place and verbal forms such as *ze vindende*, *ze sehende* occur; e.g. der helt is *ze sehende*=Der Held ist zu sehen, in ordinary M.H.G. der helt ist *ze sehene*. This *ze findende*, *ze sehende* was in later times confused with

and mistaken for the ordinary present participle and a transition took place from the original predicative use of 'daz buoch ist ze vindende (vindenne)' to the attributive: das zu findende Buch "the book to be found." In Latin confusion of the two verbals would be inevitable, seeing that they were now practically undistinguishable both in meaning and form.

This explanation lacks, it is true, the attractive simplicity of my earlier conjecture; but it makes the early fusion of the two verbals in the popular consciousness easier to understand. For it does not postulate any interval of time for the development of the participle out of the declinable infinitive.

I may be permitted to end with a brief résumé of conclusions.

In pre-historic Latin the future infinitive active was, like the other infinitives, indeclinable. It was a composite formation resembling future indicatives in Latin and other Indo-European languages. It differed in outward form from the periphrastic future

participle, as *captūsom* would differ from *captūrōs*, -ā, -om. When rhotacism attacked the Latin language, the future infinitive became identical in form with the acc. masculine and neuter of the participle. From this identity of form coupled with similarity of meaning grew up the idea that they were identical formations, and by consequence that the infinitive was an accusative of the participle, agreeing with its neuter or masculine subject. When this view was once firmly established, the infinitive was made declinable throughout, being conformed first to a feminine subject and later (probably) to a plural subject; and *esse* began to creep in. As this process, which naturally took some time to complete, went on, the old indeclinable future gradually fell out of use but lasted on in rare or isolated usage till the beginning, or the middle of the first century B.C., when it practically became extinct, though clear traces of the old usage remained in the constructions of the now declinable infinitive.

J. P. POSTGATE.

ON SECRECY IN VOTING IN THE ATHENIAN LAW-COURTS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY, B.C.

DURING the fourth century B.C. voting in the Athenian courts was regularly secret, the secrecy being secured by the use of two balloting urns (ὁ κύριος ἀμφορεύς, ὁ ἄκρος ἀμφ.) and two slightly differing ballots. The character of the ballot determined the result of the vote. But in the fifth century this was indicated by the urn in which the ballot was deposited. For two urns were used as in the following century, but one was the urn of acquittal, the other the urn of condemnation; and they were distinguished from one another apparently simply by position. The urn of acquittal stood in front of the other. And instead of two ballots each juror received but one.¹

But how under these circumstances could a juror cast his ballot in secret? This, we are told, 'has not yet been ascertained.'²

¹ For the method in vogue in the fourth century see Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ. cols. 35, 36; Pollux viii. 123; Harpocration, τετρασημένῃ; etc.

The evidence for the fifth century consists chiefly of the following literary references: Phrynichus, *Monach.* frag. 2 (Mein.); Arist. *Wasps*, 987 ff.; Aesch. *Eumen.* 813 ff. (Weil), *Eumen.* 674-753; Xen. *Hell.* i. vii. 9; Lysias xiii. 37.

² Gardner and Jevons, *Man. of Gk. Antiq.* p. 595.

Some even suppose that voting in the law-courts in the fifth century was not secret.³ It is true that in the *Wasps*, 987 ff., Philocleon does not conceal his vote, but it is essential to the burlesque that he should not. It is true also that in the *Eumenides*, 735, Athena declares her vote. But this proves nothing. That the votes of the others were secret is plainly shown by the suspense of Orestes and of the Furies, even while the ballots are being counted,⁴ l. 744 ff.:

ΩΡ. ὦ Φοῖβ' Ἀπολλων, πῶς ἄγων κριθήσεται;
κ.τ.λ.

This passage in the *Eumenides*, therefore, if

The suggestion of Lipsius (Meier-Schoemann-Lips., *Der att. Proc.* S. 940; see also Müller, *Eum.* S. 161) that each juror was given two ballots as in the fourth century was wholly without support and was rightly rejected by Thumser in Hermann's *Gr. Staatsalt.*⁶ (1888) S. 581, by Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen* (1890), ii. 1, S. 371.

³ 'Die Entscheidung der Richter erfolgte... in den älteren Zeiten in öffentlicher, später regelmässig in geheimer Abstimmung.' Hermann-Thumser, S. 580; see also *Ann.* 5.

⁴ See Meier-Schoemann-Lips. S. 940, *Ann.* 497.

we admit it as evidence for the procedure in the ordinary law courts,¹ proves conclusively that secrecy was possible. The same is suggested by the passage in Lysias, xiii. 37, which describes the terrorizing methods of the thirty tyrants, who compelled the voters to cast their ballots not into urns, but openly (*φανερὰν*) on tables provided for this purpose; though not all scholars admit the last as valid evidence for the fifth century.

But how was this secrecy secured? The clue to the correct answer, I believe, Aeschylus himself furnishes us in the generally misunderstood passage, *Agam.* 813 ff. Agamemnon has just returned from Troy to Argos and his first words are an acknowledgment of the aid of heaven in his expedition against the city of Priam. 'For,' he continues, 'the Gods hearing the pleadings in the suit unspoken cast their death-laden ballots for Troy's undoing, with unwavering decision, in the urn of blood, while to the opposite urn mere hope of the hand drew nigh and it remained unfilled.'

δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ
κλύοντες ἀνδροθνήτας Ἰλίου φθορὰς
εἰς αἵματηρὸν τεύχος οὐ διχορρόπως
ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει
ἐλπὶς προσήει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένης.

¹ There is no evidence that the method of voting in the court of the Areopagus differed from that in vogue in the other courts in similar cases. The passage from the *Eum.* is admitted as evidence for the procedure in the other courts by Ross (*Arch. f. Philol.* Suppl. I. (1831), S. 355), Meier-Schoem.-Lips. (*Der att. Proc.*², S. 937, 940), Hermann-Thumser (*Gr. Staatsalt.*⁶, S. 580), Gilbert (*Gr. Staatsalt.* i.², S. 432), etc.

The plural *τευχέων* (l. 742) points to the use of two urns, one probably of acquittal, the other of condemnation, which was the arrangement familiar to Aesch. and his contemporaries (*Agam.* 815 f.). There is no reason, further, for doubling that each juror had but one ballot, though the Scholiast, l. 749, supposes that two ballots were used, a black one and a white one. This suggestion is adopted by Sidgwick, who adds that this was the commonest method at Athens. Black and white beans were used in drawing lots for public officials, but it is extremely doubtful if the use of black and white ballots ever obtained in Athenian courts (see Meier-Schoem.-Lips. S. 940, *Ann.* 487).

As a principle, secrecy in voting was familiar to the Athenians in the fifth century. Ostracism, established about 500 B.C., was by secret ballot. At the *διαδικασία* for admission to the phratry the *Thiasotai* voted secretly (*Demotionidai-inscr.* l. 77, quoted by Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.*², S. 215). At the *διαψήφισις* conducted for the detection of illegally enrolled citizens the Deme-assembly voted secretly (Suidas: *διαψήφισις*). So the *ἐκκλησία* voted secretly when performing certain judicial functions: 'nur in Fällen die das persönliche Interesse Einzelnes betrafen' (Schoemann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alterth.* i. S. 411). It is, therefore, an entirely reasonable inference that voting in the law courts was likewise secret.

The reference here to the urns of acquittal and of condemnation is universally recognized; not so the significance of the last line. To the minds of many the words *ἐλπὶς χειρὸς* are an expression 'from which no intelligible sense can be extracted'² (Paley). Blomfield suggested that *χειρὸς* be construed with *πληρουμένης*, 'suffragis manu datis non impleto.' Casaubon and Paley, imagining a reference to Pandora's box (*Hes., Op.* 96 f.), read *χεῖλος* for *χειρὸς*, which they suppose means 'in the opposite urn hope rose up to the rim.' Equally fanciful is Keek's *ἐλπὶς προσήστ' ἀχρεῖος*, 'bei den andern Urne sass nur die unnütze, kranke Hoffnung.' No more acceptable is Hermann's *ἐλπὶς προσήει χρεῖος*, 'indiga.' *χειρὸς* is not a 'vox inutilis.' The reading of the MS., I believe, is sound, and means simply that in the fifth century, when two balloting urns were used and but one ballot, each juror, to insure the secrecy of his vote, placed his two hands simultaneously over the two urns and deposited his ballot thus in the one or the other without disclosing his vote. The suspense and the hope of the man on trial, as he observes each juror place his hand over the urn of acquittal as well as over that of condemnation, is most beautifully expressed by the poet: 'to the urn (of acquittal) hope of the hand drew near.' It calls to mind that other striking figure in the *Suppliants* of Aesch., 607 f.; when the Argive assembly voted by show of hands 'the air bristled with right hands.'

In the mysterious alembic of the poet's imagination even the commonplace act of balloting is transformed into one of marvellous beauty and significance. The poet's insight pierces to the inmost thoughts of the man whose fortune or whose life is at stake. How could his suspense and hope be more beautifully expressed? The 'hope' is not the hope or expectation of the urn for votes ('the other urn expected votes, but did not get them,' Sidgwick, Verrall, Schneidewin, first edition); nor does the 'hope' refer to the 'long postponement of the capture (of Troy) by the dissensions of Olympus' (Verrall). Neither is the choice between the reading of the MS. and the conjecture of Margoliouth, adopted by Wecklein, *ἐλπὶς προσείει χεῖρας*, merely 'a question of taste' (Verrall). The judges did not 'wave' their hands before the urns; and Wecklein's reference to Eur. *H.F.* 1218, *τί μοι προσείων χεῖρα σημαίνει*

² Cf. Warr's trans. *Oresteia* (1900), p. 22, 'for her no hand but Fancy's fumbled in the void.'

φόνος; and the remainder of his note reveal a misconception of the passage. No more satisfactory is the comment of Dindorf (*Lex. Aesch.*): 'de spe loquitur tanquam de dea, ut Soph. *O.R.* 158.'

To deny a basis of fact to the words of l. 817 is to impair seriously the beauty of the metaphor. To have voted openly for condemnation would have brought only despair to the heart of the prisoner at the bar. But if the juror to conceal the nature of his vote placed a hand also over the urn of acquittal, that simple act was fraught with hope for the one on trial. His hope was centered in the hand. Grammatically, 'hope of the hand' is a periphrastic subject, like βίη Πριάμοιο, and equals 'the hope-laden hand.'

A somewhat similar interpretation was proposed many years ago by H. L. Ahrens, but it has evidently been overlooked by the writers on Greek legal antiquities, and it was unknown to me until I had prepared the entire preceding discussion. 'Sollte nun hierbei,' he wrote, 'das κρύβδην ψηφίζεσθαι . . . nicht vereitelt werden, so musste der Richter, während er in die eine Urne seinen Stimmstein wirklich warf, doch auch zu der andern treten und sich so stellen, als würde er auch in diese.'¹ The handbooks

¹ *Philologus*, Suppl. I. (1860), S. 566. The view entertained by Wilamowitz seems to be similar to that suggested by Ahrens:

'Stein auf Stein
in die Bluturne rollte, welche Troias Sturz

on Greek legal antiquities make no mention of this interpretation of Ahrens, nor have I found any reference to it in any of the editions of the *Agamemnon*, except in that of Keck (pub. 1863), where it is summarily dismissed. 'Die Institution des κρύβδην ψηφίζεσθαι,' he says, 'musste durch andere Einrichtungen als wie Ahrens sie sich denkt, gewährt sein, denn durch diese hätte sich Niemand täuschen lassen.' The central weakness in Ahrens' interpretation, which Keck rightly attacks, is avoided, I believe, in my own. Each juror if he cared to vote secretly, placed his hands simultaneously over the two urns, and not over first the one and then the other. The former method would be the more apt to insure secrecy. Moreover, I believe that the urns in the fifth century were identical in material, so that the click caused by the ψηφος was the same into whichever receptacle it was dropped. The fact, too, that the urns stood one in front of the other rendered detection more difficult. Finally, it is possible that the urns were placed at the back of the βήμα in the fifth century, whereas in the fourth century they stood in front on the βήμα (see *Wasps*, 347, 990; *Demos.* xix. 311; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, ii. l. 371).

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bezeichnete; zur andern trat zum Scheine nur mit leerer Hand der Richter. Klar ist der Entscheid.'
Gr. Trag. ii. (1899), S. 78.

SOME NOTES UPON ROMAN BRITAIN.

(Continued from p. 399.)

IV.—THE BATAVI IN BRITAIN.

We know from Tacitus that up to 70 at least the Batavian auxilia were regularly sent to Britain, and that in fact eight 'cohortes Batavorum' were attached to the Legio XIV Gemina which was there in garrison. But in view of the disappearance of the legions which had sworn allegiance to the 'Imperium Galliarum,' there can be no doubt that these more guilty cohorts were disbanded after 70. Yet the tribe retained its former status in the empire; a new levy replaced the old, and crossed to Britain with Cerialis.

In his account of the Battle of Mons

Graupius Tacitus says 'Agricola...Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est.' The missing number has been variously supplied: 'quinque' say Ritter and Nipperdey, 'tres' Urlichs and Cichorius. But 'quattuor' is read by the new Codex Toletanus—the best MS. of the *Agricola*—and is to be accepted. Which were the four cohorts?

From inscriptions we know of Cohors I Batavorum miliaria pia fidelis, Cohors II Batavorum miliaria, Cohors III Batavorum miliaria equitata, Cohors IX Batavorum miliaria equitata, and another Cohors I Batavorum which was quingenaria. All the records belong to dates later than 70.

The first two cohorts are traceable in Pannonia from 98, the third in Raetia from 107; clearly they came to Britain, and returned to the continent, with the Legio II Adiutrix. As for Cohors IX, its number, as Cichorius says, shows that it belonged to the original series and was raised simultaneously with it. In the absence of other evidence we may assume from Tacitus that it served in Britain, though it did not belong to the Legio XIV; it survived 70, having taken no part in the rebellion. It is traceable only in Raetia, after the first century. But two inscriptions may be cited as possible evidence of its previous British sojourn. A fragment of tile recently found at Carlisle reads 'GVIII.' which Mr. Haverfield who published it explains as '[Le]g. VIII [Hispana].' It may be at least equally possible to read 'CVIII' and the reference will then be to this cohort. An altar at Weissenburg (*C.I.L.* iii. 11918)—perhaps the earliest quarters of the cohort in Raetia—is inscribed 'Coh. IX Ba. eq. mil. EXPB.' The last letters are explained by Mommsen as 'Ex provincia Belgica.' But the Batavi were in Lower Germany, not in Belgica; in any case the tribe-name was sufficient indication of origin—the province was never added; while the garrison-province was often specified. Hence B = Britannia, almost certainly.

These, then, were the four cohorts at Mons Graupius—each a thousand strong. As for the remaining Cohors I Batavorum (quingenaria): it can be traced only in Britain, from 124 onwards. It may have been with Agricola, as Cichorius thinks: the reading 'quattuor' does not exclude the possibility that there was a fifth troop elsewhere in garrison. But it is more probable that this cohort, belonging to a distinct levy as its number shows, was raised and sent to Britain after the withdrawal of the other four cohorts by Domitian; there would scarcely be two Cohortes I Batavorum in the same province.

Besides the cohorts, there was one Ala Batavorum in Britain. Tacitus implies its presence at the attack on Mona by Agricola. Though 'cohortes equitatae' might possibly be alluded to, the description 'lectissimi auxiliarium' (since horsemen were more select troops than the footmen of the cohorts), the mention of horses, and the speed of the operations make an ala almost certain; the reference to skill in fording and swimming fits only the Batavi. The ala in question was of course not that which revolted in 69 (*Tac. II. iv. 18*) but the

Ala I Batavorum miliaria, which can be traced in Pannonia (*C.I.L.* iii. 11372) and then in Dacia in the second century. Like the three cohorts it was raised for service in Britain by Cerialis, and returned with them to the continent. Its presence at Mona would be an incidental confirmation of the view that the Legio II Adiutrix was then quartered at Deva.

The Cohortes I, II, and III miliariae may have taken the place of six 'quingenariae' in the original series, although the ninth was 'miliaria'; for though the auxilia in Britain (contrary to the general rule) probably outnumbered the legions, yet 8,000 foot with a proportion of alae would be too large a quota for one legion. If the disbanded ala was quingenaria, we have a total new levy by Cerialis of 4,000 men; inclusive of 1,000 old troops undisbanded, 5,000 in all, against at least 5,500 before 70. A decrease would not be surprising, because of the losses in the war; but even the decrease indicated was made good as we have seen before the end of the century.

V.—THE DATE OF AGRICOLA'S GOVERNORSHIP.

Most authorities agree in dating Agricola's command 78–85; only Asbach and Gsell argue for 77–84. The probabilities appear to be much in favour of the minority. It is true that Gsell's argument, that the British success whereby Titus won his 15th salutation as 'imperator' in the autumn of 79 (*Dio*, 66, 20; Chamblin, *de magistratibus Flaviorum*, p. 24) must have been in the third campaign, is not convincing; for Tacitus' narrative shows that the second campaign was at least equally successful, and indeed few years passed without at least one victory that was so signalised. But the chronological indications of Tacitus (*Agricola* 9, 18, 39), though vague, in each case more naturally support the earlier date. Why should Agricola's departure have been delayed by his daughter's marriage or by the ceremonial duties of the pontificate, rather than to complete his consulship, the one qualification he lacked? He had been selected at least by popular rumour months before. Can 'praepositus' imply designation only, and was delay in taking up the command usual? 'Media iam aestate transgressus' implies only that the government was usually transferred earlier in the year, as was probably the case with Cerialis and Frontinus; 'nuper' refers more usually to an interval of a few weeks than of a whole

year. It is admitted that the consulship was in 77; would not a man of Agricola's importance, with such a command in prospect, have followed immediately the imperial 'consules ordinarii' of the year, and have held office in May and June? With the other view, in order to shorten the interval before midsummer 78, the consulship is usually placed late in the year. Frontinus' command is thus lengthened a year beyond the usual 3-years' term, and as we have seen there was no emergency to make that probable. Liebenam was led by the corrupt text of Tacitus to suppose an unknown governor between Cerialis and Frontinus, and consequently to date the latter 76-78; and he is followed by the Prosopographia. But his view was never probable, and the Codex Toletanus is decisive against it. Mr. Furneaux says 'A strong argument against the earlier date is furnished by the episode of the Usipi, which would thus have to be placed in 82, a year too soon.' Now even if the Usipi were conquered only in 83, the shortness of the time occupied in their conquest, conscription, despatch to Britain, and escape would be very remarkable. The main portion at least of the Usipi were still north of the Ruhr and on the lower Rhine (cf. Furneaux on Tac. *Germ.* 32, 1, and his map). Their submission therefore had no connexion with the war of 83 in Upper Germany: rather were they subdued by Rutilius Gallicus at the end of Vespasian's reign (cf. III. *supra*, p. 399).

Lastly, the earlier date, as we shall see, suits better the changes of imperial policy with regard to Ireland.

VI.—THE INVASION OF IRELAND.

Without entering upon a full-length discussion of the vexed passage in the *Agricola*, the beginning of c. 24, a few points may here be noted. In c. 23, which must be read in close connexion, do not the words 'inventus in ipsa Britannia (in Britain proper) terminus' imply the completion of one task to prepare for the beginning of another? In the campaign of 79 the army had suffered much from stress of weather (c. 22, 1); the Romans had never been in such high latitudes before, and it might well have seemed that further advance into the barren Highlands was useless. The new emperor Titus saw a way to win for his reign a distinctive renown, and the conquest of Ireland was planned instead; to prepare for it the summer of 80 was spent in quiet consolidation, and the line of the Forth was

fortified as a permanent limit of the Empire.

Where, then, were the 'ignotae gentes' attacked in 81? Not beyond the 'terminus,' unless Tacitus is to contradict himself; and why should Agricola have gone by sea at all, when only a small circuit at most would have been necessary, and the new frontier forts would have furnished a ready base? Roman generals were no lovers of the sea. If we look for the tribes south of the 'terminus,' we are met by the words 'omnis propior sinus tenebatur' of c. 23; there were no unknown tribes there. Thus by process of exclusion we are forced to look for them in the North of Ireland. This view is further supported, as Professor Gudeman notes, by the transitional words 'in aliam insulam' at the end of c. 23—though Mr. Haverfield thinks the point too subtle—and by the presumption (for it is not an absolute rule, as Pfützner would have it) that the 'que' in the second sentence of c. 24, where Hibernia is mentioned, implies a close connexion of thought and fact with the first. Thus the location of the 'ignotae gentes' becomes almost certain, even though Tacitus does not name Ireland. His carelessness can be paralleled even from the *Agricola*: in c. 7, 5 there is no mention of Britannia, where clearness would have required it; the reference becomes clear only from c. 8.

'Arma quidem ultra

Litora Iubernac promovimus et modo captas
Orcadas et minima contentos nocte Britan-
nos.'

So writes Juvenal; why should a sentence true to fact in two clauses be merely 'rhetorical' in a third? If Juvenal himself commanded the Cohors I Delmatarum at Uxellodunum in Cumberland, he would be well informed. As to that point, certainty is beyond our reach, as Mr. Duff says; but at least the difficulty raised by Cichorius is not conclusive. He argues that Juvenal could not have commanded in Britain since according to the inscription of Aquinum he was trib(unus), and all the cohortes Delmatarum in Britain were quingenariae and under praefecti. But the reading 'trib.' in the Corpus is not so certain as to exclude the possibility of 'praef.' However that may be, in view of the way in which Juvenal couples the Orkneys and Ireland, Tacitus' record of the discovery and 'conquest' of the Orkneys, 'unknown up to that time' shows a remarkable resemblance in phrase to the sentence in dispute (*Ag.* 10, 5.) It is

natural to suppose that he also coupled the two 'conquests,' and that a similarity of circumstance suggested the echo in the language.

Agricola, therefore, in 81 made a tentative movement, a reconnaissance in force, to Ireland. But the death of Titus in September removed the chief supporter of the design. Domitian had not his father's or his brother's personal interest in Britain; and when the next year brought with it the fear of a rising of all Caledonia he had a ready pretext, if he was lukewarm, for deferring the Irish project.

The text of Tacitus may be corrupt; but the Codex Toletanus brings no new light. May we hope anything from the newly found Codex Aconensis?

ADDENDUM.

With regard to the inscription discussed in note I, parallel cases can be quoted, as Mr. Haverfield reminds me, of eastern officers in western legions at least after the early empire. If then, as he thinks possible, the inscription is to be dated about 200 A.D., the improbability of the attribution to Lindus is to that extent lessened; though western officers must always have been the rule in legions whose rank and file at least were almost exclusively western also. But

the improbability is increased in another direction. Rhodes, long decaying while the rest of Asia prospered, had suffered a final blow from which it never recovered—the great earthquake of 155 A.D. (Cf. Van Gelder, *Gesch. der Rhodier*, p. 174 ff.) The dependent town of Lindus was still less likely to produce a Marcus Minicius Martialis after that; while Lindum presumably was then well established. It may be added that *C.I.L.* vii. 187 records a veteran of the Legio XIV at Lindum. Since that legion left Britain only in 68, and after a short stay at Moguntiacum was permanently in distant Pannonia from about 100, it is not unreasonable to assume that the inscription is of the first century; the veteran would thus be one of the 'senes' referred to by Calgacus.

Mr. Haverfield informs me that the genuineness of the Camelon inscription (note II) is doubtful. I subjoin a more accurate text, which he has kindly sent me.

M I L I T E
S E R V I A
D I E
V I R I
• L • M

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STUDIES OF LATIN WORDS IN -cinio-, -cinia-.

III.—*mantiscinator*.

The authority for this word is *Capt.* 896, with the following context:

nam filium

873 tuom modo in portu Philopoleum
uiuom, saluom et sospitem
uidi in publica celoce.

891 di immortales, iterum gnatus videor si
uera autumas.

: : ain tu? dubium habebis etiam, sanete
quom ego iurem tibi?

postremo, Hegio, si parua iuri iurandost
fides

uise ad portum. : : facere certumst, tu
intus cura quod opus est.

895 sune, posce, prome quid uis, te facio
cellarium.

: : nam hercle, nisi mantiscinatus probe
ero, fusti pectito.

: : aeternum tibi dapinabo uictum, si
uera autumas.

NO. CXLIV. VOL. XVIII.

Morris, in his note on this verse, renders *nisi mantiscinatus probe ero* by 'if I do not make good provision.' It is not clear to me whether by 'good provision' he means to give an equivocal sense to *mantiscinatus* or not. Certainly Plasberg (*Rhein. Mus.* 36, 738) suggests no equivocal, but derives *mantiscinatus* from *mantisa* which, after Sabbadini, he defines by 'sauce': whence *mantiscinatus* means 'sauce-maker.' As to *mantisa*, I have no opinion to advance, but Plasberg has contributed to the solution of the difficulty raised by Ussing and echoed by Schoell, relative to the interpretation of *mantiscinatus*. That it's plain and evident sense here is 'play the *μάγισ*' seems to me clear from Hegio's *si uera autumas* in 891 and 897, but there is an equivocal on *μάγισ*. The well-fed gourmet priest is still in evidence in the world; and even the frugal itinerant minister of our plain Southern

H H

life is proverbially held to be the natural enemy of the yellow-legged chicken and other delicate fowl. In Greek (and Roman) antiquity the priest (ἱερεὺς) also divined' (cf. the Latin glosses diuino 'μαρτεύω' and diuinus 'μάντις') from the entrails of the victim he had slaughtered, and the sacrifice was so inevitably followed by a feast that the very act of slaughtering for a feast came to be designated by the verb ἱερεύει: cf. *Odys.* β 56 βοῦς ἱερεύοντες . . . εἰλαπινάξουσιν) (*ibid.* ω 215 δαίπνον δ' αἶψα σὺν ἱερεύσαστε).

What wonder then that Plautus, or his Greek original (Eupolis dubbed a wine-bibber ἱερεὺς Διονύσου) should have employed μάντις, the name of the divining priest, equivocally, 1st for the diviner, 2nd for the gourmet overlooking the preparations for the feast?

Touching the form of the compound *mantis-cinatur*, the existence of *leno-cinatur*, *latro-cinatur* may have furnished the analogy after which Plautus wrote *mantis-cinatur* rather than the normal *manti-cinatur*.¹

IV.—*Tuburcinatur* 'raptim manducat' (Nonius 179, 18).

The riddle of this word, absolutely unexplained in the books at my disposal—which include, besides the usual lexica and handbooks, complete files of the Journals of Kuhn, Bezzenberger and Brugmann, as well as the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*—I cannot hope to have finally solved. But my collection of guesses may perhaps suggest to another a final solution, and to that end I communicate them.

The verb is close enough in meaning to *parvo-cinatur* to raise the question whether it does not also correspond in formation. But the word not only wears a complicated look, its orthography is uncertain. In the Plautus occurrence (*Persa* 122) the MSS. (Palatini only, Δ non legente) read *turbu-cinatur*, but the editors correct in conformity with Nonius (*l.c.*). Supposing the Palatini to be right, as against the grammarian, two reasons may be advanced for the accepted orthography: (1) as Quintilian (1. 6. 42) has bracketed together the two words *tuburcinabundus* and *lurcinabundus*,—both of which he ascribes to Cato and calls

¹ Subsequent to writing the last paragraph, I notice that Lindsay, in his note on *Capt.* 596 perhaps advances the same explanation in the following words: it (*mantis-cinatur*) is formed on the pattern of *uaticinor*, *lenocinor*, *patrocinor*, *ratocinor*, etc., though *uaticinor*, does not, like the other examples, exhibit an ostensible nominative in composition.

too archaic for contemporary usage,—it is a fair supposition that *tuburcinabundus* has been brought into rhyme with its synonym *lurcinabundus* 'gulosus';² (2) the gloss *gulosus* 'tabernio, popinator' suggests that *tuburcinatur* may even have been popularly connected with *taberna* 'inn' (cf. *con-tubernium*). On the other hand, if Nonius's spelling be etymologically correct, the variant *turbucinatur* may be due to a popular interpretation attested by the gloss *tuburcinatus* 'turbatus.'

There is a tertium quid: *turbur-* was the etymological form which, submitting to dissimilation, yielded both *tubur-* and *turbu-*.

1st. Supposing *tubur-* to be the correct form, the following explanation occurs to me, viz.: dividing *tu-burcinatur*, to explain *-burcinatur* as *farcinat* 'stuffs' in composition. This leaves *tu-* unexplained, unless we imagine it to be cognate with Skr. *tavīti* 'is strong,' O. Bulg. *ty-ti* 'pinguescere,' whose base occurs with an *m*-determination, in Lat. *tu-met* 'swells' (cf. also Lat. *ob-tū-rat* 'stuffs,' *tū-mentum* 'stuffing'). This explanation yields a tautological compound *tu-burcinatur* 'he cram-stuffs himself.' To be sure *tu-* might be regarded as nominal, and the compound one by figura etymologica.

2nd. Supposing *turbucinatur* to be the correct spelling, and this to stand for **trubucinatur*, we might—in view of the curious nickname applied in a Greek comic fragment to a gluttonous flute-player, to-wit: λοπαδο-φυστηρίς 'dish-piper'—explain from *tru-* 'ladle' (: *trua*) + *-būcinatur* 'plays the cow-horn,' from **trubūcinus* 'ladle-piper.' The suggestion may have come from the noisy sort of eater ridiculed on the Roman stage, cf. *mandūcus* in the lexica and in *Rudens* 535–6. Note further *catillat* 'devorat' (= 'dishes'). Should we put *-būcinatur* into relation with the gloss *buccones* παράστοι (cf. also *buccella* 'mouthful, morsel'), the previous explanation of *tru-* is less apt;—perhaps **tru-bucca* 'ladle-cheeked' would be the ultimate source.

3rd. Supposing **trubur-cinatur* to have been the original form of the word, we might set up a base *TRU-DHRO-* 'ladle' parallel with *trua* 'ladle,' *trūlla* (i.e. *trūla*) 'spoon,' cf. *truo* 'pelican,' a name reminding of the English 'spoon-bill.' The instrument suffix *-DHRO-* is well attested, and so is the base *TRŪ-*, reduced from *TERŌW-* (see Hirt,

² Be it remarked in passing that *lurcinabundus*: *lureo* 'glutton' may be accounted a normal formation from the stem *lurcin-* (cf. *termo*, stems *termōn/termin-* *terminus*; *homo*, stem *homin-*).

Ablaut Nos. 223, 474, cf. 524) in the sense, 'to bore, pierce, etc.', cf. O. Bulg. *try-ti* 'terere' *τρῦμα* 'hole,' *τρύγλις* 'ladle, spoon,' *τρύπανον* 'auger,' *τρύει* 'rubs,' Lat. *truant* 'moventur,' and the words just mentioned. Operating with *TRUDHRO-* 'ladle' the division would be **t(r)ubur-canus* 'ladle piper,' the very sense found already for the division *tur-bucinatur*.

I repeat in concluding that the guesses

submitted are not given out as solutions, but as suggestions toward a solution. Personally, I feel extreme reserve before a morphological restitution like the construct form **TRUDHRO-*, attested nowhere else save—by bare possibility—in this compound (see on the question of method my remarks in *Am. Jr. Phil.* 25, p. 177).

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REVIEWS.

MURRAY'S EURIPIDES.

Euripides: Translated into English rhyming verse by GILBERT MURRAY, M.A., LL.D. With Illustrations. London: George Allen. Second Edition: 1904. Pp. lxxviii, 355. 7s. 6d. net.

THE object of this book is, to quote Prof. Murray's own words, 'to put before English readers a translation of some very beautiful poetry; and in the second place to give some description of a remarkable artist and thinker.' In pursuance of this object, Prof. Murray has chosen to translate two plays, the *Hippolytus* and the *Bacchae*, as being singularly characteristic of their author, as well as beautiful creations of art. Next, he has added a version of the *Frogs*, 'the chief ancient criticism of Euripides,—a satire, penetrating, brilliant, and, though preposterously unfair, still exceedingly helpful to any student who does not choose to put himself at its mercy.' Some notes, slight in texture but always useful, and occasionally packed with suggestive criticism, have been added; and an Introduction has been prefixed, of which it is not, perhaps, too much to say that it would be difficult to find anything at once saner, more illuminating, or more sympathetic. Indeed its value, as a piece of critical work, is in inverse ratio to its length. In an Appendix, on the Fragments of Euripides, Prof. Murray has set himself to reconstruct the main lines of some of the lost dramas, as well as to translate a few typical fragments of each.

We naturally turn to the translation, in order to understand not only what is the method proposed by the translator to himself, but also to see how far he has succeeded in exemplifying his method in actual practice.

Brilliant, indeed extraordinarily brilliant, as parts of this translation are (especially in the *Hippolytus*, a play which suits Prof. Murray exactly), it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the task of rendering the Greek adequately has been needlessly intensified by the adoption of a rimed version throughout. I am by no means sure that the rimed heroic metre is strictly justifiable on other grounds. For the choruses, a rimed version is doubtless more than justifiable: it is the nearest equivalent we have for strophic correspondence.¹ But just as the genius of the Greek tongue finds its most naturally poetic expression in the iambic trimeter, so the genius of the English language finds its expression in (what we call) blank verse. The intrusion, however, of rime seems to impart an artificiality to a translation, and retard the natural spontaneity of the verse,—noticeably so in the stichomuthic passages. At least, that is my impression.

This said, criticism pretty well ends; and a notice of this book would seem to pass, by a natural step, to a simple effort of appreciation. Prof. Murray's version is no mere versification of a Greek original, but, in some sense, a piece of English poetry. High praise, this, no doubt, but justified by the results attained in a volume that has, already, won for itself the enthusiastic regard of every lover of good literature.

The following are specimens of Prof. Murray's rendering—the first from one of the Euripidean fragments (the *Archelaiis*):—

¹ Milton thought otherwise, as his *Samson Agonistes* testifies. Yet one is tempted to think that, had Milton rimed his choruses there, the effect might have been more pleasing.

In the elm-woods and the oaken,
 There where Orpheus harped of old,
 And the trees awoke and knew him,
 And the wild things gathered to him,
 As he sang, amid the broken
 Glens, his music manifold.

The second is from the *Bucchae* (vv. 1005
 899.) :—

Knowledge, we are not foes!
 I seek thee diligently;
 But the world with a great wind blows,¹
 Shining, and not from thee:

¹ In 1007. for *ἀεὶ τῶν* of P, Murray conjectures
ἀέττω 'let them blow.'

Blowing to beautiful things,
 On amid dark and light,
 Till Life, thro' the tramellings
 Of Laws that are not the Right,
 Breaks, clean and pure, and sings
 Glorifying to God in the height!

It must be admitted that this last rendering is exceedingly free; it is, however, singularly successful in seizing and conveying the sense of a most intricate passage, in beautiful English.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

M. Tulli Ciceronis Tusculanarum Disputationum Liber Primus et Somnium Scipionis. Edited with Introduction and Notes by FRANK ERNEST ROCKWOOD, Professor of Latin in Bucknell University. Ginn and Co., Boston, U.S.A., and London. 1903. Pp. vii, 109 and xiii, 22. 4s. 6d.

A satisfactory English edition of the Tusculan Disputations would be a great boon to the student, and Prof. Rockwood deserves credit for having observed the need. How far he has succeeded in supplying it may be best seen from an extract from his commentary. For this purpose I transcribe in full his notes on i. § 68.

'*ut*: the correlative is *sic*, 70. —*primum*: the series is continued by *dein . . . tum . . .* etc.—*temporum*, "the seasons."—*maturitatem*, "the ripening."—*temperamentum corporum*: cf. IV. 30 "*corporis temperatio, cum ea congruunt inter se a quibus constamus, sanitas . . . dicitur.*"—*quasi . . . dies*: *quasi* modifies *rotantem et significantem*; *fastorum* depends upon *dies* "the days of the calendar": thus the moon is likened to a person who arranges the calendar.—*in eodem orbe*: the zodiac with the twelve constellations.—*quinque stellae*: see "*quinque erantium*," 63 n.—*fixum in . . . loco*: see "*in medio sitam*," 40 n.—*quibus oris . . . cultum*: cf. "*habitabiles regiones*," 45 n.—*sub axe . . . niues*: from the *Philoctetes* of Accius; the measure is iambic trimeter—*sub axe* "under the pole"; *ad* "towards," "near to"; *molitur* "piles up"—*ἀντιχθονα*, "the land of the antipodes."

The introduction is on a somewhat higher level. But if Prof. Rockwood desires the edition of some of the remaining books which he 'hopes in the future to prepare' to receive serious attention, he will revise his methods.

Compositions and Translations. By the late HENRY CHARLES FINCH MASON, sometime Scholar of Trinity College and Bible Scholar in the University of Cambridge; Porson Prizeman and Sir William Browne's Medallist (1878); Assistant Master in Haileybury College, 1885–1902. With Prefatory Memoir by R. C. GILSON, Trinity College, Cambridge; Headmaster of King Edward VI.'s School, Birmingham. Edited by H. H. WEST, formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press Warehouse, 1903. Pp. xvi, 167. 3s. 6d. net.

It was with a shock that I learned from this memorial volume that one of the most gifted composers among my former pupils was no more. H. C. F. Mason stood out in a brilliant year for the ease and grace of his Greek and Latin verse: and this small and well printed volume is a worthy and fitting tribute to his memory. He had the taste and plastic touch of the born literary artist, and he served the Muse with a single devotion. It follows that this selection from his literary remains is, speaking generally, of a high order of merit and can be recommended to all (and these are happily still not so very few) who love to see Greek and Latin elegances flowing from an English pen. The variety in the passages selected shows the versatility of Mason's powers. And that with him Classical composition was not the knack which it sometimes is and much oftener is asserted to be is evident from his felicitous translations into English, few as these are.

I quote from the version of Martial viii 32 the four last lines

si meliora pie fas est sperare sorori
et dominum mundi flectere nota valent,
hæc a Sardois tibi forsitan exulis oris
fratre reuersuro nuntia uenit auis.

If sister fond may hope once more
And prayers may bend the King of men,
It heralds from Sardinia's shore
Her exile brother home again.

Minute criticism in the present instance would not be fair either to the author who could not or to the editor who might not revise: and the occasional lapses and oversights, accidental or otherwise, will detract but little from the pleasure of the reader. But I may advert to a licence in the Greek anapaests, the too common use of a paroemiac like *ταῦτε* 'Ἀρείων ἐπιβωστρεῖ, inasmuch as it points to a reading of the anapaestic measure with the ictus of the hexameter still very prevalent in schools. And I think moreover that it would have been better if the alternative renderings of single lines had been relegated to an appendix. The conscientious editor has placed them at the foot of the page; but in a matter of this kind the lesser accuracy is the greater fidelity.

J. P. P.

Introduction à l'étude comparative des Langues Indo-Européennes. Par M. A. MEILLET, directeur adjoint à l'école des Hautes-Études, professeur à l'école des Langues Orientales. Un volume in-8°, broché, 10 fr. (Hachette et C^{ie}, Paris).

'Ce livre a un objet très limité: celui d'indiquer brièvement les concordances qu'on observe entre les diverses langues indo-

européennes et les conclusions qu'on en peut tirer. Il n'est pas destiné aux personnes qui savent la grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes; elles n'y trouveraient ni une idée nouvelle ni un fait nouveau. Il présente seulement un aperçu de la structure de l'indo-européen, telle que la grammaire comparée l'a révélée.'

The useful purpose thus modestly described by its author may be said to have been judiciously and lucidly carried out. The style is clear and the examples throughout seem excellently chosen. Prof. Meillet acknowledges warmly his debt to Brugmann, Delbrück, and others, including the veteran De Saussure, on whose teaching the book is really based. This gives a rather old-fashioned shape to the treatment of Ablaut ('Alternance des Voyelles'), a section in which there is hardly any trace of the research pursued so actively for the last twenty years, and much that in form at least is decidedly misleading. The most interesting part of the book, and the most independent, is perhaps the two concluding chapters 'The Vocabulary' and on the general features of the development and differentiation of the I.-Eur. languages. Both are eminently sane and suggestive, and show a healthy scepticism towards the Schrader-type of 'Palaeontology'; though one would have gladly seen a deeper familiarity with Kretschmer's results than is indicated by a distant though respectful reference (in the Appendix to his *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*). The book should do much for Comparative Philology in its own country, and something, perhaps, further afield; and it is greatly to be regretted that the absence of an Index of forms makes it almost useless for reference.

R. S. CONWAY.

MANCHESTER, August, 1904.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

MISS HARRISON'S GREEK RELIGION.

Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.

By JANE E. HARRISON, Hon. D.Litt. Durham, Hon. LL.D. Aberdeen, Fellow and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. xxii + 630 pp. 15s.

MISS HARRISON has long been recognized as an authority on the archaeological side of

Greek religion; but the present volume is a much more ambitious attempt than those which she has written before. It is an attempt to penetrate below the organized pantheon of the Olympians, to the bedrock of faith. Thus it comes about, that part of the work is devoted to rank superstition, and part to the more or less exalted and ethereal doctrines which were evolved by those who were not satisfied with superstition.

It is strange, but we see it every day, that these two conceptions of religion can exist side by side, not only in different sections of one society, but in the mind of one man. The student whose idea of Greek religion is based on the tales of mythology, so beautiful in the main, and following Homer's example ignores or smiles at all that is gross in them, will have to reconsider the matter in the light of Miss Harrison's facts.

One important principle, which has been becoming more and more evident with each step of research, is well established in Miss Harrison's book: the essential difference between two types of ritual. On the one hand, there is the apotropaic ritual, due to fear of mischief, and directed towards those beings who are believed to be the sources of mischief: on the other hand, the ritual of hope and worship, directed towards the gods whose work is beneficent to mankind. The former class of beings have their abode below, in the earth, in darkness, and their ritual is of the barbarous and involves a vicarious victim; the other class dwell above in the light, and their worship involves the offering of a gift. If the gift is often an animal, it is given rather to please than to avert evil, as a means of happy social life and merriment rather than as the *corpus vile* of punishment. And as the latter class is associated chiefly with triumph and feasting, so the former is associated with mourning, and lamentation, and woe. Not that the two classes can be always kept apart. The hero's ghost may be approached to confer prosperity or fertility, and the Olympian to avert a plague; yet it does appear as if the two functions were originally not combined, or not often so. We are not yet in a position to unravel all the threads, and confidently to assign each deity to his proper place, or to tell what were the proper deities of each race or each period; but Miss Harrison's investigation takes us a step further on the road. A necessary corollary to this investigation is the question, how the lower gods are related to the higher, whether they were always distinct or whether one can grow into the other. In the case of certain deities the development is clear. Asclepius for instance grows before our eyes from a man to a hero, from a hero to a god. But the greatest of the pantheon seem to stand above this. We have here to deal with primitive conceptions of religion, and to ask whether the personifications of sky and sun

and air cannot have sprung full-grown gods from the brain of early man. This other side of the question is out of the scope of Miss Harrison's book, which she modestly calls the *Prolegomena* to Greek Religion. Her part is to insist on the lower side, which has been unduly neglected: for the other, a wide induction is necessary, and the person marked out for the task is happily amongst us. We venture to hope that Dr. Frazer may ere long be induced to pass on from his golden bough to the trunk of the great tree, and to attempt the exhaustive examination of Greek religion which the world expects from him.

Miss Harrison begins her work with an examination of chthonic ritual, taking in turn the ritual of ghosts and sprites, the agricultural festivals, and demonology in general. She is successful in showing the great importance of the cult of the dead, with its rites of purgation and imprecation, and its devoted holocaust. Perhaps she does not sufficiently remember that social feasts also formed part of this cult, as of the Olympian worship, and does not fully face the question how these two phases were related. A sort of compromise seems to be effected by the rule that victims killed for a hero-feast had often to be consumed on the spot and before a fixed limit of time. The analysis of the agricultural feasts is most ingenious in connecting them with the worship of the dead. Thus the Pithoigia is regarded not only as the opening of the wine-jar, but as the opening of the grave-jar, out of which flutter the *κῆρες* or souls of the dead. The bearing of this on the puzzling myth of Pandora is obvious, and has been well worked out. It is not likely, however, that the use of a jar in burial was suggested by its use as a dwelling place for the living. No doubt other men besides Diogenes have lived in a jar, but the invention of jars is not coeval with the human race, who must have lived somewhere; nor is the use of a jar for a house attested for any number of people at any time. This is one of several suggestions which seem more fanciful than true. The suggested connexion of Diasian and other words with Latin *dirus* is attractive, but in view of the very obscure etymology of that word (which may have suffered analogical change) remains little more than a clever guess. There is no need to derive Diasia from *Δῖος* when *δῖος* exists, and Polemon (if the text of Athenaeus 478 c is sound) uses the phrase *δίου κωδίου*. It

will probably be agreed, however, that Miss Harrison's account of the Anthesteria is more rational and convincing than others. It is clearly implied in the proverb *θύραζε κῆρες, οὐκέρ' Ἀνθεστήρια*, as explained by Suidas, that the ghosts went about the city during that feast (much as their descendants the Kalikázari do now before Epiphany), and that the ceremonials were avertive. The word is derived not from *ἄνθος* but from the root *θεσ-* in *ἑσθάρτο* (and perhaps *θεός* itself). The account of the Pharmakos too is excellent. The ritual is described in full from Tzetzes, and all the details are carefully analyzed; the ceremony is interpreted quite rightly as a purification, the devotion of a scape-man to appease an offended god. The element of transferred evil must also be borne in mind; this is present in all such expulsive ceremonies, and has been well illustrated by Mr. W. W. Skeat's researches in the Malay peninsula.¹ It is surprising how many more examples of purification meet us in the analysis of other Greek festivals. Special interest and special difficulties attach to the Women's Festivals. From the Cretan discoveries it would appear that women played a very important part in the early religion of the Greek world; and as Miss Harrison is doubtless right in claiming a Pelagic origin for the Mysteries, there may be new light thrown on these by further investigation in that direction. Unfortunately the female sex were in ancient days good at keeping secrets, and even Herodotus who knew something about the Thesmophoria, was afraid to speak, so that we must remain in doubt as to the details of the ritual.² It does not seem likely that the pigs let down into the chasms were taken up at the end of a year (p. 123). Miss Harrison regards *κάθοδος* and *ἄνοδος* as the two acts of going down into the chasms and coming up, and with Hesychius places them on the same day. I do not know whether she has seen Mr. Rogers's different account of this festival (*Translation of the Thesmophoria-zusae* p. vii ff.). He regards *ἄνοδος* as the going up to the Temple, and the *κάθοδος* as the descent of Persephone, and ingen-

iously explains *μέση* as not the 'middle day' of the festival, which lasted for four days, but the 'day between' the descent to Hades and the *Καλλιγένεια* or New Birth. In the discussion of the meaning of *Thesmophoria*, Miss Harrison mentions the theory that *θεσμοί* meant 'things laid down,' and that the word was applied to 'the *sacra*, including the pigs,' herself choosing to regard it as meaning 'spells.' But there is no evidence of any such meaning for *θεσμός* or its root *θεσ-*, which implies prayer rather than spells. The fact that curses were uttered at this feast proves nothing as to the meaning of *θεσμός*, and the ending *-φóρια* bears strongly against the theory. The word still remains obscure. Nor is the derivation of *Mystery* from *μύσος* 'pollution' convincing: still less the suggestion that the odd little vessel called *κέρχνος* was explained by a scholiast as a *λίκνον*, because the former contained separate doles of various grains or products, and the latter separated the grain from the chaff. If so, he might almost as well have called it a midriff. But while it seems to me that Miss Harrison's derivations are often fanciful, and misleading, yet the general presentation of the facts of this difficult group of feasts, and particularly the summing up on pp. 161-2, is excellent. It is especially gratifying to find that she pronounces against the 'modern connotations of vicarious expiation and mystical communion' in Greek sacrifice. I believe that this is sound, and that the Greek ideas of religion were in the best period remarkably simple and sane.

The section on Keres is admirable, and a great deal of new evidence is brought together, and well illustrated from vase-paintings. These seem to be ghosts, and the sprites of disease, old age, death, and all sorts of mischief. Miss Harrison even identifies or connects them with the Gorgon, Empusa, Sphinx, Lamia, and Siren. It is part of her fancifulness to call them bacilli, but the identification would perhaps be taken in earnest by Sir Oliver Lodge. Erinyes and Eumenides are also brought into the same kin.

Miss Harrison next deals with the *Making of a Goddess* and the *Making of a God*. In the former section, groups of nameless female divinities, which appear in twos or threes, are seen crystallizing in form and evolving into more exalted shapes. Some acute remarks are made on general questions, such as the traces of matriarchy in the stories, the peculiar relation 'half

¹ I may add that Mr. Skeat has a remarkable account, from the lips of a Malay, of the various stages in substitution for a human victim.

² Miss Harrison's translation of the account of these, from a scholiast on Lucian (p. 122 note), appears, if correctly printed, to mistake the meaning of *ὅταν ἀποτιθῶνται τὰ πλάσματα ἐκεῖνα*. It runs: 'When they replace the remains by those well-known images (ἐκεῖνα).'

mother half lover' of the goddesses (such as Demeter) to the male figures which are associated with them (as Triptolemus). Some current mistakes are corrected: as the assumption that the Sennai were identical with the Eumenides. This section is not easy to follow, owing to the number of different items which are to be combined. The author sums up as follows: 'we have seen one woman-form take various shapes as Mother and Maiden; we have seen these shapes crystallize into Olympian divinities as Athene, as Aphrodite, as Hera, and as it were resume themselves again in the great monotheistic figure of Venus Genetrix.' But as she acknowledges herself, the processes are not clear: links are wanting in the chain, and the reader is left with the feeling that there is too much assumption. With the gods the case is different; for the transition from ghost to hero and thence to god is clear enough in one or two cases, and simpler than with the female divinities. I cannot but feel that Miss Harrison has here not gone deep enough. I do not think that we are at all ready to trace the history of the female divinity. Her antiquity is yearly becoming more clear; but her origin and development cannot be traced without a wide excursion into comparative religion. Moreover, the question of the origin and growth of a given figure is distinct from the process which so often meets us in Greece, where an alien deity obtrudes itself full-grown into the pantheon. These chapters thus appear rather as a collection of notes, highly interesting, but not complete enough to place the main principles beyond controversy. In one place the fancifulness which has been noted above is specially strong. In discussing a group of three female figures on an archaic stone (fig. 73), Miss Harrison says that the sculptor (Sotias, by the way, was the *dedicator*) 'has massed the three stately figures very closely together; he is reverently conscious that though they are three persons, yet they are but one goddess. He is half monotheist.' Yet any artist of this date, in making three figures to stand side by side, would have represented them with the same regularity; he had not skill to do otherwise. Indeed, a similar argument would deduce monolippism from almost any team of steeds painted upon an early vase.

With Dionysos Miss Harrison rises to something like enthusiasm. With practically all scholars, she agrees that he is a foreign god introduced from without, and

she makes an interesting point in connecting the Satyrs with the tribe of Satrae. There can be little doubt that both Satyrs and Centaurs were, as she holds, wild men; but she offers no explanation of the origin of the centaurs' hybrid form, other than suggesting that they were a tribe of horse-lovers. We know that the Americans thought the Spaniards and their horses to be one, a new animal, and a similar idea would be natural to a primitive tribe seeing horses for the first time. But the Greeks were too intelligent to believe that, and these hybrid forms are, I think, not found in Greek art, except where foreign influence is present: as in the men-bulls of Sicily. Was the type due to an attempt to represent a man on horseback, or was it borrowed from a foreign source? Perhaps the Cretan minotaur may yet help us to an answer. In the discussion of Maenads and Thyiads it seems to me that a good deal of trouble has been taken unnecessarily: it is not likely that any one would deny that Maenad is an adjective, or that all these terms could be used to describe human revellers. The analysis of this god is well done. His mother Semele is identified on good grounds with the earth; the word is hardly changed in Slavonic, as we see from the Russian *zemlya* (not *zembla*, as the quotation of that title on p. 405 might suggest). The god's worship was always connected with an intoxicant, as is the case with many old and modern cults (an important example is the Indian *soma*), and the god's titles suggest that the grape was superimposed on an earlier drink made from a cereal. Thus *βρόμιος* may be derived, as the Emperor Julian suggested, from *βρόμος* 'oats,' Mod. Gr. *βρόμη*; the epithet *βραίνης* found in the Delphic paean is compared with a late Latin word *braisum*, 'grain prepared for making of the beer *braisum*'; *σαβάζιος*, with *sabaia*, an Illyrian beer; and finally, *τραγωδία* is associated with *τράγος*, a kind of spelt. If the explanations here given are correct, the spread of grape-growing caused the god's original drink to be forgotten, and the popular mind soon busied itself in finding new derivations for *βρόμιος* and *τραγωδία*. The ruder cereal-drinks are native to northern Thrace, where also is to be found that tree-worship which we meet with in Dionysos Dendrites. Not that all Dionysos can be explained on this principle: the bull at least remains, and Miss Harrison's allegorical interpretation hardly fits with the primitive view disclosed above, nor is the connexion of *διθύραμβος* with *θρίαυς*

'*μαρια*' and the *θρια* who are identified with bees, likely to carry conviction without further evidence.

If Dionysos has possibilities as the source of inspiration, his story is not to be compared to that of Orpheus for beauty and significance. In Orpheus there is nothing ugly; he is a being all spiritual, all purity and melody. Miss Harrison is willing to see in him a real man, 'poet, seer, musician, theologian,' who became afterwards a hero, and the inspiration of a faith which held the finest essence of religion. The rest of the volume is an examination of the Orphic mysteries and eschatology. Here, as in most human religions, human nature has combined much that is gross and ugly with the nobler ideals which came from founder. It seems reasonable to suppose that the savage element comes from ancient rites which were continued by the worshippers after the new teacher had passed away. Bull-tearing and raw food are coarse enough, but worse still the devouring of a human child, which not improbably went before (p. 489); such a practice is primitive indeed, and wholly alien to all that the stories tell of Orpheus. The practice seems to belong to Crete as well as Thrace, and we are again reminded of the Minotaur.¹ The evidence collected as to the ceremonial of initiation is full and valuable; and the author has made a most happy hit in identifying the scene of Strepsiades and Socrates in the *Clouds* as a parody of Orphic initiation. No less valuable and original is the discussion on the use and signification of the *liknon*, a subject which Miss Harrison has made specially her own: we need not enter on this topic now, since her views have already been put before the world. This *liknon*, used also as a cradle, appears in the Orphic rites and in the ritual of marriage; a symbolical marriage seems to have formed part of the ritual of Dionysos, and to have been allegorized by the Orphics. From the Orphic rites, *liknophoria* passed into the Eleusinian mysteries, where a sacred marriage and birth were represented, and these Miss Harrison believes to have been the central mystery. The Orphic tables are finally translated and analyzed, and interpretations offered of vase-paintings illustrating the rites. Here Miss Harrison comes back to her starting-point;

for she finds that 'all the canonical denizens of the underworld are hero and heroine figures of the older stratum of the population.'

I have indicated in passing the chief topics of this book, and offered a few criticisms; and now it will be well to take a brief review of the whole. Firstly it must be said that the book would greatly have gained by compression. There is a great deal of rhetoric about it, too much reiteration, questions constantly being asked as they might be asked in speaking to an audience whose wandering thoughts must continually be shepherded, too many merry jests. To take an instance almost at random, how much the statement on p. 305 would gain in force if the whole sentence 'At first sight . . . to explain the word' were omitted. These expansions do not help the careful reader: they distract him. The general diffuseness of the style is to be regretted because the facts examined are many, the details minute and difficult to remember, and sound combinations consequently hard to make. The author's judgment, again, is often led astray by a too facile fancy, which is attracted by explanations more specious than true; and this is especially dangerous in dealing with etymology.

The details are surprisingly accurate, considering their number: but some of them are wrong. We read not only of the 'King Archon' (p. 33), a title never used, but even of the 'Queen Archon' (p. 537); that old cock of Aesclepios dies hard, here he is again (p. 149), although Miss Harrison should know that the cock is the poor man's offering, not peculiar to one deity; *πρόβατον* cannot mean a pig (15); *ἄσται* does not mean 'curses' (22). Some of the passages cited are translated wrongly. The rendering of *ἔξει πνοάς* (Aesch. *P.V.* 800) as 'endure their breath' is surely inadmissible without a possessive; and others have been mentioned already. The index is very poor, only six pages when it should have been sixty. But these blemishes, except the last, are small in comparison with the sterling value of the work as a whole. The importance of the 'lower religion,' if the phrase may be allowed, is for the first time brought out in something like its true force; and the truth is recognized, that we have the fusion of two distinct principles, which (I may add) were probably not sprung from the same race. Chief of all, in my opinion, is the paramount importance now seen to attach to

¹ It may be worth mentioning that the practice of cleaning *with mud*, which Miss Harrison finds unnatural (p. 493), may be seen any day in India. The people cleanse their bronze bowls in that way, and often also their feet and legs.

the relation of motherhood in Greek religion. The feminine element holds a chief place in nearly all the early cults which Miss Harrison examines, and the relations of Mother and Daughter or Mother and Son reappear again and again. It may be hoped that a careful examination of the Cretan discoveries will reinforce this view. I am especially interested to see Miss Harrison state her view that 'prehistoric Crete has yielded, I venture to think will yield, no figure of a dominant male divinity, no Zeus; so far we have only a beast-headed monster and the Mountain Mother' (p. 498). That she should have come to this conclusion with her wide knowledge of Greek myths and ritual is a striking fact, and may perhaps give pause to that large and apparently growing throng who bow the knee to the phantom God of the Double Axe. Here I am convinced that she is right; and I hope some archaeologist who is not committed to a theory will speedily take in hand the mass of material now available, and will illustrate it by an examination of the numerous facts already known touching the place of women in early Greek ritual.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

ON THE ANCIENT SCULPTURES EXHIBITED AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB.

CORRECTIONS IN PROFESSOR FURTWÄNGLER'S
REPLY (*C.R.*, Nov. pp. 419 sq.).

P. 419a, par. 1. The two last sentences but one should read:

'I see the author of the *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* must have a very different conception of the style of Pheidias from what I have. I am sorry for him that he does not see the pure beauty of that head. And as to the genuineness all I can say is that my whole experience trained in long years' work as well as careful and repeated experiments make me absolutely sure that the head in question is indubitably genuine.'

P. 420a, par. 1, middle of last sentence but one. *For* 'is not in the least too thick' read 'correspond exactly and that the latter is not in the least too thick.'

P. 420b, last sentence after *Heraeum* read 'which appeared on June 25th in the *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift* with two replies on Sept. 24th.'

[Owing to a misdirection the above corrections arrived too late to be made in our November issue.—Ed. *C.R.*]

PROFESSOR FURTWÄNGLER'S METHODS.

PROFESSOR FURTWÄNGLER promises that he will shortly publish the terracotta head of Zeus which I maintained was a forgery, and, if not a forgery, certainly not what he judged it to be. I await the publication with interest, if not with impatience—certainly with composure. Yet I must at once point out that there is some difference between his present statement that it is 'a fine work of magnificent Pheidian style,' and his original pronouncement in the catalogue where it was described as 'a Greek work of the great period of Pheidias,' and in contrast to all copies of works from the Pheidian period 'which appear coarse, empty and dead beside this wonderful work,' he maintained that 'he was acquainted with no second work at all in the round, that affords us even approximately so high a conception of the sublimity of the images of gods in the greatest period of Attic art, combined with such a freshness and delicacy of execution. It may be conjectured that the head belonged to the model for a large statue. It is, in any case, by the hand of one of the first masters of Greece, and a work entirely unique in character; I know nothing similar to, or comparable with, it.' I feel bound to point to this discrepancy in the tone and purport of these dogmatic statements, because I have before this experienced the effects of a proceeding it foreshadows. So, for instance, in his review of my *Argive Heraeum*, to which he refers the reader in his 'reply' and to which I replied in the *Philolog-Wochenschrift* of Sept. 24—a caricature of what a fair review ought to be—he studiously evades the most important question concerning the Argive sculptures on which we were at issue. He had previously opposed my contention that the sculptures were Polycleitan by the dogmatic assertion, that 'all (my ital.) these works had nothing whatever to do with Polycleitus and his school: they were beyond all doubt (*sicher*) Attic.' The greater part of an important chapter in the *Argive Heraeum* was devoted to a refutation of his statement. In his review he practically ignored the refutation, but said in a few lines: 'Two of these metope-heads have something Polycleitan.'

In this 'reply' again he is misstating my case when he says, that I base my protest against his methods upon 'two things,' namely his estimation of that one terracotta and his judgment concerning the

Leconfield head. In the short article to which his is a reply, I enumerate five instances to illustrate my point; in an article in the *Hellenic Journal*,¹ which appeared about the same time, I give further instances where I think he has been misled by his faulty method of stylistic comparison, and I there say that 'there is not a single chapter in his *Meisterwerke* in which I do not feel prepared to point to such misleading comparisons.' While in Vol. I. of my *Argive Heraeum*,² I devote a chapter to the illustration of the fatal conclusions to which his habits of exposition lead him.

I desire to make it clear beyond all doubt against what I am thus protesting: I am far from not recognizing that, among the numerous works which Professor Furtwängler's industry has produced, there are some that are of great value and that have advanced archaeological science. Even when I have felt most strongly opposed to one side of his method and to some of his results I have gone out of my way to acknowledge the positive good that he has done.³ On the other hand I am sincerely convinced that if his procedure of stylistic identification is generally adopted, this department of the study of classical archaeology will justly lose its claim to trustworthiness. For in no other one of the inductive sciences, based on scientific observation and comparison, would the formation of such hasty conclusions, expressed in such dogmatic terms, be tolerated. Though hypothesis and conjecture are moving factors in scientific research, which help to break new ground, we must never in our exposition allow ourselves to be carried away into believing, and into making others believe, that the sphere of hypothesis and conjecture is that of full demonstration and certainty. Though I emphatically believe that in the study of Greek sculpture we need not confine ourselves to the well known and more or less established monuments of the best Greek periods, and must widen the circle of our enquiry by entering into the domain of later Hellenistic, Graeco-Roman, and Roman art, and the numerous copies and modifications of earlier works which they produced, it cannot advance the science as a whole, and it must demoralize the powers of observation of the learners, when late and inferior Roman works are held up as illustrations of the great Greek masters because of some correspondence in attitude

or material technique, while a vast preponderance in points of difference, if not of contrast—which act as negative instances to the generalization—is entirely ignored. Moreover, after announcing such a similarity upon which a relationship between such works is founded, a relationship barely admissible as a conjecture, Professor Furtwängler will glide into assurance as he proceeds, until he will at last refer to his first conjecture in such terms as 'as we have seen' or 'as I have shown or proved a certain statue is Myronian or Pheidias or Praxitelean,' or even, 'it is the work of Myron, Pheidias, Praxiteles, Euphranor, etc.' Now, as in all inductive sciences, so in the study of classical archaeology, the cases in which the identification of a statue, to which no descriptive inscription is appended, may be said to be established with certainty, are very few; and this paucity of demonstrably proved identification must counteract the assurance of every student of that science. There are however a few cases in which, let us say, by accident or good-fortune, the student may have complete confirmation as to the correct judgment of his 'eye.' In the work on Pheidias, concerning which Professor Furtwängler has gone out of his way twice to express his sweeping condemnation, I happen to have had the good fortune to announce that a certain head in the Louvre and a fragment of relief-work found on the Acropolis of Athens were of Pheidias style and belonged respectively to the metopes and the frieze. When casts were made of these fragments they were found to fit exactly upon the works to which, by comparison and the stylistic method, they had in their separate-ness been assigned. I hope that in the future this good fortune may also come to him. As yet I do not know any of his identifications which can receive an equal test of their correctness. I do not even think that this is the case with regard to his brilliant and justifiable conjecture in identifying the 'Lemnian Athene'; nor do I know what he will think, and still less what he will say, when I shall have published my own conjecture that the beautiful statue in question is more likely to illustrate the work of Alcamenes than that of Pheidias.

If I disapprove of his methods of 'stylistics' I also disapprove of his methods of carrying on a scientific controversy.⁴

¹ Vol. xxiv. pp. 129 seq.

² Pp. 164 seq.

³ E.g. note 3, *Argive Heraeum*, p. 164.

⁴ Can Professor Furtwängler justify his attempt (in the review of the *Argive Heraeum* which he recommends the reader of his 'reply' to consult) to

In his reply, limited to the discussion of the Leconfield head, he begins by saying: 'Mr. Waldstein does not deem the Leconfield head actually a forgery, but he considers it a very indifferent work, etc.' This is a misstatement which entirely misleads the reader. I began my article by saying: '*This is undoubtedly a beautiful work*; but from admitting this to stamping it as an original work by Praxiteles is a great step against which I wish to protest vigorously. We must never forget that there are no more beautiful works of ancient art extant than the Aphrodite of Melos and the Nike of Samothrace; yet we are not justified in ascribing them to any one of the great masters of ancient Greece.'

As a matter of fact it appears that I have a much higher opinion of the artistic value of that head as an original work of Greek art than Professor Furtwängler. He says of it: 'The fact that in the corners of the mouth the drill-holes are more distinctly visible than in the Hermes is due, as I have already explained (*sic*), to the Aphrodite not having come to us fresh and untouched like the Hermes, but having passed through the hands of Italian restorers and undergone a certain amount of cleaning.' I am curious to know what idea Professor Furtwängler has of the function of a restorer and cleaner of ancient statues. An antique marble in which the work of the restorer and cleaner has gone the lengths of reworking the delicate modelling of the mouth and of driving drill-holes into the corners has almost completely lost its value as an original. As a matter of fact the head in question, with the exception of the nose and the middle of the upper lip, has undergone

create a diversion from the main issue of the book, to which I referred above, by maintaining, with absolutely no foundation in fact, that I had mentioned works found by Rhangabé as having been found by us? Besides the one head found by that scholar, which I assign to him, I incur Professor Furtwängler's violent censure for assigning a large torso to him, and I devote a chapter to his excavations. But in trying to make out this case he states that a work, which I publish for the first time in the book, and concerning the finder of which I say nothing, 'was unknown to me, while every archaeologist who had ever approached the study had long been acquainted with this important work.' Does he not here try to lead every archaeologist to believe that we are dealing with a standard, well-known statue or bust? Well, the work just described is a *chip of marble containing the mouth and chin of one of the Argive heads*. Which archaeologist, I ask, was acquainted with it, before I published it because it corresponded to a far more complete fragment beside which it appears on Plate 33 containing complete heads?

no such treatment destructive of its claims to originality. It is a very fine original specimen of the period of art to which by its style it claims to belong. I wish at once to acknowledge that the reproductions of the Leconfield head given in the German edition of the *Meisterwerke* differ from the one in the English edition as stated by Professor Furtwängler and do not contain the faults to which I referred. These—and *a fortiori* Colignon's and Klein's reproduction are truer to the original. But that does not alter the fact that in the English edition, Plate 17, 'does not,' as I put it, 'convey a true impression of the work in this as well as in other respects. Whether this is due to a defective photograph or to the interference with the copper plate, I cannot decide.' *This statement of mine remains true.* If Professor Furtwängler wishes to repudiate this English edition it is his own affair. But from the Preface of that volume I was led to believe that, being later, and containing as the Preface states 45 fresh illustrations together with other improvements in the accuracy of such reproductions, the English edition was a second and revised edition of the German edition.¹ I am thus to be forgiven for not having turned to this earlier edition, especially as regards illustrations. When Professor Furtwängler writes: 'It is very characteristic of Mr. Charles Waldstein's method of work that he writes a long article upon the Leconfield head, and does not even take the trouble to look up the original publication!' he seems to put the two publications in the relation of original and copy, as used in reference to works of art. Now, I do not look upon Mrs. Strong's work in that light. To my mind it is extremely well done, and her edition is an improvement upon the earlier

¹ Cf. the English Editor's Preface: 'We are assured that, though there are some omissions with regard to Archaic art (a subject the author wished to elaborate anew) there were no material omissions. In the other chapters 'the only alterations are those that have been introduced by the author himself (my italics). These and a number of smaller omissions and additions made by him throughout the whole book call for no special comment; they will easily be detected by the reader acquainted with the original. The majority were necessitated either by subsequent literature or by subsequent discovery.' Further: 'The number of illustrations which in the portion chosen for translation [which contains the discussion of Praxiteles and the Leconfield head] was only 162 (including plates) has been raised to 207.' And: 'The very few illustrations which in the German edition were still repeated from former publications have now been replaced from photographs.' Surely this stamps the English edition as what the Germans call a '*Zweite verbesserte Auflage!*'

German edition. I desire to state unequivocally that I *in no sense* mean to imply that she consciously attempted to vitiate the evidence by substituting the *heliogravure* of the Leconfield head in the English edition, for which Professor Furtwängler appears to lay the responsibility at her door. Still, I maintain that that plate fails to render the character of the original, especially with regard to the points in the treatment of the neck. These defects may be due to the lighting of the head when the photograph was taken, and, still more probably, to the retouching and beautifying of the copper plate in the *heliogravure*. The illustration remains useless for the purpose of accurate study of style. But it is futile to try to create a diversion from the main point of archaeological importance by discussing the relative merits of the editions or of illustrations. It is necessary to adduce them because the readers cannot see the original or the cast, and require some form of illustration to follow the discussion. I can now refer them to the German edition of the *Meisterwerke*, as well as to Collignon's and Klein's books. The real question is: Is that head by the hand of Praxiteles or not? Now, I must inform Professor Furtwängler that my comments and remarks upon this head and its style were not derived from the study of books, photographs, or even of casts, but from the notes I took when carefully examining the original itself when it was in Burlington House. He had no right whatever to make the statement, that 'I ascribe the supposed fault to the head only on the score of the reproductions!' I have just returned from a visit to Chesterfield House, where, by the kindness of Lord Leconfield, I have been able to subject the original to another careful examination. The faults in proportion in the neck ought to be manifest to any careful and unprejudiced observer. Prof. Furtwängler says he has made measurements and complains that I have not done so. His statement must be a slip of the pen. For the measurements clearly confirm my estimate of the inferior treatment of that neck and its difference from the work of Praxiteles and other artists of the fourth century B.C. Here are the accurate measurements, taken with calipers, from the original head and from casts of the others, which he refers to in his reply as proving his case.

The Leconfield Head.

Widest part of neck ...	15.3 cm.	} difference
Widest part of face		
at cheeks ...	15.6	
		} 0.3.

Cnidian Aphrodite (Munich).

Widest part of neck ...	10.3	} 1.9.
Widest part of face ...	12.2	

Cnidian Aphrodite (Vatican).

Neck ...	13.2	} 1.5.
Face ...	14.7	

Hermes of Praxiteles.

Neck ...	14.3	} 2.2.
Face ...	16.5	

Head from South Slope of Acropolis.

Neck ...	15.6	} 2.1.
Face ...	17.7	

Demeter of Cnidus.

Neck ...	13.5	} 2.0.
Face ...	15.5	

I think these measurements will speak for themselves. Those who are not specialists ought to be told that differences of even a fraction of a centimetre make the greatest difference in the proportion of the face and neck. The widest part of the face in the Leconfield head is only slightly more than one quarter of a centimetre wider than the widest part of the neck; while all the heads adduced by Professor Furtwängler himself show a difference of from one and a half to over two centimetres. In other words the difference is from 5 to 7 times as great and the neck accordingly thicker. I need say no more on this point.

But I cannot imagine how he can seriously maintain that the fatty rolls of flesh in the neck, the greatest blemish in the whole character of the Leconfield head, are paralleled by the necks of the Acropolis head or the Cnidian Aphrodite. The Acropolis head, by its attitude and general character, shows quite different conception and treatment. Yet the folds in the neck caused by the upturning of the head are far from the marked and protruding curves which we find so disturbingly in the Leconfield head.

I must beg the reader to refer to what I said about the hair and other features in my article. The composition of the hair, as well as the execution, are inferior. The *bandeau* of hair defined by the hard parallel lines running from forehead to temple and along the groove where some inserted band or wreath was fitted, is, in composition, monotonous and uninteresting, such as neither the Hermes, nor some of the later reproductions of the Cnidian Aphrodite show. The grooves between the strands of hair are flat and mechanical; while the roughness in

modelling differs materially from that in the Hermes. I can quite understand how the apparent likeness in the roughening of the surface may have seduced Professor Furtwängler into insisting upon likeness of technique with the characteristic roughness

of the hair of Hermes. Surely he does not himself believe that my views on this point, 'show,' as he says, 'with satisfactory clearness that I am not in a position to distinguish good Greek from bad Roman work.'

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Hermathena. No. 30. 1904.

A new Edition of Manilius, Book I (A. E. Housman), Robinson Ellis. *Notes on Coney's 'Irish-English Dictionary'*, T. K. Abbott. *The Origin of Pelagius*, J. B. Bury. *M. Bellanger's Oricinius*, L. C. Purser. *Miscellanea* (Notes on Thucydides, Aristotle, and the Tragedians), John I. Beare. *Notes on Cicero Ad Atticum I*, J. S. Reid. *Aristotle's Doctrine of the Mean*, G. A. Exham. *The Form and Prosody of the Compounds of iacio in the Present Stem*, Charles Exon. *A Chapter on the Rhythms of Bacchylides*, F. Blass. *The Book of Enoch in the Egyptian Church*, H. J. Lawlor. *Dante's Quest of Liberty*, H. S. Verschoyle. *God and the Spirit of Man: A Transcendental Case for Theism*, Alexander R. Eagar. *Berkeley and Kant*, Reginald A. P. Rogers. *Cicero 'Rhetorica'*, W. Parker. Reviews (unsigned and mostly favourable): Nairn's *Mimes of Herodas*, Ellis' *Catulli Carmina* (Oxford text), H. C. F. Mason's *Compositions and Translations*. Notices of the following Oxford texts: Monro and Allen's *Homeri Opera*, Marchant's *Xenophontis Opera* tom. iii, Winsted's *Cornelius Nepos*, Burnet's *Platonis Opera* tom. iii, Owen's *Persius and Juvenal*, Cornish's *Translation of Catullus* (the reviewer objects to the expurgations), and Wickham's *Translation of Horace*. Editorial note on *Ériu*, vol. i. part 1.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxv. No. 2.

The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters, G. L. Hendrickson. *On the Recession of the Latin Accent in connection with Monosyllabic Words and the Traditional Word-order*, R. S. Radford. *Studies in Etymology, II.*, Edwin W. Fay. *Notes on the Delian Choreic Inscriptions*, David M. Robinson. *Some References to Sea-sickness in the Greek and Latin Writers*, John C. Rolfe. Reviews, etc. Bond's *Complete Works of John Lyly* (Jas. W. Bright), Kastner's *History of French Versification* (George L. Hamilton), vom Mael's *Greek Sculpture* (Win. N. Bates), Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, and Bradley's *The Making of English* (Jas. M. Garnett). Summaries of Periodicals. Brief Mention (observations by the Editor on Rosenberg's revision of Westermann's *De Corona*, Nairn's *Herodas*, Ouvrè's *Les formes littéraires de la pensée grecque*, etc.). Recent Publications, etc.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1904.

7 Sept. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Γραμματικά Ζητήματα* (F. Solmsen). On three points in Greek grammar. H. Francotte, *L'industrie dans la Grèce ancienne* (O. Schulthess), very favourable. Horatius, *Satiren*, ed. von G. T. A. Krüger. 5. Aufl. von G. Krüger (O. Weissenfels). Chr. Muff, *Idealismus*. 3. Aufl. (G. Schneider), very favourable.

14 Sept. Euripide, *Oreste*, par H. Weil, 3. éd. (K. Busche). B. Hammer, *De τε particulae usu Herodotico, Thucydeico, Xenophontico* (H. Kallenberg), very favourable. F. Bauer, *Quaestiones scenicae Plautinae* (P. Trautwein). 'An excellent dissertation.' M. Lehnerdt, *Lucretius in der Renaissance* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. L. Preud'homme, *Troisième étude sur l'histoire du texte de Suétone* (J. Tolkieln), favourable. M. Hoogvliet, *Lingua* (J. Golling). On a universal language.

21 Sept. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part III. Ed. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (O. Schulthess). E. Arndt, *De ridiculi doctrina rhetorica* (O. Weissenfels), favourable.

28 Sept. *Memoria Gracca Herculaneensis* prop. G. Crönert (S. Mekler). A. Rutgers van der Loeff, *De ludis Eleusiniis* (H. Stending), favourable on the whole. E. Horneffer, *Platon gegen Sokrates. Interpretationen* (H. Nohl, jun.), favourable. K. Hachtmann, *Die Verwertung der vierten Rede Ciceros gegen C. Verres (de signis) für Unterweisungen in der antiken Kunst*. 2. Aufl. (Nohl), very favourable.

5 Oct. A. Müller, *Ästhetischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien des Sophokles* (H. G.), favourable. R. G. Kent, *A history of Thessaly from the earliest historical times to the accession of Philip V. of Macedonia* (H. Gillischewski). Contains only the fifth chapter and two appendices. Carefully done so far. G. Lazić, *De compositione secundi et tertii Ciceronis librorum de legibus* (Hoyer). Rather superficial. *The Chronicle of Morea*, a history in political verse, ed. by J. Schmitt (F. Hirsch), favourable.

12 Oct. Th. Schreiber, *Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen* (H. von Fritze), favourable. A. Taccone, *Il trimetro giambico dei frammenti tragici, satirisch e comici e dell' Alessandra di Licofrone* (H. D.). Concludes the work noticed in the No. of Aug. 17. H. Brewer, *Die Unterscheidung der Klagen nach attischem Recht und die Echtheit der Gesetze in §§ 47 und 113 der Demosthenischen Midiana* (O. Schulthess). 'A worthy contribution to the knowledge of Attic law.' *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus*, ed. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (W. Crönert).

19 Oct. Th. Sinko, *Sententiae Platonicae de philosophis regnantibus quae fuerint facta* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. J. Heumann, *De epyllio Alexandrino* (C. Fries), favourable. C. Brakman, *Bobiensia* (Th. Stangl). J. Krözel, *Quo tempore Taciti Dialogus de oratoribus habitus sit quaeritur* (E. Wolff), unfavourable on the whole. H. Stich, *Mark Aurel, Der Philosoph auf dem römischen Kaiserthron* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. G. Cevolani, *Sul periodo ipotetico latino osservazioni critiche* (J. Golling). H. C. Nutting, I. *The order of conditional thought*. II. *The modes of conditional thought* (J. Golling), unfavourable. A. I. Adamantios, *Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορίας*

αἰῶς καὶ Ἑθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Bd. VI. (G. Wartenberg).

26 Oct. H. Zuckenbach, *Kunst und Geschichte. I. Abbildungen zur Alten Geschichte*. 5. Aufl. K. Hadzsek, *Der Glanz und der Verfall der Griechen und Etrusker* (Th. Schreiber), favourable. F. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre* (Bartholomae). E. Schwartz, *Über den Tod der Söhne Zebedäi* (W. Soltan). 'An excellent treatise.' A. Stein, *Die Protokolle des römischen Senates und ihre Bedeutung als Geschichtsquelle für Tacitus* (E. Wolff), very favourable. H. Omont, *Notice du ms. nouv. acq. lat. 763 de la bibliothèque nationale contenant plusieurs anciens glossaires* (W. Heraeus). K. Krumbacher, *Eine neue Handschrift der Digenis Akritas* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xiii. 9. 1904.

R. Fritzsche, *Der Anfang des Hellenentums* (from Pt. 8). The S. Achaeans, during the 3rd millennium, occupied Peloponnesus and reached Crete. The Ionians came from Thessaly to Boeotia, whilst the Minyae took over the harbours thus vacated and thence colonised W. Boeotia. These three tribes entered the sphere of the essentially oriental, pre-Hellenic Mycenaean culture: their gods had the forms not of men, but of animals and demons. But in the royal halls of the next people to immigrate, the N. (Homeric) Achaeans, the minstrels created an 'aristocratic' mythology, the foundation of Hellenism. The Hellenic culture is aesthetic, intellectual, progressive, that of the East mystic, religious, stationary. The victory of the former in Greece appears in the decline of the priestly power (due to the tendency to make the gods fairer but less sacred) and the aesthetic character of Greek science and art (rejecting in its love of beauty the aid of symbolism and sacrificing the myth to the conception of the world as a κόσμος). This culture is eminently aristocratic: Xenophanes, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Plato all protest against it. The religious void was partly filled by borrowing Oriental doctrines, which however as un-Greek, regularly took the form of the mystery. D. Müller, *Ὅπλιων σύγχροισις*. The composer of Δ 105 sqq. utilised an old poem describing a serious wounding of Agamemnon by Pandarus (possibly but probably not, during a truce). In the existing poem we can clearly trace the difficulty he had in making the borrowed lines (esp. 140, 146 sqq., 214) tally with his account of Athene's protective measures in ll. 127-139. J. Ziehen, *Zwei neue Werke über Virgil's Aeneis*. Very appreciative reviews of Heinze's and Norden's books. 'Bring us a strikingly long way towards a complete account of V.'s life and works. Let us try to realise the author of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* and minor poems in the same spirit and with equally well deserved success.' K. Reuschel, *Die Tannhäuser Sage*. G. Wissowa's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur röm. Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* favourably reviewed by L. Deubner, with criticisms on the view W. takes of the 'Sondergötter.'

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 59, 4. 1904.

F. Solmsen, *Eigennamen als Zeugen der Stammesmischung in Böhmen*. Such forms as Τελεφάνης (normally πῆλε for τῆλε), χορσάι (normal ρρ), Διόδωρος (Διόδδ. normal in Boeotia and Thessaly) are cited. The earlier an ex. the greater the probability of its not being a mere case of influence exercised by the rest of Greece. P.

Sonnenburg, *De Horatii et Polliae*. The first two strophes of Od. ii. 1 allude to P.'s preface which, with an account of Pharsalia (hence ll. 17-20), had been read in public. *Iam uideor* in l. 21 is Horace's forecast of the finished work. W. Schmid, *Horatius περὶ ποικιλίας*. The historical knowledge and technical method make a 5th cent. author impossible. Probably H. Atticus wrote it. L. Radermacher, *Zur siebenten Satire Juvenals*. J. introduces historians because he is following an educational scheme of which we find traces in Basilus, Dionysius, Quintilian, and Dio. But as the position of historians was in no way that of the poets and rhetors, J.'s treatment of this part of the theme is brief and dull. J. H. Holwerda, *Die Tholos in Epidaurios*. An Aesclepios-temple. The σκαῖός is the subterranean labyrinth (home of a sacred serpent: cp. Herondas, M. 4. 90) and the πτελεῖα above, the θυμέλα the marble pavement of the temple itself. U. Hoefler, *Pontesvolker, Ephoros und Apollonios*. Skymnus, Mela, Nicolaus and Ap. in their account of the Mossynoei depend mainly on Ephorus, but use Xen. as well. Anthropology confirms what they say. Diodorus did not use Xen. directly at all. Ap., in his itinerary of the Pontus-voyage, used a periegetic work, probably by Nymphodorus. P. Deiters, *Zwei Kretische Inschriften*. They refer to certain Cretans who, probably during the social war, migrated to Miletus and whose return was barred by the peace of 216 and consequent restoration to power of Gnosus and Gortyna. These cities reject the friendly intervention of Miletus on behalf of the delinquents, but are prepared to refer the matter to a Ptolemy. R. Schneider, *Die Sammlung der Fragmente des Apollonios Dyskolos*. Emendations of passages of that author and his followers. M. Manitius, *Handschriftliches zum Texte des Statius*. Two (mainly) 13th cent. MSS, the original of which belonged to the MGBS type but contained fine corrections from P or a descendant of P's. *Dresdener Scholien zu Statius Achilleis*. Th. Litt., *Ueber eine Quelle von Plutarchs Actia Romana*. Verrius' Fasti, through medium of Juba of Mauretania. A. Körte, *Zu den Bleitafelchen von Styra*. Miscellen.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 28, No. 1.

The recruiting of the Roman army in Egypt in the first and second centuries, Jean Lesquier. *On a MS of Cicero de inventione*, Jules Lebreton. 'The MS, which is at Trinity College, Dublin, D. 3. 36, is XI-XII century, and nearer to the family Bc than to the family PHV.' A full collation is given. *On a verse of the Sibylline oracles*, (quoted by Lactantius Inst. iv. 17. 4), René Pichon. *Notes on Plautus Trin.* 331-332, L. Havet. And by the same *On Phaedrus*, i. 2. 22 (*rogantes*, read *-is*, is an acc.), ii. 5. 19-20 (read 'Caesar citoque intellegit | a se ut putarit'), ii. 8. 4 (best read 'et opportuno se ubi buiili candidit'), iii. 7. 3 (read 'salutati' with Perotti), iii. 11. 5 (the equivalent of a line has been lost between 'integritati(s)' and 'testis'), iv. 19. 17 (for 'legatos' read 'laxatos'). And by the same on Ovid Met. 8. 150 (read 'spuma ruit plumis'). *Latin Studies*, IV, *Some cases of indirect Question* (Plautus, Terence, Horace), F. Gaffiot. *The Prose of Pomponius Mela*. 'Le traité géographique de Pomponius Mela de Chorographie est rédigé en prose métrique à la Cicéron.' L. Havet. *On de Mortibus persecutorum*, xiv. 4-5 (for 'torquebantur. erant certantes' read 'torquebant, urebant certantes'), René Pichon. *On Schol. Ar. Nub.* 153 (for σφάξαις read σφίγξαις), *Ar. Eg.* 1179 (γαστρος τόμον, read γόμον), and *On a lacuna in the third Aeneid* (apropos of iii. 669 uocis),

Jules Nicole. *On a fragment of Genesis in Greek* by the same. *The halves of M* (a considered as half of *za*, a palaeographical note), L. Havet. *Inscriptions from Olazomenas*, Victor Chapot. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

No. 2.

The loan contracts of Amorçes, historical and critical notes, J. Delamarre. *Ovid's* (lost) *Gigantomachia*, *Am.* ii. 1. 11-17. H. de la Ville de Mirmont. Of this lost epic there is probably a summary in the song of the Muses in *Mel.* v. 320 sqq. *On Sophocles Ant.* 45-6 and *Cic. Cato Minor* 2. 6, 3. 8, 5. 14, 8. 26, 11. 38, 23. 84. Mortimer Lamson Earle. Critical notes. *On Ausonius Technopneumon* 12. 25, L. Havet. Read 'haec crucis effigies Palamedica porrigitur F' (F, with Weil). *Latin Studies V.* *The conjunction ut in Ter. Hec.* 378 and *Hor. S.* i. 4. 13. *VI.* *The prologue of the Heautontimorimenes and the question of 'contamination.'* F. Gaffiot. *The omission of εἴvai with τροίως*, E. Harry. *Plautus. Critical notes on As.* 100, *Bacch.* 487, 492, 495-9, 518, 519a-519c, 530, 535-6, 558, 932, *Cus.* 47-50, 58, 126-9, 572, 617, 781-2, 786, 963, 1004, *Cist.* 508. L. Havet. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

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CORRIGENDA TO THE DECEMBER NUMBER.

- P. 436a (note on 1, for 'πειθῆταιρ' read 'πειθῆταιρ.'
 Ib. (note on 31, l. 2), for 'μὲ' read 'μῆ,' (and l. 3 from end of par.) for 'στρέφη' read 'στρέψη.'
 Ib. (note on 66, l. 4) read 'γεγραμμένον.'
 P. 438b (note on 481) for 'Μεγαβύζος' read 'Μεγάβυζος.'
 P. 439a (note on 521 middle) for 'πολὺ γὰρ' read 'note γάρ.'
 P. 453b l. 16 read 'Sallust Jug. 100. 4' (not 104. 4).

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